

CHAPTER THREE

JYOTINDRA NATH MUKHERJEE AND JUGANTAR REVOLUTIONARIES

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

Described in official records as 'one of the most dangerous anarchists', Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee¹, fills a very large place in the history of India's revolutionary movement. Born in the house of his maternal uncle at Kaya in Nadia (December 8, 1880), he spent his boyhood in the village home of his maternal uncle, Basanta Kumar Chatterjee. His uncle's house became the scene of a large social congregation during the *Pujas* when many a respectable person of Kushtea and the neighbourhood thronged at his place.² This naturally brought Jyotindra Nath into lively contacts with a large number of persons during his boyhood and stood him in good stead in his future life. Among his associates of those days many turned out later to be his devoted followers in his political mission. Having lost

1. It is regrettable to note that the name of the hero of Balasore fame who died fighting in 1915 continues to be misspelt even to this day. In most of the articles and biographical sketches about him the reader finds that his name has been spelt as Jatindra Nath Mukherjee. This is absolutely incorrect. His real name was Jyotindranath Mukherjee. The memorial dated September 2, 1911 submitted by him to Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, contained his autograph signature revealing the above spelling. Vide Home (Poll.) Deptt. Proceedings of the Government of India, September 1911, Nos. 124-125, Part B.
2. Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee's letter, dated 30-3-1911 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Financial Department. The fact stated above is corroborated by Sri Benoy Chandra Roy of Kushtea, at present aged 63, who was a frequent visitor to Jyotindra Nath's house at Kaya in his boyhood and early youth. On two such occasions Jyotindra Nath impressed his audience in the role of "Pratapaditya" and "Rana Pratap" in theatrical performances.

his father in his childhood he was brought up under the care of his mother who infused in him both patriotism and fearlessness. Deeply interested in sports and physical exercises from his boyhood,³ he built up in his youth a great reputation as an all-round sportsman, an excellent swimmer, a skilled rider, an expert athlete, a devoted social worker and a kind-hearted nurse to the sick and the wounded.⁴ He combined in his character an unusual degree of toughness with fineness.

Having passed the Entrance Examination from the Krishnagore A. V. School in 1898,⁵ Jyotindra Nath came to Calcutta for receiving his higher education in the Central College of which Khudiram Bose, the distinguished educationist, was the founder-Principal. An embodiment of dare-devil energism, and animated by the ideal of "do or die for the country", Jyotindra Nath could not attach much importance to a conventional academic career and found in Calcutta a bigger sphere for his varied activities.

In 1903, a memorable incident took place in Jyotindra Nath's life, and this was his contact for the first time with Aurobindo Ghose and Jatindra Nath Banerjee (later Swami Niralamba) at the residence of Jogendra Nath Vidyabhusan at Shyampukur Street, Calcutta.⁶ It was from Aurobindo Ghose and Jatin

3. Reader's attention is drawn to Sri Prithwindra Nath Mukherjee's serial articles on Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee published in the weekly *Basumati* during 1965-66. The articles are valuable more as a piece of literature than as a piece of scientific historical research. It is surprising that the writer has throughout misspelt the very name of Jyotindra Nath, his grandfather, as Jatindra Nath.

4. Jyotindra Nath's love for horses and his capacity to tackle them was almost proverbial. Later in life he often said to his political associates: "Next to young men of India I love horses most".

5. The Calcutta University Calendar for 1899, p. 287.

6. *Biplabi Jatindra Nath* by Lalit Kumar Chatterjee (Cal. 1947). Lalit Chatterjee, Jyotindra Nath's youngest maternal uncle, has stated that both Jatindra Nath Banerjee and Aurobindo Ghose lived for some time in 1903 at the house of Jogen Vidyabhusan. According to Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee, Jyotindra Nath came into contact with Jatin Banerjee and Aurobindo at the house of Jogen Vidyabhusan in 1903.

Banerjee that he received his baptism in the cult of 'purification by blood and fire' for Freedom's battle. He believed in the Gita ideal of *Nishkama Karma* or selfless work. His outward actions had a close correspondence to his inner spiritual life into which he was initiated by Bholananda Giri Maharaj (108) at Calcutta. That apart, Bholananda Giri Maharaj also inspired him to dedicate his life to the service of the motherland. Jyotindra Nath was also fortunate enough to have sat at the feet of Swami Vivekananda and Sree Sree Ma Sarada Devi whose influence on his moral personality was very great. He had contacts with Sister Nivedita, the famous firebrand of nationalism, and joined her as a social worker during plagues and epidemics.⁷ While at Calcutta Jyotindra Nath mastered wrestling from the famous wrestler Khetra Charan Goho, son of Ambika Charan Goho, from whom Swami Vivekananda also had learnt wrestling.

IN SERVICE

About the year 1900 Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee bade good bye to his collegiate studies and took to service to earn an independent livelihood. Serving for some time as a stenographer in a merchant office in Calcutta, and then as a stenographer to Barrister Kennedy at Muzaffarpur, he was later appointed a Typist in the Bengal Secretariat on August 11, 1903. On May 15, 1904 he was appointed Stenographer to the Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal on Rs. 100 per mensem. "In 1907", as the Police Reports tell us, "he was sent to Darjeeling on some special work. From early youth he had had the reputation of a local Sandow and he soon attracted attention in Darjeeling in cases in which, true to his reputation as one of the earliest exponents of the physical force

7. This information has been derived by the writer from Sri Benoy Roy of Kushtea already referred to.

party, he tried to measure his strength with Europeans. In 1908 he was leader of one of several gangs that had sprung up in Darjeeling, whose object was the spreading of disaffection, and with his associates he started a branch of the Anusilan Samiti, called the Bandhab Samiti".⁸

In April, 1908 Jyotindra Nath became involved in a quarrel with two army officers, Captain Murphy and Lt. Somerville, at the Siliguri railway station, and, consequently, legal proceedings were drawn up against him at Darjeeling for the assault he had committed to them.⁹ After some time the case was withdrawn by the complainants (army officers). The Magistrate, however, advised Jyotindra Nath to behave properly in future. To this Jyotindra Nath said that he could not give assurance that he would refrain in future from taking similar action in self-defence or in the vindication of the rights of his countrymen. This was followed by his transfer to Calcutta in June, 1908. From that time until his arrest on January 27, 1910 he was posted at Calcutta save the period from September to the first week of November, 1909 when he "was at Darjeeling and in attendance upon" the Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

Jyotindra Nath's contact with the Manicktola Garden House, the chief centre of revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal at that time, was earlier than his reposting in Calcutta, although he had never identified himself with that centre. He had his own idea of work and set himself to organize and train up a band of young men committed to the supreme work for the country—its liberation from foreign yoke by revolu-

8. Vide the printed booklet entitled *Connections With The Revolutionary Organisation In Bihar And Orissa, 1906-16* (pp. 100) published from Patna in 1917, with a Foreword by W. Sealy (Bihar Sp. Branch.), dated Patna, September 7, 1917.

9. *The Statesman*, January 28, 1910. Also see Jyotindra Nath's letter to Mr. Wheeler, the Financial Secretary to the Govt of Bengal, dated March 30, 1911.

tionary methods. Following the arrest of the Manicktola conspirators and the legal onslaught on the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti (1908-1909), a big vacuum was created in the political field of Bengal. The leaders were either jailed or deported and repressive laws were hurriedly passed by the Government to root out from the country the forces of violence and terror. Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee's appearance on the scene just at this juncture was a god-send to the revolutionary workers. Very soon he plunged himself deeply into politics, secretly undertaking missionary tours through the districts of Howrah, Nadia, Khulna, Jessore, Rajsahi, and 24-Parganas and setting up secret societies in each district under the command of a local leader.

EARLY POLITICAL WORK

By 1908-1909 a group of young men gathered round the personality of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, of whom the most important were Baladev Roy, Jnan Mitra, Jyotish Majumdar (Chandi), Amaresh Kanjilal, Suresh Chandra Majumdar (who later became the founder of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*), Devi Prasad Roy (Khuro), Satis Sarkar, Charu Ghose (of Chetla) as well as Nani Gopal Sen (of Howrah), Phanindra Nath Roy, Khitish Chandra Sanyal, Nalini Kanta Kar and Atul Krishna Ghose. A man of uncommon daring and force of character, Jyotindra Nath was looked upon by his associates as a hero, specially after his courageous feat of killing a Royal Bengal Tiger (1906) with a dagger in a jungle off Kaya in Nadia.¹⁰

10. The skin of the striped Bengal tiger (not leopard) killed by Jyotindra Nath in 1906 as well as the dagger with which it was killed was presented to Dr. Suresh Prasad Sarbadhikari by Jyotindra Nath as a gift of gratitude on his recovery from the fatal wounds he had sustained during his fight with that tiger. Dr. Kanak Sarbadhikari, son of Dr. Suresh Sarbadhikari and at present Principal of the Calcutta Medical College, has stated to the writer on 22-8-66 that his father who was then the leading

During these days, a major pre-occupation of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee was the organization and training up of a band of young men who would spread out into villages, doing social work and awakening the masses to the need of the hour. Circumstanced as India was at that time, Jyotindra Nath was a believer in the efficacy of guerilla fighting to bring the British rulers to their knees. But he was not slow at the same time to realize that in order to render guerilla fighting effective, the masses must be patriotically roused and drawn into the movement.¹¹ With this end in view Jyotindra Nath started, in collaboration with Bipin Behari Ganguli of the Attonati Samiti, a joint mess at Sovaram Basak Street (just at the back of the Calcutta Medical College and Hospital) intended to be a nucleus of revolutionary thought and action. Its membership included Girindra Nath Bhowmic (Law student), Khitish Chandra Sanyal (I.A. student), Baladev Roy (Homeopathy student), Phanindra Nath Roy (Homeopathy student), Nalini Kanta Kar (Homeopathy student) and Debendra Nath Das (I.A. student), all belonging to Jyotindra Nath's group, as well as Ahindra Nath Chatterjee (M.A. student), Dharendra Nath Chakravarty (M.Sc. student), Ranen Ganguli (India Govern-

surgeon of Calcutta took upon himself the responsibility for curing that fatally wounded patient whose whole body had been poisoned by the tiger's nails. He not merely operated upon the body of Jyotindra Nath, but also took the trouble of coming twice to his house daily to dress his wounds personally, and not getting them done by his assistants which was the usual course, Dr. K. Sarbadhikari states further that the exemplary heroism of Jyotindra Nath acted as an inspiring force behind his father's organisation of the Bengal Regiment sent to the Mesopotamian battle-field in 1916. The skin of the tiger, padded and mounted with the head in bold relief, was laid on the floor of their house as he saw it in his boyhood days. The head was in tact together with the tongue and the ears except bearing some marks of wound on the neck and on the body. The story that the tiger's head was broken into pieces by Jyotindra Nath is thus an exaggeration. Although the skin has already perished, the dagger is still preserved in the family of Dr. K. Sarbadhikari.

11. The autobiographical MSS in Bengali of Sri Nalini Kanta Kar.

ment employee), all belonging to Bipin Ganguli's mess. Among those who frequented this mess were Satis Chandra Sarkar, Devi Prasad Roy, Atul Krishna Ghose and Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee as well as Harish Chandra Sikdar, Probhas Chandra De, Tinkari De and Bipin Behari Ganguli. The mess was financed in the main by Jyotin Mukherjee and Probhas De.¹² After some time the lieutenants of Jyotindra Nath except Girin Bhowmic and Deben Das shifted to another mess at Kasi Bose Lane, to which a new boarder was added and he was Satis Chandra Sarkar.

MURDER OF SAMSUI, ALUM

Although political dacoity or murder of officials was not the main plank of Jyotindra Nath's revolutionary programme (himself favouring guerilla fighting as the practical means of driving out the British from India), yet he had no moral scruples against political dacoity or murder as such. What counted with him most was the practicability and efficacy of the means adopted in a given situation. While waging political battle with a powerful adversary he did not allow ordinary ethics or morality to get the upper hand in him. In his political approach to the issue of violence *vis-a-vis* non-violence he appears to be a close follower of Aurobindo Ghose rather than of Mahatma Gandhi.¹³ As Sri Benoy Roy has stated, Jyotindra Nath accompanied by Manmatha Nath Bhowmic, Jatin Roy, Benoy Roy etc. led one dacoity expedition to Raita in Nadia on November 29, 1908, and encashed the looted ornaments at B. Sarkar's Jewellery Shop in Calcutta.¹⁴ Again, Jyotindra Nath played an impor-

12. *Ibid.* The point receives corroboration from Sri Ranen Ganguli of Bantra, Howrah, who was then the steward of the mess.

13. Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee: *Sri Aurobindo And The New Thought In Indian Politics* (Cal. 1964, p. XXXI).

14. According to the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal (F.N. 229/15), the property looted from Raita in November, 1908 was valued at Rs. 1,915. Jyotindra Nath's leadership in Raita

tant role in the murder of Samsul Alum, the Deputy Superintendent of Police (C.I.D.) on January 24, 1910. He not merely gave it his moral sanction, but also had it accomplished by his lieutenant Satis Sarkar through the instrumentality of Biren Datta Gupta, a young member of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti. Samsul Alum had made himself a contemptible creature in the eyes of the revolutionaries for his tenacious hunting out of the persons involved or supposed to be involved in the Alipore Bomb Case as well as for his nakedly vindictive attitude to the under-trial prisoners. But the immediate provocation given by him was his disrespectful utterance towards the womenfolk of a house he went to for a search. The murder of Inspector Nandalal Banerjee by the Bengali revolutionaries on November 9, 1908 and the murder of Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor of Alipore and Instructor of the Crown Counsel in the Bomb Case inside the Alipore courtyard on February 10, 1909, had already set before Young Bengal a tradition of violence and had prepared the background for Alum's murder.

The murder of Samsul Alum left the authorities terrified and bewildered, and led to the arrest of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee on the morning of January 27, 1910 as the principal brain behind this assassination. Although Jyotindra Nath was released by the Police Commissioner from the charge of abetment of murder (January 30, 1910), yet he was again immediately arrested and sent to Howrah along with Suresh Chandra Majumdar, Lalit Kumar Chatterjee and Nibaran Chandra Majumdar to stand trial under Sec. 400 I.P.C. "for being members of a gang of dacoits". After several days Jyotindra Nath was again transferred to the Alipore Central Jail on February 9, 1910. Taking their cue from some statements of Biren Datta

expedition is also corroborated by Sri Khitish Chandra Sanyal of Kushtea, and Satis Chandra Sarkar of North Bengal.

Gupta, a last-minute effort was made by the Calcutta Police to implicate Jyotindra Nath in Alum's murder by arranging a court trial in the Presidency Jail by Mr. Swinhoe, the Officiating Chief Presidency Magistrate, on February 20, 1910, just one day before Biren Datta Gupta's execution. The trial, however, could not be undertaken as Barrister J. N. Roy representing Jyotindra Nath "protested strongly against being called upon, without notice, to cross-examine a witness at the pistol's point, without knowing until a few moments beforehand the charge against him, and with no opportunity of interviewing his client".¹⁵ Shortly afterwards and while still in jail, Jyotindra Nath was again arrested on a charge of having committed offences under Sections 121, 121A, 122, 123 and 124 of the Indian Penal Code. Thereafter on several occasions Jyotindra Nath was produced before the Additional District Magistrate of Howrah in course of the enquiry continuing for several months. On July 20, 1910 Jyotindra Nath along with others was committed to take his trial before the Special Tribunal of the High Court, and the trial began before a Bench composed of the Hon'ble Chief Justice, and the Hon'ble Justices Brett and Digambar Chatterjee on December 1, 1910. On February 21, 1911 Jyotindra Nath "was acquitted and discharged by the said Special Tribunal, before the trial had ended".¹⁶

THE ORGANIZATIONAL WORK

After his release from the Howrah Gang Case on February 21, 1911 Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, who was then dismissed from Government service, took to contractorship as a means of livelihood (1911) and set

15. *The Statesman*, February 22, 1910.

16. Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee's memorial to the Viceroy, dated September 2, 1911, seeking clarification as to why he should not be re-instated in his Government post on his acquittal.

up his headquarters, first, at Golapnagar in the district of Murshidabad, and, then, at Jhinaidaha in the district of Jessore where he began to live with his family. He got the contract, first, of the earth-work for the Sara Bridge, then of Jhinaidaha-Jessore Light Railway, and, thirdly, of the Screw Pipe Bridge at Jhinaidaha under the District Board of Jessore, and, finally, of the new Munsiff Court under P.W.D. at Magura. During this period Jyotin Mukherjee strove hard to re-organize his political associates and followers, and with this end in view had also met in a conference in 1912 at the house of Benoy Roy of Kushtea, attended by Jatin Roy of North Bengal, Gopen Roy of Pabna and also by Kshitish Sanyal of Kushtea, Nalini Kanta Kar of Jadubaira and Manmatha Nath Bhowmic of Kaya.¹⁷ Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, that daring young man and an organizer of several political dacoities including those of Chingripota and Netra during 1907-09, developed intimacy with Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee during their jail-life as under-trial prisoners in the Howrah Gang Case. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya and his comrade Hari Kumar Chakravarty, both being members of the Harinavi branch of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti, had heard a good deal about Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee from Phani Chakravarty of Chingripota, 24-Parganas, who had met Jyotin Mukherjee first in 1908 in Darjeeling. After his release from the Howrah Gang Case in 1911, Narendra Nath Bhattacharya along with Hari Kumar Chakravarty gathered round Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee and acknowledged him as their leader. As has already been referred to, Nalini Kanta Kar and Atul Krishna Ghose, both belonging to village Jadubaira in Kushtea and also being members of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti, had already joined the camp of

17. Vide the MSS of Nalini Kanta Kar and the writer's interviews with Kshitish Chandra Sanyal and Benoy Chandra Roy of Kushtea.

Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee some time after their fruitful meeting with him at his village home in Kaya about March, 1909.¹⁸ Jadugopal Mukherjee, another member of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti, did not have any direct contact with Jyotindra Nath until 1913-14, but was emotionally attached to Jyotindra Nath through the medium of his friend Narendra Nath Bhattacharya.¹⁹ Thus by 1911-12 Jyotindra Nath had organized a big circle around him which counted, among others, Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, Hari Kumar Chakravarty, Nalini Kan̄ta Kar and Atul Krishna Ghose.

THE FLOOD HAVOC OF 1913

The next landmark in the revolutionary activities of Bengal was closely connected with the inundation of 1913 bringing in its train untold sufferings and losses to the districts of Burdwan and Midnapore. This natural calamity came to the revolutionaries as a boon in disguise. It gave them an opportunity of mixing freely and intimately with the suffering masses in course of their relief work. It also gave them an opportunity of getting together, otherwise separated from one another by group or sectional loyalties. The revolutionaries of various groups and denominations flocked to the flood-affected regions and began to work in close unison ostensibly for relief work but ultimately for their supreme political mission. Among those who played an important role in Burdwan and Midnapore at this stage were Makhan Lal Sen, Aswini Lal Roy, Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, Jadugopal Mukherjee, Moti Lal Roy, all of whom had gone there as *desha-sevakas* (patriots) and *samaj-sevakas* (social-

18. The MSS of N. K. Kar.

19. Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee has informed the writer during her interview with him at Ranchi in September, 1965, that since the killing of a tiger by Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee he began to look upon him as a great hero and felt a deep stirring in his soul to have a glimpse of that hero as if he had fallen in love with him.

servants) and utilised the occasion for getting together in closer bonds. It was in this background that Jadugopal for the first time came into direct contact with Jyotin Mukherjee at Kanthi, which, however, did not grow into intimacy until February, 1915.²⁰

ATTEMPTS AT AMALGAMATION

On their return to Calcutta towards the close of the year 1913, the revolutionary leaders began to think out a plan for the re-organization and amalgamation of all kindred spirits for the common cause. The Barisal party which had come into being as early as 1908 under the guidance of Satis Chandra Mukherjee (later Swami Prajnanananda), soon found in Naren Ghose Choudhury of Noakhali its redoubtable organizer, with its headquarters at Barisal and its branches in Noakhali, Comilla, Chittagong and Sylhet, and gained a position of importance in Bengal by 1914, particularly after its amalgamation in that year with the political group led by Nikhil Ranjan Guha Roy of Idilpur (Dt. Faridpur), the Sadhana Samaj of Hemendra Kishore Acharya Choudhury of Mymensingh and also the North Bengal group of Jatin Roy of Bagura.²¹ With this enlarged Barisal party Jyotin Mukherjee's group met at a conference in March, 1915 on the roof of a mess at Sankar Ghose's Lane, Calcutta, attended by Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, Jadugopal Mukherjee and Altul Krishna Ghose, on the one hand, and Naren Ghose Choudhury, Jogen Basu and Manoranjan Gupta, on the other. The urgency for unity was stressed by Narendra Nath Bhattacharya specially in the background of a prospective armed rising in India with active collaboration from the German Government. Although no formal amalgamation took place at this stage, yet a practical amalgamation was forged out,

20. The writer's interview with Jadugopal Mukherjee.

21. The unpublished *Smriti-Katha* by Sri Manoranjan Gupta.

both sides agreeing to work under the leadership of Jyotin Mukherjee. This was not merely due to the towering personality of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee but also due to the practical retirement of Swami Prajnana-nanda in Benares and his subsequent internment.²² It was now left for Jyotindra Nath to organize and lead the revolutionary groups in Bengal, particularly those described in official records as forming the 'Jugantar' revolutionaries or the 'Western Bengal Party'.²³

Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee and his lieutenants who had been for a long time in close touch with the Attonnati Samiti of Bipin Behari Ganguli, strengthened their *entente* with the latter in the background of the First World War. It has to be noted that by 1914 the Barisal party had come to an understanding with the Attonnati Samiti for joint action. This triple *entente* bore valuable fruit in connection with the theft of Rodda's arms (August 26, 1914), which though planned and executed mainly by the Mukti Sangha of Dacca in collaboration with the Attonnati Samiti, yet in the disbursement of the consignments the hands Jyotin Mukherjee's lieutenants and of the Barisal party were conspicuously in evidence. Besides,

22. The writer's interview with Sri Manoranjan Gupta in July, 1965. Sri Gupta has further informed her that the liaison between Jyotin Mukherjee's group and the Barisal party was Sri Gupta himself who, as a Fourth Year student, had gone to Kalinagar in Kanthi Sub-Division, Midnapore, as a flood-relief worker in 1913, and had been much impressed by the personality of Jadugopal Mukherjee. The aforesaid meeting was proposed by Jadugopal Mukherjee to Manoranjan Gupta who had come to Calcutta in 1914 after passing the B.A. Examination. Notwithstanding the decision adopted at that meeting that the two groups would work out a common programme under their respective leaders, viz., Jyotin Mukherjee and Swami Prajnanananda, yet in practice the leadership of Jyotindra Nath over both the groups became an accomplished fact, particularly due to the absence of the Swamiji from Bengal.
23. The official analysis of the term "Jugantar" revolutionaries is to be found in Chapter I. Mr. Denham in his third report on the Rajabazar case, dt. 26.3.1914, and Mr. Tegart in his lengthy *Note On The Situation In Chandernagore*, dt. 10.3.1917. have used the term 'Western Bengal Party' with reference to these revolutionaries.

the Madaripur group of Purna Das was drawn close to Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee about this time. After the withdrawal of the Madaripur Conspiracy Case (January 17-April 19, 1914) which was instituted for numerous political dacoities in 1913 at Bharakair, Gopalpur, Kawakuri etc. committed by Purna Das's group,²⁴ a few of his devoted followers, viz., Chittapriya Roy Choudhury, Manoranjan Sen Gupta, Niren Das Gupta, Radha Charan Pramanik and Patit Paban Ghose began to live at Calcutta and soon joined hands with Jyotin Mukherjee to work for the contemplated armed rising in India. Thus during 1914-15 most of the principal revolutionary parties in Bengal, hitherto working isolatedly, had made an *entente* among themselves to form a united front and to work conjointly for an armed rising in India against the British *Raj*.

Attempts were also made at the same time to forge union with the Chandernagore revolutionary groups as well as with the Dacca Anusilan Samiti through the medium of the *Sramajibi Samabaya* (the Workers' Co-operative) of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpara. Started at Bowbazar in 1908 and then shifted to the College Street and Harrison Road junction, the *Samabaya* had been secretly functioning from the very beginning as a meeting place of the revolutionaries all over Bengal. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee was closely connected with Srish Chandra Ghose, Moti Lal Roy and Narendra Nath Banerjee, the leaders of Chandernagore revolutionaries, as well as with Amrita Lal Hazra and Pratul Chandra Ganguli of the Anusilan Samiti. Through Satis Sen Gupta of Serampore the *Samabaya* came into close touch with the Attonnati Samiti also. From the very outset Jyotindra Nath was an intimate friend of Amarendra Nath and a frequent visitor to the *Sramajibi Samabaya*. It was in this

24. File No. 130/15 in the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal, for a "Note On The Madaripur Political Situation".

rendezvous that Rash Behari Bose, a Chandernagore man but really the leader of the U. P. and Punjab revolutionaries, came into close touch with Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee. The meeting between Amarendra Nath, Jyotindra Nath and Rash Behari at the *Panchabati* of Dakshineswar (probably at the close of 1913), which discussed the possibilities of an armed rising in India by inciting the Indian army serving under the British, was an important episode in the history of Indian revolutionary movement. Impressed by Jyotindra Nath's zeal, fiery energy and personality, Rash Behari asked the former to lead the movement in Bengal in the event of an armed rising and himself went to Benares (April, 1914) to organize the scattered forces into a revolutionary organization. Twice Jyotindra Nath had been to Benares—once he went with Rash Behari himself in December-January, 1913-14 to have a first-hand knowledge of the Benares situation, and again he met Rash Behari at Benares in January, 1915 to receive further instructions from him with regard to Bengal before the latter would leave for the Punjab. Thus we find that during the years 1914-1915 Jyotindra Nath had become the accredited leader of the revolutionary movement in Bengal enjoying the confidence of various revolutionary groups and organizations.

Efforts were also directed in this period to forge a union between Jyotin Mukherjee's party and the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. According to Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee, an attempt at amalgamation was made by Amrita Lal Hazra and Biren Sen, on the one hand, and Jadugopal Mukherjee, Ashu Das, Benoy Datta and Atul Ghose, on the other, but without much success.²⁵ It was followed by other similar moves. Once in August, 1914 Nalini Kishore Guha, Pratul Chandra

25. The writer's interview with Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee.

Ganguli and Rabindra Mohan Sen met Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee at the *Arya Niwas* in Sealdah and discussed about the possibilities of amalgamation on the basis of the abandonment of the practice of political dacoities which was much favoured by the Anusilan Samiti as a practical means, first, of securing money for the revolutionary work, secondly, of keeping alive the revolutionary spirit in its members, and, thirdly, of terrorising the bureaucracy. But nothing fruitful emerged out of this meeting. A next meeting took place between the Anusilan Samiti men and Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee at Atul Ghose's house in Chidam Mudi's Lane. But this meeting also proved abortive.²⁶ Talks in this direction could not make much headway because of the sudden arrests of Nalini Kishore Guha, Pratul Chandra Ganguli and Rabindra Mohan Sen of the Anusilan Samiti by the agents of the bureaucracy. The much desired amalgamation with the Anusilan Samiti which could not be accomplished in 1914-15 was realized in 1916-17 when, after the arrests of the important leaders of the Anusilan Samiti, its absconding members went to Chandernagore for shelter and joined hands with other absconders at that place representing different political groups.

PREPARATION FOR THE SECOND REVOLUTION

The outbreak of the World War I in August, 1914 gave a mighty stimulus to India's revolutionary movement. It created such international situations as enabled the Indian revolutionaries to function more effectively, particularly by making use of foreign military and financial assistance. The failure of the plan of an armed rising from Peshwar to Bengal as organized by Rash Behari Bose (February, 1915) inspired Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee to organize a second

26. Vide the writer's interview with Sri Nalini Kishore Guha. Also see N. K. Guha's *Banglay Biplab-bad*, p. 322.

revolutionary uprising in India by adopting more effectual steps for carrying through the plan successfully. Jyotindra Nath believed that without international co-operation India could not work out her salvation all alone, and naturally he looked up to Germany, Britain's deadliest enemy, for effective assistance to India's revolutionary movement.

The prospect of German help in favour of Indian revolutionaries was first indicated in Bernhardt's book entitled *Germany And The Next War* (October, 1911). Mr. J. C. Ker, I. C. S., who was Personal Assistant to the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Government of India, during 1907-1913, wrote the following in this connection: "There can be little doubt that, in risking war with England, the Germans took account of what they believed to be the situation in India. The importance they attached to this matter is apparent from the references to India in Bernhardt's book *Germany And The Next War*, while the tour through India of the Crown Prince, and the subsequent private visit of the affable and polite Lieutenant Von Schweinitz of the First Prussian Foot Guards, who managed to see a good deal of the army at Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and the Khyber, were not perhaps entirely pleasure trips. Public opinion in Germany was not left unprepared; on the 6th of March, 1914, the Berliner Tageblatt published an article on 'England's Indian Trouble' in which the writer took a gloomy view of the situation, and predicted that the day of reckoning for England would come 'far sooner than official negligence dreams of'.²⁷ A letter of Dhirendra Kumar Sarkar (younger brother of Prof. Benoy Sarkar of international repute) written on the eve of the First World War, from Germany to Satis Sen of Serampore, Bengal, communicating to the latter

27. J. C. Ker: *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917* (Calcutta, 1917).

Bethmann Hollweg's (German Chancellor's) assurance of armed assistance to the Indian cause gave further encouragement to the Bengal revolutionaries for organizing a second upsurge.²⁸ The formation of the Berlin-India Committee (September, 1914) which was transformed into the Indian Independence Committee with the avowed object of securing German military-*cum*-financial assistance for organizing an armed rising in India as well as for making attacks at the eastern and western gates of the British Indian Empire, was a further encouragement to the Bengal revolutionaries. The news was brought home to them by a number of men including Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya, who had been associated with the early organization of the Committee at Berlin and had returned to India in late 1914.²⁹

The specific message of the shipment of arms to India was conveyed to the Bengal revolutionaries by Jitendra Nath Lahiri, a member of the Berlin-India Committee (or the I. I. C.), who had returned to India from Berlin in early March, 1915. It has been learnt from Sri Lahiri that after being instructed by Viren Chattopadhyay, the life and soul of the Berlin-India Committee, to ask the Bengal revolutionaries to send an emissary to the German Consul at Batavia for giving proper guidance to the ship-load of arms to the Indian shores, Jitendra Nath in no time left Berlin for India. On his arrival in Bengal he first met Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpara, and, then, apprised the Bengal leaders of the instructions of the Berlin-India Committee in a secret conference held at Amarendra Nath's residence, attended by Amarendra Nath Chat-

28. The writer's interview with Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee in February, 1966.

29. *Europe Bharatiya Biplaber Sadhana* by Dr. Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya. On his return to India Dr. Bhattacharya contacted Ashu Das of Hooghly and through his medium sent to Jadugopal Mukherjee a formula of Spandau bomb, a powerful type of explosive manufactured at Spandau in Germany during the War.

erjee himself, Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, Hari Kumar Chakravarty, Atul Krishna Ghose etc.³⁰ Narendra Nath Bhattacharya who was not present in that meeting was soon chosen as the emissary for Batavia. Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee, however, communicates to the writer in a letter (25.8.66) that Jitendra Nath, on his return to Bengal, informed Jadugopal of the message of the Berlin-India Committee probably at his Beniatola Street residence who, on his turn, conveyed it to Jyotindra Nath then putting up as an absconder at a house in Khiderpore.

Closely following upon this, a secret meeting was held at the Ram's Ghat at Uttarpara on the bank of the Ganges to formulate a programme of work for the second rising. Besides Amarendra Nath Chatterjee of Uttarpara and Moti Lal Roy and Srish Chandra Ghose of Chandernagore, Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, Atul Krishna Ghose, Makhan Lal Sen and Bipin Behari Ganguli of Calcutta attended that midnight meeting. The problem of securing adequate arms and money before the rising could be successfully organized was discussed in details. The necessity of hurried contact with the German Consulates at Bangkok, Batavia and Shanghai also received due attention at that meeting. Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee took the responsibility of supplying money for the cause, and Amarendra Nath Chatterjee was entrusted with providing safety to the absconders.³¹

The Indian revolutionaries had already set up their base of work both in Siam and Java. The foreign wing of the Indian revolutionary organization led by Jadugopal Mukherjee³² and assisted by Satis Sen, Ashu

30. The writer's interview with Sri Jitendra Nath Lahiri at Serampore on 10.8.1966.

31. *Amar Dekha Biplab O Biplabi* by Moti Lal Roy, pp. 133-134. Also see the MSS of *Bharater Swadhinatar Itihas* by Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, p. 52.

32. The Proceedings of the Home (Poll.) Deptt. of the Government of India, January 1918, Nos. 395-397, Part B, mention Jadugopal

Das, Benoy Datta and Bhola Chatterjee³³ decided to carry on communication with Bangkok and Batavia through Atmaram and Naren Bhattacharya respectively. The Siam centre had been very much active about this time which had liaison with the Bengal revolutionaries through Bhola Nath Chatterjee.³⁴

FUNDS FOR THE RISING

Before Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee went underground (February 24, 1915) he had been intimately connected with a number of incidents taking place in February, 1915. His bid for "rupees one lakh in a week" and the consequent political dacoities committed at Garden Reach and Beliaghata had close bearing with the prospective rising in near future. The Garden Reach motor raid of February 12, 1915 was organized by Naren Bhattacharya in collaboration with Atul Ghose, under the command of Jyotin Mukherjee. The actual dacoity was committed by Naren Bhattacharya and the Madaripur followers of Jyotindra Nath.

After the accomplishment of the dacoity while Naren Bhattacharya was proceeding next day to

Mukherjee as the Director of Foreign Department, Indian Nationalist Party.

33. By 1907-08 these men were associated with Jadugopal Mukherjee. Benoy Datta and Bhola Chatterjee were members of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti, and Satis Sen and Ashu Das came to Calcutta from Serampore for having collegiate education.
34. Bhola Nath Chatterjee was an important link between the Bengal and Siam revolutionaries. As early as 1910-11 Bhola Nath had been to Penang and Singapore, and accompanied by Nani Bose dressed as a Brahmachari, he again went to Siam in 1913 under Jadugopal's direction. There he made contacts with the Punjabi contractors engaged in the construction of Burma-Siam Railway through engineer Amar Singh, a prominent figure in the Siam conspiracy, who was later executed at the hands of the British. While in Siam, Bhola Nath contacted in April 1914 Kumud Mukherjee, a Bengali pleader living at Bangkok since March, 1912 and a supporter of the revolutionary cause, and returned to Calcutta by October of the same year. Bhola Nath introduced the name of Kumud Mukherjee to the Calcutta leaders as a sympathiser with their project at Bangkok. Nani Bose returned to Calcutta some time later through overland route on foot.

Ultadanga from Jadugopal's residence, he was arrested by Sub-Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukherjee at the five-street crossing of Shyambazar. He was, however, released on bail after Radha Charan Pramanik had been induced to make a confession.³⁵

Altogether Rs. 18,000 of Messrs Bird & Co. were successfully looted in broad day light and properly utilised for the revolutionary cause.

Just as Rodda's mausers and cartridges stolen by the revolutionaries were distributed over wide areas and among different groups, so the money looted at Garden Reach was also similarly disbursed. Moti Lal Roy has stated that a portion of the money of Messrs Bird & Co. also found its way to Chandernagore to the extent of Rs. 2,000 in one-anna piece and Rs. 5,000 in 4 anna and 8 anna pieces.³⁶

The Garden Reach dacoity was soon followed by another daring taxi raid at Beliaghata organized by the comrades of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee under his general direction. At 9-30 P.M. on February 22, the party led by Phanindra Nath Chakravarty and assisted

35. Vide the writer's interviews with Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya and Bipin Ganguli having taken initial shelter on the night of the Garden Reach dacoity (or may be the next night) at Jadugopal's house, left that place the following morning for Ultadanga where Bipin Ganguli had a shelter. As Naren Bhattacharya, after meeting Nirjharini Sarkar (whom she regarded as his own mother) at the Shyambazar Street, had started for Ultadanga, he was suddenly arrested by S. I. Suresh Mukherjee. As soon as the information of the arrest of Naren Bhattacharya, the right-hand man of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee, had reached him, the latter sent a few persons to the Lal Bazar Thana to secure the release of Narendra Nath from the police custody by any means. But as Narendra Nath had already been transferred to the Alipore jail, the scheme could not be carried out. Then, on Jadugopal's suggestion a bail was proposed for him and accepted on condition that one must confess about the Garden Reach dacoity. Radha Charan Pramanik was therefore instructed by Purna Das through his vakil to make a confession. It is to be further noted that from 20, Fakir Chand Mitra's Street, four young men including Radha Charan Pramanik and Patit Paban Ghose had been arrested on February 24, 1915 under the Arms' Act in connection with the Garden Reach dacoity.

36. Moti Lal Roy: *Amar Dekha Biplab O Biplabi*, pp. 134-135.

by Chittapriya, Manoranjan, Nirendra etc. "drove up in a taxi to the house of Lalit Mohan Brindaban Saha, a rice merchant of Beliaghata and decamped with Rs. 22,000 in cash. They were armed with pistols and threatened the rice merchant and his cashier, the latter of whom, on offering resistance, was wounded. It was also found that they had shot dead the chauffeur and thrown his body on the canal bank".³⁷ But unfortunately, the Beliaghata money did not come to the use of the revolutionaries as the cash box, when opened a few days later at the house of Prof. Probhas De, was found to have been filled in with paper chips only instead of rupee notes. The mischief must have occurred through some mysterious agency while the cash box was in transit.

Due to the non-availability of the Beliaghata money to the revolutionaries another dacoity at Pragpur (Dt. Nadia) had to be committed (April 30, 1915), but the miscarriage in the plan of retreat led to a skirmish between the revolutionary party and the police resulting in the tragic end to Sushil Sen's life. Meanwhile, a critical situation had arisen after the shooting of Nirod Haldar, a suspected spy, by Chittapriya Roy Choudhury at 73, Pathuriaghata Street (February 24, 1915) and the murder of S. I. Suresh Mukherjee (C. I. D.) by Naren Ghose Choudhury on the Cornwallis Street (February 28, 1915). As Nirod Haldar mentioned the name of Jyotin Mukherjee as the assassin in his dying statement in hospital, a warrant of arrest was immediately issued against Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee. Another warrant was also issued against Chittapriya who thereafter went underground. On February 28, 1915 absconder Chittapriya was placed as a bait at the Cornwallis Street

37. The I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal, File No. 755/1917.

and Manicktola Street crossing for the detection of Suresh Mukherjee.³⁸

After these incidents had taken place, prudence counselled Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee to hide away from Calcutta for some time specially in view of the armed rising that was to take place soon. A suitable hideout for Jyotindra Nath began to be sought out, but he refused to stir out of Calcutta unless and until similar provisions could be made for his fellow absconders—Bipin Ganguli, Chittapriya and others—who were his constant companions during this critical period. His concern for the safety of his colleagues was clearly revealed in the following statement he had made to Jadugopal Mukherjee at Phani Chakravarty's residence at 12, Mirzaffar Lane: "Unless and until a similar shelter is procured for Bipin and others, I will not go". Bipin Ganguli, Naren Bhattacharya and Harish Sikdar were present on that occasion. This reveals Jyotindra Nath's integrity of character worthy of a great leader. A few months later he again refused to part company with his followers at Kaptipada for the sake of his own personal safety.

In March, 1915 Jyotin Mukherjee along with Chittapriya, Bipin Ganguli and others left for Bagnan where they were provided with a temporary shelter by the caricaturist Atul Sen, the Headmaster of Bagnan High School. Meanwhile, Nalini Kanta Kar, an old associate of Jyotin Mukherjee, went to Bagnan along with Naren Bhattacharya to have Jyotindra Nath's consent, and then proceeded from Calcutta to Mahuldiha in the Mourbhanj State in Orissa where they were able to find out a suitable place at Kaptipada for Jyotindra Nath's hideout with the help of Sri Manindra Nath

38. According to Sri Manoranjan Gupta the party was led by the Barisal leader Naren Ghose Choudhury and it consisted of, besides himself, Chittapriya Roy Choudhury, Manoranjan Sen Gupta, Sushil Sen and Sachin Datta.

Chakravarty. The preliminary work done, Naren Bhattacharya came back to Calcutta to return to Kaptipada within a fortnight along with Jyotin Mukherjee and Chittapriya as well as Saileswar Bose of the Universal Emporium of Balasore. There at Kaptipada Nalini Kar had already constructed a thatched hut for the dwelling of Jyotindra Nath and others. Thus began a new phase of Jyotin Mukherjee's life—his life as an absconder at Kaptipada where he died heroically in action in September, 1915.³⁹

FLOW OF GERMAN PURSE TO INDIA

According to an earlier decision, Narendra Nath Bhattacharya sailed for Batavia from Madras in April, 1915, after having met Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee at Kaptipada *en route*. M. N. Roy's statement in his *Memoirs* that he left for Java "before the end of 1914" is a mistake. Naren Bhattacharya took the pseudo-name of C. A. Martin, put on European dress and spoke elegant English with correct accent. At Batavia Martin came into touch through the German Consul with Theodore Helfferich, a Batavian merchant, "who stated that a cargo of arms and ammunition was on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution". He also contacted the Indian revolutionaries in Java, Siam and elsewhere. A Sikh *Ghadr* man, Atmaram by name, who was very important in the Siam conspiracy, proved to be of great help to Martin in his project.⁴⁰ Thanks to Martin and Atmaram, German

39. Nalini Kanta Kar's MSS.

40. From America Atmaram came to Siam *via* China and joined hands with other conspirators in seeking out overland routes for the smuggle of arms to India. In March, 1915 he visited India to gather a first-hand information of the Punjab and Bengal fronts and met Kaviraj Bejoy Krishna Roy and Jadugopal Mukherjee in Calcutta. After the Siam conspiracy had been unearthed Atmaram managed his escape to China where, assisted by Tarak Nath Das, he killed a British agent Harnam Singh at Nanking in February, 1917, for which act he was later executed at Shanghai.

money was rendered available to the Indian revolutionaries between June and August, 1915. During this period code telegraphic messages used to pass frequently between Bangkok and Batavia, on the one hand, and the revolutionary centres in Calcutta, on the other.

Three Calcutta addresses were generally found mentioned in these code telegrams sent from Weltevreden (part of Batavia) and from Bangkok. They were *Sramajibi Samabaya Ltd.* at the Harrison Road-College Street crossing; S. B. Mukherjee of Sonua Stone and Lime Co. at 101|1 Clive Street; and Harry & Sons at 4¹ Clive Street. Sudhansu Bhushan Mukherjee, a friend of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, was the principal financier of the *Sramajibi Samabaya* and also the owner of that firm known as Sonua Stone & Lime Co. Although he was never included in the inner circle of the revolutionaries, yet in the *milieu* of the *Samabaya* he got into contact with quite a large number of them. Amarendra Nath Chatterjee writes that by supplying to Martin the address of Sudhansu Mukherjee's firm he was indirectly responsible for the arrest of this innocent man, for which act of indiscretion he later expressed his regret.⁴¹

The Harry & Sons, a small firm of the order supplier class but having underground revolutionary connections, was established by Hari Kumar Chakravarty of Kodalia, 24 Parganas, who had intimate friendship with Narendra Nath Bhattacharya of the same village. The firm, "with a turn-over of less than Rs. 500/- a month"⁴² was founded a few years back with Hari Kumar Chakravarty as its sole proprietor who was assisted by his brother Makhan Lal Chakravarty as well as by Shyam Sundar Bose of village Kodalia. Besides, Hari Kumar Chakravarty set up at

41. The MSS. of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, p. 46.

42. The letter of the Police Commissioner, Calcutta, to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, dated August 11, 1915.

Balasore a cycle-shop known as the Universal Emporium, with supply of goods from *Sramajibi Samabaya*, and left it to the charge of Saileswar Bose, brother of Shyam Sundar Bose, the clerk of Harry & Sons. This shop also served as a centre of secret revolutionary work and functioned as a liaison between absconder Jyotin Mukherjee at Kaptipada and his associates in Calcutta during this most critical period.

Altogether, four transactions of German money took place between Batavia, Bangkok and Calcutta through Martin and Atmaram. Mr. G. C. Denham of the I. B. Department, Bengal, prepared at that time a very interesting note on these financial transactions, which in part reads as follows:

“On the 24th June a telegram was sent by S. B. Mukherjee of the Sonua Stone & Lime Company, of 101/1 Clive Street, to Mr. Chotirmull, Batavia, asking for 5000 tons to be sent. On the 29th of the month a reminder was sent to Mr. Layard, C/o the Postmaster, Weltevreden. This second wire must have crossed another telegram despatched by one Thakur Das from Weltevreden in which he says he has remitted Rs. 5000. On the same day, that is the 29th June, the Eastern Bank, Calcutta, was remitted Rs. 5000 by the Netherlands Trading Society from Batavia, to be paid to Harry & Sons of 41 Clive Street. On the 3rd of July Hari Kumar Chakravarty, on behalf of Harry & Sons, received payment of Rs. 5000 from the Eastern Bank. He was identified by Mr. James Fergusson, of Messrs J. C. Duffus & Co., Jute Buyers. It appears that for many years the firm Harry & Sons had bought bazar articles for Messrs J. C. Duffus & Co., and Hari Kumar Chakravarty was thus known to Mr. Fergusson . . . Rs. 5000 was drawn in hundred-rupee notes . . . On the 3rd July a telegram was sent to Mr. Chotirmull, Batavia, by Harry & Sons acknowledging the receipt of the money”.

This was the first transaction. About the second transaction Mr. Denham writes the following:

“The second transaction may be said to date from the 29th June when S. B. Mukherjee of the Sonua Stone and Lime Company, 101/1 Clive Street, wired to Mr. Chotirmull, Batavia, on the 29th asking for 10,000 bags of sugar; getting no immediate reply a reminder was sent on the 6th July asking for the ‘bags sugar’ to be sent immediately. This wire was sent in the name of Bhajan Lal and an address was given at 13 Balak Ram Dutt Lane. Enquiries have shown that this address is a false one. On the 12th July Harry & Sons received a wire from Thakur Das, Weltevreden, saying that 10,000 had been remitted. On the 13th of July the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank received 8,000 guilders which are the equivalent by exchange of Rs. 10,000. This money was remitted by Thakur Das to be paid to Harry & Sons. Apparently Hari Kumar Chakravarty was afraid to ask Mr. Fergusson again to guarantee him to the Bank and so, on the 20th of July, he got a friend, Nagendra Nath Dutt, an old member of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti, to introduce him to the Co-operative Hindusthan Bank, where he opened an account by depositing Rs. 500 in small notes. On the 21st he (Hari Kumar) deposited in the Bank his telegraphic transfer for the Rs. 10,000 on the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank. This money was credited to him and was realised by the Co-operative Hindusthan Bank who guaranteed the proper payment of the sum to Harry & Sons. On the 26th July Hari Kumar Chakravarty, on behalf of Harry & Sons the name in which the account was opened, withdrew Rs. 5,000 on a cheque payable to self. This money was paid by the Bank in four notes of Rs. 500, and thirty of Rs. 100 . . .

“On the 4th August Hari Kumar Chakravarty, on behalf of Harry & Sons, withdrew a further Rs. 3000

on a cheque payable to self. This sum was paid in six notes of Rs. 500 which were exchanged for cash on the following day at the Currency Office. On the 6th August Hari Kumar withdrew Rs. 100 and on the 7th a further Rs. 200. It is probably due to this last withdrawal that we were able to obtain his Cheque Book and thus start our enquiries into his accounts".⁴³

Thus in June and July, 1915 German purse amounting to Rs. 15,000 reached the hands of the revolutionaries in Calcutta. Naren Bhattacharya *alias* Martin, after having consulted with the German Consulates at Batavia and Bangkok and having been ensured by them about the despatch of arms to India, decided to come back to his country to make an on-the-spot arrangement to take delivery of those arms. During his stay at Batavia, he once ran the risk of being arrested by the British spies but was saved in a mysterious way. While going to Hongkong from Batavia he came to know on board the ship that the British spies, in their desperate search for a particular Indian, were making a frantic effort by searching every passenger at the Hongkong port. By cleverly placating the captain Martin induced him to stop his ship at mid-ocean so that the former could board another Batavia-bound ship from Hongkong and thus had a safe passage to Batavia.⁴⁴

On June 15, 1915 Naren Bhattacharya *alias* Martin arrived at Madras at 8 O'clock in the morning

43. Mr. Denham's Note on the Financial Transactions of Harry & Sons, 41 Clive Street, Calcutta, and Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, dated August, 1915.

44. N. K. Kar's MSS. The incident was reported by Narendra Nath Bhattacharya to Nalini Kar and others during the former's visit to Kaptipada on his return to India by the middle of June, 1915. This is also corroborated by M. N. Roy's *Memoirs* (Bombay, 1964) in which the writer, with reference to his travelling on the China Sea (1915-16), states the following: "It was not always a pleasant experience, but at times quite exciting—being transported from one ship to another on the high seas in a life-boat, in order to avoid going to Hongkong" (p. 19).

with a draft of Rs. 18,000 "in the name of C. A. Martin, Esq., or bearer" in his hand. A passenger on the s. s. *Golconda*, he alighted from the ship on June 14 at Negapatam, and reached Madras next day by the Madras Mail and presented the draft in the Madras National Bank that very noon. As no letter of authorisation had yet reached the Bank, Mr. Griffiths of the said Bank refused to make cash payment to Martin on that day and asked him to wait till the next day when the s. s. *Golconda* was expected at Madras with the Straits Mails. But Martin declined to stay at Madras because of his other pre-occupations of a very urgent nature. Mr. Griffiths who had talked with the man called Martin for nearly half an hour gave the following description of him to Mr. Denham:

"Appeared to be almost certainly a Bengali; age about 23-25 years; height about 5'6" or 5'7"; fairly well-built and having a slim and wiry appearance; thin face and hair cut in European fashion; noticeably dark complexion; clean-shaven; good-looking; sharp features; talked English very well and appeared to be a thoroughly bright and intelligent person; wore European clothes similar to those worn in India in the hot weather".⁴⁵ Curiously enough, this man was at that time mistaken for Dhangopal Mukherjee, brother of Jadugopal Mukherjee, "on account of a remarkable case of photographic identification".

Naren Bhattacharya (*alias* Martin) sent a wire from Madras on June 15, 1915 under the pseudo name of White to Jadugopal Mukherjee at 62, Beniatola Street, Calcutta. The telegram ran thus: "Arrived here, starting tonight for Balasore, expect to see some one there; White".⁴⁶ Thus it is apparent that he left

45. Mr. Denham's Note on Further Enquiry *re*: the Draft cashed at the National Bank by A. N. Chatterjee and *re*: the Identity of C. A. Martin, dated September 2, 1915.

46. Letter of Mr. R. Clarke, Police Commissioner, Calcutta, to Mr. Kerr,

for Balasore on the same date, whence he went to Kaptipada, staying with Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee for two days, and then he returned to Balasore to spend the night at the Dak Bungalow and to catch the Calcutta-bound mail next morning.⁴⁷ This information is corroborated by the I. B. Records of the Government of West Bengal which state thus: "Local evidence was obtained of the arrival of a Bengali, whose description tallied with that of Martin from Madras on 17th June and of his having stayed at the Balasore Dak Bungalow, the room having been engaged by Saileswar, who had taken him on to the emporium. This man was undoubtedly both White the sender of the telegram to Jadugopal and Martin the bearer of the draft, which he failed to cash on 15th June at Madras".⁴⁸

Naren Bhattacharya brought from Batavia not merely a draft of Rs. 18,000 but also a large number of golden mohurs in a bag which he exchanged for cash mainly with the wife of K. P. Bose, the famous Bengali mathematician.⁴⁹ As to the draft we may observe that Naren Bhattacharya transferred it to Amarendra Nath Chatterjee who applied to the National Bank, Calcutta, on June 28 for the collection of the draft in his full signature and address. "The actual draft which was presented was obtained from Madras and is in the name of C. A. Martin, Esq., or bearer. It is drawn on the National Bank of India, Madras, by the Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappy

the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated September 9, 1915.

47. N. K. Kar's MSS. Nalini Kanta Kar as a resident at Kaptipada spent two days with Naren Bhattacharya at that place and then accompanied him to Balasore and spent the night with him at the Dak Bungalow.
48. The confidential police report on the *Connections With The Revolutionary Organisation In Bihar And Orissa 1906-16*, p. 48.
49. The MSS. of N. K. Kar and also the writer's interviews with him. Sri Kar himself saw those mohurs at Kaptipada and later learnt about their exchange (or at least a portion of them) from his cousin sister, the wife of the late K. P. Bose.

for the amount of Rs. 18,292-10-10 and is dated Medan, 8th June, 1915".⁵⁰ After the presentation of the draft in the Calcutta National Bank, it was sent to Madras for collection, and on the receipt of a warrant for payment at Calcutta on July 6, the money was ultimately paid to Amar Chatterjee on July 7, 1915. Mr. Denham reports: "The money was paid in fifteen notes of Rs. 1000 ($\frac{P.B.}{31}$ 37172-86); thirty notes of Rs. 100 ($\frac{F.V.}{62}$ 17815-244); twenty-four notes of Rs. 10 and Rs. 6-14-10 in cash".⁵¹

A fourth financial transaction was finalised between Calcutta and Batavia, but, unfortunately, the money could not be realized on account of the sudden raid by the police of Harry & Sons on August 7, 1915 and the consequent arrests of Hari Kumar Chakravarty, Makhan Lal Chakravarty and Shyam Sundar Bose. On the receipt of a wire from Harry & Sons, dated August 5, 1915 for 10,000 bags of sugar (in other words, Rs. 10,000), Mr. Chotirmull from Batavia telegraphically informed Harry & Sons on August 14, 1915 about the remittance of Rs. 9, 670 to the Chartered Bank, Calcutta. On the same date the Chartered Bank of Batavia sent another wire to the Chartered Bank, Calcutta, instructing the latter to pay

50. Mr. Denham's Note on Further Enquiry *re* the Draft encashed at the National Bank by A. N. Chatterjee, dated September 2, 1915.
51. Mr. Denham's Note on Financial Transactions, dated August, 1915. In *Bharater Swadhinatar Itihas*, a Bengali MSS. lying at present in the custody of his family at Uttarpara, Amarendra Nath Chatterjee has wrongly stated that he cashed the draft at the Allahabad Bank. Amar Chatterjee, however, writes that a portion of this money was paid by him to Sudhansu Bhusan Mukherjee who had hitherto spent a lot of money for revolutionary work through the *Sramajibi Samabaya* (p. 47). Besides, as Mr. Denham states: "It is significant that one of the thousand rupee notes paid to Amarendra Nath is undoubtedly that given by Benoy Datta to his brother Hari Anukul Datta of the Calcutta Camera Company".

to Harry & Sons "Ninety six hundred repees".⁵² Thus out of the total sum of Rs. 42,892 remitted by the Germans to the Bengal revolutionaries, Rs. 31,546 were actually received by them, and not Rs. 33,000 as stated in the *Sedition Committee Report* (p. 82).

THE *Maverick* EPISODE

The prospect of the arrival of a ship-load of arms to India purchased with German money and sent by German agents from America under orders from the German Foreign Office,⁵³ gave a new dimension to the Indian revolutionary activities.

Hans Tauscher of the Krupp Agency, New York, under instructions from Captain Franz Von Papen, the military attache of the German Embassy at Washington, purchased ten carloads of arms and ammunition in January, 1915, ostensibly for a Mexican port, but really for shipment to India.⁵⁴ These were shipped to the *Annie Larsen*, chartered from Olson & Mahony in San Francisco, at the Californian port of San Diego, "from which port she sailed on March 6,

52. See the list of telegrams found in Check Office, Singapore or Calcutta, during this period in File No. 921/1915 in the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal.
53. "Cablegrams sent by Alfred Zimmermann, the head of the German Foreign Office, which were transmitted to Count Von Luxburg, former German charge in Argentina, by the Swedish legation, and by him sent to Ambassador Von Bernstorff at Washington, D.C., directly connect Germany with the Hindu conspiracy and show that the entire project was financed by Von Bernstorff in this country on direct orders from Zimmermann"—Vide the bound volume containing clippings from various American newspapers of 1917-18 on Indo-German conspiracy, presented to the National Library, Calcutta, by Dr. Chandra Kanta Chakravarty (p. 24). As the clippings are not properly arranged, the exact names and dates of the newspapers are not easy to ascertain. The newspapers referred to, however, comprise *San Francisco Call*, *San Francisco Bulletin*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *New York World* etc.
54. Vide the article by Kalyan Kumar Banerjee on Indo-German Conspiracy published in the *Modern Review* for August, 1965. *The Sedition Committee Report*, 1918, puts the figures of arms and ammunition at "30,000 rifles with 400 rounds of ammunition each and 2 lakhs of rupees" (p. 82), while Mr. Kalyan Banerjee puts it at eight thousand rifles and four million cartridges.

1915, with P. H. Schluter as captain and W. A. Page as super-cargo".⁵⁵

The *Annie Larsen* "went first to Socorro Island, off Mexico, where she waited for about 3 weeks for the arrival of the *Maverick* to which it was to transfer her cargo for shipment to India". But running short of fresh water and provisions, the *Annie Larsen* wandered about until it reached after more than a month the port of Hoquiam, Washington, where it was seized by the U. S. Government with her cargo of arms and ammunition. The ship was then termed a "mystery ship".⁵⁶

Meanwhile, another ship, the *Maverick*, an obsolete oil tanker was purchased from the Standard Oil Company of San Francisco on March 16, 1915 by John L. Craig, a millionaire Long Beach ship-builder with German funds supplied to him by Fred Jebson. The ship was then taken to Long Beach, where it was repaired, \$27,000 being sent to Craig to pay for the repairs by the German Consulate at San Francisco. The next step was the organization of the *Maverick* Steamship Company by Ray Howard, a Los Angeles attorney, at the request of Jebson, who practically ran the German Consulate at San Francisco.⁵⁷

Having been provided with funds and supplies both for herself and the *Annie Larsen*, the *Maverick* sailed from San Pedro, near Los Angeles, in California on April 23, 1915 with a young American Starr-Hunt as its super-cargo.⁵⁸

"The personnel on board", writes Mr. Ker, "con-

55. For the version of Mr. Preston, the United States District Attorney in the San Francisco Trial of 1917-18, as reported in American newspapers see C. K. Chakravarty's bound volume (p. 29) in the National Library, Calcutta.

Mr. Kalyan Kumar Banerjee, however, writes in his essay that the *Annie Larsen* sailed from San Diego on March 8, 1915.

56. *Ibid*, p. 29—Version of Mr. Preston in the San Francisco Trial.

57. *Ibid*, p. 30.

58. K. Banerjee's article in the *Modern Review* for August, 1965.

sisted of 25 officers and crew, a passenger named B. Miller who said he was a Swedish engineer but appeared to be a German, and five natives of India who called themselves Persians and were signed on as waiters". According to Starr-Hunt, who received instructions from Fred Jebson, the master mind behind the *Maverick* plot and who himself typed them in German, the *Maverick* was to steam from San Pedro via San Jose del Cabo to Socorro Island where it was to receive the arms and ammunition from the *Annie Larsen* and then to proceed to Anjer, Java, with its cargo of arms.

"The rifles, machine guns and other arms were to be placed in an empty oil tank and flooded over with oil. The ammunition was to be placed in an empty tank, but not flooded unless the *Maverick* was overhauled by an enemy cruiser. In the event of being stopped by enemy cruisers and the cargo discovered the bilges of the steamer were to be opened and the vessel sunk". At Anjer, as Starr-Hunt states, a small boat flying a certain signal outlined in the instructions would meet the *Maverick* and would govern the future movement of the ship and the disposition of the cargo. Accordingly, messages were transmitted to Batavia, Manila and Honolulu. But if the *Maverick* failed to meet its guide at this stage, it was to proceed to Bangkok where a German pilot would come aboard in a small boat and take charge of the steamer and her cargo.⁵⁹

But, unfortunately, at Socorro Island the *Maverick* "learned from 2 castaway sailors of the schooner Emma" of the plight of the *Annie Larsen* and its leaving the Mexican coast "thirteen days before". The captain of the *Maverick* "received a note to the same effect, left for him by the supercargo of the *Annie Larsen*, asking him to await her return".⁶⁰ Accordingly,

59. Evidence of Starr-Hunt in the San Francisco Trial, as reported in American newspapers of 1917-18.—Vide the bound volume of C. K. Chakravarty (p. 51).

60. J. C. Ker: *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917.*

the *Maverick* waited for about a month in vain in expectation of meeting the *Annie Larsen*, then proceeded to Hilo, Hawii, under instructions from Jebson's office⁶¹ after having destroyed all the revolutionary literature it carried in the engine room. The *Maverick* reached Hilo about June 14, 1915 and "received from the captain of a German ship orders to proceed to Johnson Island, a remote spot of South-West of Hawii, and there await the *Annie Larsen*". But as the plot leaked out in the local press, it appears that the original plan was abandoned at this point, and after a stay of a fortnight the *Maverick* was ordered to proceed on her voyage to Anjer, Java, touching at Johnson Island as arranged, but without any hope of meeting the *Annie Larsen*.⁶² The *Maverick* reached Java on July 20, 1915, lay for some time outside Tandjong Priole, Batavian harbour, in July, 1915 until it roused suspicion and it was seized by the Dutch warships.

PREPARATION FOR THE RISING

According to official plan, the *Maverick* was to ship off the expected arms and ammunition at the Indian port of Karachi (now in West Pakistan), but thanks to Narendra Nath Bhattacharya's diplomatic bargain with Theodore Helfferich at Batavia, it was arranged to unload the cargo at Raimangal in Bengal which was a very suitable site for the aforesaid transaction. "The Commander-in-Chief of the China Station", as the Intelligence Branch Records of the

61. Miss Sue Clark, Secretary of Fred Jebson, was recalled as a witness in the San Francisco Trial. "She testified that when Captain H. C. Nelson telephoned from San Diego to Jebson's office asking for instructions for the *Maverick* after the return from Socorro Islands, where it had failed to meet the *Annie Larsen*, she went to E. H. Von Schack, German Vice-Consul for instructions, Jebson having left the city.

"Von Schack, she stated, told her to tell Captain Nelson to go to Hilo, where he would receive further orders"—Vide C. K. Chakravarty's bound volume, p. 24.

62. J. C. Ker: *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917*.

Government of West Bengal affirm, "has sent up from Singapore a reproduction of the tracing of the mouths of the Hooghly found on the German Secret Service Agent arrested at Singapore. This tracing shows the Sundarbans from the Cuttack coast practically to the Megna and gives the position of Calcutta and the railways along the Cuttack coast and to Diamond Harbour and Canning. On the original tracing were found two pin pricks. Of these one marked the North point of the island which we now know as 'Raimangal Island', and the other the North point of Dalhousie Island in the Matla River".⁶³

This information gathered from Singapore was corroborated by the Batavian information also, on the basis of which Mr. Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Government of India, wrote as follows on July 31, 1915: "I yesterday by means of a cipher telegram to Denham informed him and the Calcutta authorities that our information from Batavia was to the effect that the arms were to be landed at a point in the Sundarbans, some 60 or 70 miles from Canning Town".⁶⁴

Thus the Bengal revolutionaries selected Raimangal, a place both navigable and unprotected, for landing the cargo of arms carried by the *Maverick* in India, and persuaded the Germans at Batavia to act accordingly mainly through the mediation of Martin *alias* Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. When every preparation was completed at Batavia, two telegrams were despatched by Atmaram from Bangkok, dated June 13 and June 17, 1915, addressed to B. K. Roy at 159 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, and to Bholā Nath Chatterjee at 62,

63. The File No. 921/1915 of the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal.

64. The letter of Mr. Cleveland, Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi, to Mr. Hughes-Buller, the Inspector General of Police, Calcutta, dated Simla, July 31, 1915.

Beniatola Street, Calcutta, respectively. The telegrams were worded thus:

- (1) "Goods already despatched. Reach in 10 or 15 days" and
- (2) "Ivory and sandalwood already despatched. Reach in 10 days".⁶⁵

On the receipt of this hopeful message from Bangkok the Bengal revolutionaries were up and doing in making the fullest use of the opportunities available. Meanwhile, Naren Bhattacharya also had reached Calcutta (June, 1915) to deliver the message personally and to play his assigned role in the contemplated rising with the help of German arms. As Jyotin Mukherjee was then in his Kaptipada hideout, the general plan of the rising was framed by Jadugopal Mukherjee in collaboration with Naren Bhattacharya, who on their turn were in constant communication with Jyotin Mukherjee for advice and direction. Kumud Nath Mukherjee, a Bangkok pleader, was also sent to Calcutta by the *Ghadr* conspirators in Siam, to convey a message as well as a purse. According to Mr. Ker, he set out on June 18, 1915 "with a sum of 2,200 ticals (about £165) supplied by Shiv Dayal Kapur" and arrived at Calcutta on July 3, 1915. He met the leaders including Jadugopal Mukherjee and Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, and left Calcutta for Batavia *en route* to Bangkok on July 24, 1915 to deliver to Helfferich "a message explaining the wants of the Indian party in the way of rifles and trained German help".⁶⁶

65. The File No. 921/1915 of the I. B. Records, Govt. of West Bengal.

66. J. C. Ker: *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917*. Kumud Nath Mukherjee was provided with a hundred-rupee note as his passage money out of the Batavian draft encashed by Amarendra Nath Chatterjee. He had met Martin at Batavia before he left for Bangkok. According to Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee, Kumud Nath sent a copy of the *Penang Times* describing the tragedy of the *Maverick* to the Calcutta leaders. The relevant cutting from this paper, sent by Jadugopal to Jyotin Mukherjee at Kaptipada was discovered by the Police during their search at the Kaptipada house of Jyotin Mukherjee.¹

The general plan of upsurge followed the line of guerilla warfare and comprised the following items :

(1) Rising would take place in the villages where independence would be declared and tri-coloured flags hoisted.

(2) Starting from the villages, off Balasore, the Rising would proceed towards the coast of the Bay of Bengal and direct its attack on the military barracks at the Chandipur village.

(3) Looting of the armoury at Chakradharpur was the next target. For this a shop had already been opened at Chakradharpur by Bholā Nath Chatterjee under Jadugopal's direction.

(4) After inciting the Kols into revolt in the Singhbhum district, the Rising would proceed towards Midnapore and Birbhum districts where Satis Chakravarty was stationed to blow off the bridge on the Ajay river.

(5) The blowing off of the B. N. Railway was the next item for which Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee was entrusted.

(6) To attack the Fort William and to unfurl there the tri-coloured flag of "Free India" was perhaps the most important object of the Rising.⁶⁷

In the preparatory stage of the armed rising a centre was opened at Khiderpore through the instrumentality of Durgacharan Bose and Ashutosh Ghose, both being school masters of Khiderpore. In that centre light-signalling, flag-signalling, telegraphy, code-making etc. were regularly practised for some time.⁶⁸ Even tri-coloured flags (Green, White and Yellow) and Khaki uniforms (shorts and shirts) were kept ready

67. Jadugopal Mukherjee: *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti*, pp. 399-400. Also see the MSS of Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, p. 47.

68. N. K. Kar's MSS and the writer's interview with Jadugopal Mukherjee.

for the purpose. Dynamites were also secured for blowing off railway bridges.⁶⁹

The *Sedition Committee Report* of 1918 also confirms the above plan of revolution outlined by the leaders. The Report states the following: "They considered that they were numerically strong enough to deal with the troops in Bengal, but they feared reinforcements from outside. With this idea in view they decided to hold up the three main railways into Bengal by blowing up the principal bridges. Jatindra was to deal with the Madras railway from Balasore, Bholanath Chatterjee was sent to Chakradharpur to take charge of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, while Satis Chakravarty was to go to Ajay and blow up the bridge on the East Indian Railway. Naren Chaudhuri and Phanindra Chakravarty were told off to go to Hatia where a force was to collect, first, to obtain control of the Eastern Bengal districts, and then to march on to Calcutta. The Calcutta party, under Naren Bhattacharji and Bipin Ganguli, were first to take possession of all the arms and arsenals around Calcutta, then to take Fort William, and afterwards to sack the town of Calcutta" (pp. 82-83).

Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee as the guiding spirit of the movement on the Bengal front laid special emphasis on the storming of the Fort William which stood as the symbol of alien domination. Although not unaware of the weaknesses of the Indian revolutionary movement, yet he was hopeful that the revolutionary upsurge once started would take its own course if there was a sustaining vitality in the movement.⁷⁰

69. According to Sri Jatindra Lochan Mitra, who was entrusted with the responsibility of making uniforms, about 1000 *Khaki* uniforms were got ready and distributed in four centres. viz., Beadon Row, Abinas Mitra Lane, Khiderpore and Abinas Kabiraj Street. Benoy Datta was in charge of making flags.

70. Such feelings were expressed by Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee to Narendra Nath Bhattacharya who visited Kaptipada from Calcutta twice during this period (June-July 1915), once accom-

In order to make a successful raid on the Fort William a preliminary attempt was made to seduce the troops at the Fort. One Mansha Singh was contacted for the purpose as mentioned by Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee. A corroboration of this point is also provided in contemporary police reports an extract from which is quoted below:

“An interesting off-shoot of the gun-running conspiracy was discovered in connection with this place, viz., an attempt to seduce sepoy of the Rajputs, then stationed at Fort William. Mansha Singh, an Indian officer of this regiment, was accosted by one Bharat Singh, who worked in a shop in Watganj Street, and was asked to join in a plot against the British Raj. Mansha Singh went to Khiderpore and was introduced to two Bengalis in an empty shop and was asked to go up to the Punjab and lecture to and seduce troops up there and to let them know about the expected arrival of arms and ammunition. Under instructions from his superiors to whom he reported this incident, this officer kept up the connection and introduced a havildar as a trustworthy fellow, and himself actually went up-country as a lecturer.”⁷¹

Next, three places were selected for the distribution of smuggled arms after they would be received at Raimangal in the Sundarbans. These were Hatia (in Sandwip), Calcutta, and Balasore. From Hatia arms would be distributed in East Bengal where risings would be organized in collaboration with the Dacca Anusilan men; from Calcutta, they would be distributed in West and North Bengal, and from Balasore in Orissa.

A group of men was then sent to the Sundarbans

panied by Jadugopal Mukherjee and again by Phanindra Nath Chakravarty, for discussion with Jyotindra Nath about the prospective Indian revolution.

71. The confidential booklet entitled *Connections With The Revolutionary Organization In Bihar & Orissa, 1906-1916* p. 62, Sec. 114.

where Jadugopal Mukherjee with the help of a local Zemindar arranged to unload the *Maverick*. These men included Aswini Lal Roy, Hari Kumar Chakravarty, Dr. Jatindra Nath Ghosal, Satis Chakravarty and Raja Jatin Roy of Nurnagar (Khulna). But with all this preparation the contemplated rising could not be carried through. In July, 1915 the revolutionaries in Calcutta received the disappointing news about the *Maverick* plot. It meant frustration of the very scheme of the second Indian revolution. But this was not the whole of the story. What added poignancy to the tragedy was the failure of the American Schooner *Henry S* to carry arms from Manila to Bengal under instruction from Heramba Lal Gupta who was in Chicago at that time. The Schooner with two German-Americans, Wehde and Boehm, on board cleared from Manila about July 14, 1915 with a cargo of 5000 revolvers but was detected by the Customs authorities whereupon it had to surrender the cargo. It had been arranged that the *Henry S* would first go to Bangkok where "500 revolvers were to be taken off" for use in the prospective revolt in the Siam-Burma border, and proceed with the rest towards Chittagong. Dharendra Nath Sen, an Indian revolutionary, was on board this Schooner. The principal object of H. L. Gupta was to arrange military training of Indians in Burma by Boehm who was a military man, and for this he arranged for the payment of \$1500 to him by the German Consulate in America.⁷²

A further tragedy befell the Bengal revolutionaries when on August 7, 1915 the office of Harry & Sons at 41 Clive Street, Calcutta, was raided by the Police, resulting in the arrest of Hari Kumar Chakravarty as well as of his brother and his clerk. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya decided to revisit Java to try again

72. The statement of George Paul Boehm, dated November 17, 1915. Also see Ker's *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917*.

the fortune of the Bengal revolutionaries and sailed from India (August 15, 1915) accompanied by Phanindra Nath Chakravarty *alias* William Arthur Payne.⁷³ Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee was not much in favour of this move at this stage, for he believed that "the country's salvation is not from without but from within".⁷⁴ But this did not mean that he was blind to the importance of foreign assistance in the promotion of India's Independence. What he really wanted to drive home was the great truth that the building up of a big internal organization commensurate with the great task ahead was the first essential preliminary step to success. The organizational weaknesses of the Bengal revolutionaries did not pass unnoticed by the British Government of India whose attitude to the revolutionary organization is summed up in the following comment of Mr. Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Delhi:

73. This time Narendra Nath Bhattacharya received cold reception both from Theodore Helfferich of the Behn Meyers Company and the German Consul at Batavia. He therefore sent Phani Chakravarty to Shanghai to meet the German Consul-General, but his mission ended in failure due to his arrest there. Naren Bhattacharya, after trying his luck in the Far East for nearly a year went to San Francisco in June, 1916, about which the local *Daily News*, published from San Francisco, dated June 15, 1916, contained the following paragraph:

"When the Nippon Maru touched port today from Hongkong it carried a man of mystery. He is Chas. A. Martin, who despite his name is a Hindu and a high-caste Brahmin. Martin declared that he boarded the boat at a French-Indian port and that he is *en route* to Paris to study. Passengers however, declared that he did not board the ship at such a point, and believe him to be either a revolutionary leader or an emissary of the British Government."

M. N. Roy, referring to his landing at San Francisco in the summer of 1916, writes the following: "The next morning, newspapers carried the banner headline; 'Mysterious Alien Reaches America—Famous Brahmin Revolutionary or Dangerous German Spy'. I decamped from the hotel after a rush breakfast in my room and made for the nearby town of Palo Alto, the seat of the University of Stanford. There I made the acquaintance of Dhangopal Mukherjee who... advised me to wipe out the past and begin as a new man. Accordingly, the same evening, M. N. Roy was born in the campus of Stanford University" (*Memoirs*, p. 22).

74. N. K. Kar's MSS.

“The plan of sending arms, & c. to India must seem sound to the Germans although we probably see the practical difficulties against their being used against us more clearly than they do. The Indian revolutionaries with their tall talk would probably assure the Germans that if the arms could only be got near India they would do the rest and on this promise the Germans might think the scheme good enough. I do not wish to under-rate the Germans’ sense but they have often shown that they understand the Indians not so well as we do”.⁷⁵

BALASORE FIGHT

The most thrilling episode of the attempted Indian rising centred round the Balasore fight in which Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee faced death like a true hero. The police got clues about Jyotindra Nath’s stay at Kaptipada in course of the raid of Harry and Sons in Calcutta (August 7, 1915), revealing to them the existence of Universal Emporium at Balasore. This together with the decipher of the Madras telegram of Narendra Nath Bhattacharya to Jadugopal Mukherjee in early September, 1915 prompted the police to make a search of the Universal Emporium on September 5, 1915 under the command of Messrs Tegart, Denham and Bird. In course of this search “a suspicious letter was found on the floor signed ‘Gopal’ which Sailes professed to know nothing about, whereas enquiry showed that Gopal Babu was well-known in the locality as a friend of his who frequently stayed at his shop and that Sailes had also visited Gopal at Kaptipada in the hills of Mourbhanj State 35 miles from Balasore where he had land. Denham and Bird accompanied by the Collector of Balasore went to Kaptipada on the 6th instant and saw the Diwan of the State who showed them Gopal Babu’s house about a mile from Kaptipada.

75. The I. B. Records of the Government of West Bengal. F. N. 921/1915.

The house was built round three sides of a courtyard, the fourth side being composed of stakes firmly driven into the ground forming a high fence. A tree in the courtyard showed that it had been used as a target presumably for revolver shooting and there was a hole in the mud wall made by a bullet which had missed the tree. A thorough search of the house was made and all the papers were seized in the presence of the local Sub-Divisional Officer and the State Police".⁷⁶

Before we go into the details of the Kaptipada search and the results ensuing from it, it is worth while to have a clear idea of what Kaptipada was in relation to the revolutionaries. Kedar Nath Chakravarty, father of Manindra Nath Chakravarty, was a Police Inspector and also a Diwan of Kaptipada, an estate under the bigger State of Mourbhanj. Some time afterwards Kedar Nath settled down at the village of Mahuldiha which he had received from the Raja of Kaptipada as "lakhiraj" previous to his dismissal from service in 1903. On the death of Kedar Nath (1911), his only son Manindra Nath inherited his father's property and began to live at Mahuldiha. About 1908 Devi Prasad Roy *alias* Khuro, an agent of the Hindusthan Insurance Co., came to that place along with "one or two companions" to Mourbhanj and saw its Raja Ram Bhanj, son-in-law of Keshab Chandra Sen, for securing the lease of some land ostensibly for business purposes (but really to provide shelter to the revolutionaries), and the lease of the Sendei jungles in Kaptipada was talked of without much progress. Then Devi Prasad, connected with Manindra Nath as an intimate friend of his brother Girindra Nath and also belonging to the same village Dadpur, Nadia, went to Mahuldiha and put up with Manindra Nath for a few

76. Letter of R. Clarke, Police Commissioner, Calcutta, to Mr. Kerr, the Chief Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, dated September 9, 1915.

days before he left. It was here that Nalini Kanta Kar, an absconder after Samsul Alum's murder, was sent with Gunin Ghose in 1910.⁷⁷

Mahuldiha for its suitability for hiding and secret activities was again selected for absconder Jyotin Mukherjee who lived there along with Chittapriya from March, 1915, reinforced by Manoranjan and Niren in April, and by Jyotish Pal in August, 1915. Nalini Kanta Kar *alias* Gopal Roy, a supervising agent for Jyotindra Nath, also lived at Mahuldiha throughout the period save the few days he had to spend at Balasore or Calcutta. About the settlement of Jyotindra Nath at Mahuldiha the Police Reports state the following:

“Gopal Chandra Roy, however, turned up again in Mahuldiha in February, 1915 (actually March, 1915), bringing with him a man he introduced as Bhabataran Roy of Calcutta, and said they wanted to open a grocer's shop and cultivate land. Money was advanced to Manindra for the erection of a house on land they arranged to lease from him, in the bogus name of one Keshab Chandra Mukherjee. They then left (actually Bhabataran only left) the place, returning a fortnight later with one Ramananda Swami, who settled down there. Subsequently other houses were built and four other men passing under the names of Kalidas Roy, Sambhu Roy, Jogananda Roy and Probodh Roy came and settled there also. They all professed to be karmacharyas of Keshab Chandra Mukherjee, who, they alleged, had extensive business in London, which being dull on account of the war, had resulted in their being sent out to open shops and cultivate land at Kaptipada and other places, on an extensive scale. They purchased and took lease of land

77. N. K. Kar's MSS. It is here recorded that after he had spent a few months at Mahuldiha, he was there joined by Satis Sarkar. Nalini Kanta returned to Calcutta as an absconder probably at the end of 1910, while Satis Sarkar stayed on there until the withdrawal of the warrant in 1911.

in the neighbouring villages and also at Taldiha, 20 miles off. They were frequently visited by Gopal Roy, Bhabataran and one Ananda* Mohan Roy, the first-named apparently supplying the money. Very little cultivation was done, most of the time being spent in wrestling and shooting".⁷⁸

The same picture has also been presented to us by Sri Nalini Kanta Kar who further states that, after the news of the police raid at Harry & Sons had been flashed in the Calcutta newspapers, the Mahuldiha absconders, apprehending police search at Kaptipada, at once decided to brave the situation manfully and to die, if need be, by offering armed resistance to the enemies. They began patrolling the pathways of the village day and night and soon sent Nirendra and Jyotish to the second centre at Taldiha to lessen the concentration at the Mahuldiha camp.

On the night of September 6, 1915, Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee was informed by a local man of the approaching sound of elephants with the police party on their back towards the Kaptipada Dak Bungalow. Jyotin Mukherjee in a flash clearly saw through the whole game and hurriedly left with Chittapriya and Manoranjan for Taldiha that very night, thus eluding the grasp of the police party which raided his house the very next morning. Along with his followers he, however, returned to his Kaptipada house at night under cover of darkness, received some money from Manindra Nath,⁷⁹ and then proceeded to the Balasore

78. Vide the confidential police report entitled *Connections With The Revolutionary Organisation In Bihar & Orissa, 1906-16*, p. 52, Sec. 94. Obviously Jyotin Mukherjee adopted the name of Ramananda Swami, and Chittapriya, Nirendra, Manoranjan, and Jyotish assumed respectively the *aliases* of Kalidas, Sambhu, Jogananda and Probodh. Bhabataran and Ananda Roy were no other than Naren Bhattacharya and Phani Chakravarty respectively.

79. During this time as all funds had been exhausted, Nalini Kar was sent by Jyotin Mukherjee from Kaptipada to Calcutta to bring back some money. This incident took place about a week before the event of September 9, 1915.

station with the fixed resolve to die fighting with the enemies if the occasion so demanded. On reaching the station Jyotindra Nath and his party, however, changed their plan. They left the railway station and moved into a village close by. Tired, weary and exhausted, they crossed the river *Buri Balam* on the morning of September 9, 1915 with the help of a local man. The appearance of strange faces in the village naturally roused suspicion among the villagers who after gathering together put questions to them regarding their identity and began to chase them. At this stage the absconding party "produced revolvers and threatened the crowd, which fell back, but continued to follow the gang at a safe distance. One of the party then turned and fired two or three shots. As nothing happened, two of the bolder villagers drew closer, whereupon four of the party fired a volley killing the foremost and severely wounding the other". Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee and his party then moved away fast, crossed another small rivulet by swimming, and ultimately took defensive position behind a high ground in a paddy field, he Chasa-Khand or the scene of the historic Balasore fight.

Meanwhile intimation had been sent on behalf of the villagers to the police officials at Balasore, and on getting the information midway, one road-patrol Sub-Inspector, Chintamani Sahu by name, quickly appeared on the scene and mixed with the crowd in ragged dress as if he was a beggar, and by crossing the rivulet he followed the absconders practically unnoticed. It was this man who showed the signal to the paddy field to the advancing police party from Balasore. "The District Magistrate arrived at the spot shortly after and then a party of armed police and the Sergeant of the Army Proof Department. The Sub-Inspector with the villagers had put up a white flag as a signal and thus the armed party soon located their quarry. They

marched out in open order across the paddy field, and were immediately fired on by the fugitives and then a regular fight ensued for some 15 or 20 minutes, at the end of which two of the Bengalis stood up in surrender . . . it was found that one of them had been shot dead and two others were seriously wounded. Three Mauser pistols and an automatic Mauser pistol and a quantity of cartridges were recovered from them".⁸⁰ A more direct and detailed report of the actual fight is to be found in the following D. O. sent by the District Magistrate Kilby to the Police Commissioner at Calcutta:

"We have bagged the five Bengalis we were after. About 2 or 2-30 this afternoon Khuda Bux arrived at my Bungalow and told me that the five Bengalis had been spotted, that they had killed one villager and wounded another. We promptly got hold of some motor cars and proceeded to the scene of action. Sergeant Rutherford of the Proof Department went with us. We got 'khubar' of the Bengalis after we had crossed the River. We eventually found them ensconced in a small patch of jungle in the middle of a paddy field. I armed Rutherford with my volunteer rifle and took a sporting 303 myself and with armed constables we advanced in extended order. The Bengalis fired at us with Mauser pistols, but luckily hit no one. We then crawled through the paddy and fired at them. Rutherford did great execution, the constable also fired. After firing on both sides had gone on for some time, two men jumped up out of the bushes and held up their hands. We went up and found that one

80. Vide the confidential police report entitled *Connections With The Revolutionary Organization In Bihar & Orissa, 1906-16* (p. 49, Sec. 88), from which some relevant passages have been quoted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in his *History Of The Freedom Movement In India*, Vol. II, pp. 442-443.

Also see Home (Poll.) Proceedings of the Government of India, Nos. 48-61, Part A, October, 1915 for Mr. Denham's and Mr. Ryland's Reports on the Balasore affray.

man had been shot dead and two others badly wounded. The wounded men have been taken to the Hospital and are being attended to by the Civil Surgeon, and are being watched by a Police guard to prevent communication with the outside world. The two unwounded men are in the thana lock-up under a charge of murder . . . One more point; while I had gone off to get beds to carry off the wounded, one of the accused tried to bribe a Head Constable to dig up a letter which the party had buried under a tree near a tank. Rutherford overheard this part of the conversation and told Khuda Bux, who told the Head Constable to agree. Search will be made for this letter. Will you communicate the contents of this to Denham and get him to come here at once".⁸¹ Needless to say, the man who died on the spot was Chittapriya, the wounded men brought to the Balasore hospital were Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee and Jyotish Pal, and the men put in the police lock-up on charge of murder were Manoranjan and Nirendra. Jyotindra Nath breathed his last in hospital on September 10, 1915, and Manoranjan and Niren faced death by hanging. Jyotish Pal who was under the sentence of transportation of life later turned mad and died in the Berhampore jail. The life's mission of Jyotindra Nath was to see the Bengalis fighting with arms with their enemies for the freedom of their soil, and his death in action put the divine seal on his mission. Great and magnificent in life, he appeared greater and more magnificent in death, standing out before his countrymen as the very symbol of the unconquerable spirit of Youth.

81. The D. O. dated September 9, 1915 from the Magistrate of Balasore to the Police Commissioner, Calcutta, as preserved in the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal. The police party comprised the District Magistrate of Balasore, the D. I. G. of Bihar. Sergeant Rutherford of the Proof Department of Chandipur, and Khuda Bux, the Police Commr.

FUNDS FOR THE ABSCONDERS

After the death of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee the leadership in the revolutionary camp was assumed by Jadugopal Mukherjee and Atul Krishna Ghose. Difficult days now came upon the revolutionaries most of whom were put under arrest either under the Defence of India Act or deported under Regulation III of 1818 or thrown out of their homes as political absconders (1915-16). At this critical juncture in the nation's life that French colony in Bengal, Chandernagore, which was only a few miles off from Calcutta, offered a safe shelter to the political exiles which, in the words of Mr. Tegart, "provides, in its present state, an Alsatia for revolutionary fugitives and is an active centre of plots directed towards the subversion of British rule in India".⁸²

Several houses were hired at Chandernagore at this stage for the safe dwelling of the revolutionaries, and in order to give the semblance of family life to these houses two *pishimas* were also manufactured. They were called *Chota Pishima* and *Bara Pishima* of the revolutionaries; the former was related to Amarendra Nath Chatterjee while the latter belonged to the village of Bhola Nath Chatterjee, and both of them dedicated themselves to the revolutionary cause. Ever since 1912 the Anusilan Samiti had been in constant contact with Chandernagore, and during this period some of their workers, including Amrita Lal Sarkar, began to live in that French colony. After Nalini Kanta Ghose's flight from the Dalanda House (now 247 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta) along with Probodh Biswas on December 23, 1916 and their refuge at Chandernagore, a sincere attempt was made by the revolutionaries for

82. Mr. Tegart's lengthy note (pp. 18) on *The Situation In Chandernagore*, dated March 10, 1917. This note was written by Mr. Tegart after his Chandernagore search conducted on December 1, 1916.

the amalgamation of the Anusilan Samiti with the Western Bengal Party of Tegart's description. Thanks to Jadugopal Mukherjee and Satis Chakravarty, on the one hand, and Nalini Kanta Ghose and Vinayak Rao Kaple, on the other, a practical amalgamation between the Eastern and Western Bengal parties was accomplished, and the united front thus forged did not break up until the declaration of amnesty in December, 1919.⁸³

During this period the revolutionaries of Bengal were put to severe financial strain mainly because of the stoppage of the flow of German purse and the close-down of the *Sramajibi Samabaya* in September, 1915. As the number of absconders increased, the shortage of funds even for their bare maintenance became more palpable, thus creating a new problem for the revolutionaries. In the background of this acute financial crisis the Shibpur dacoity in the Nadia district (September 30, 1915) was planned and executed under the leadership of Narendra Nath Ghose Choudhury of the Barisal party in collaboration with the North Bengal group. The site was selected by Naren Sarkar of North Bengal, and the 'action' was carried out by a group of men including Satin Sen, Bejoy Mitra, Radhika Ganguli, Sanukul Chatterjee, Satyen Bose, Bhupen Ghose, Suren Biswas, Nikhil Guha Roy (Idilpur), Haren Kavyatirtha and others. The party reached their destination at dead of night by rowing a big boat from Krishnagore, but after successful operation in the house of one Krista Biswas while they were escaping with their booty, they were chased by the villagers at day break, which resulted in their encounter with the police and the subsequent arrests of a number of them including Naren Ghose Choudhury.⁸⁴ Accord-

83. Jadugopal Mukherjee: *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti*, p. 434.

84. The unpublished *Smriti-Katha* of Sri Manoranjan Gupta. Sri Gupta was in the intimate knowledge of the plan of the 'dacoity'

ing to the Nixon Report, a sum of Rs. 20,700 was looted on this occasion by the *bhadralog* dacoits who, armed with guns and Mausers, killed one constable and three persons, while wounding eleven more. But, unfortunately, the booty did not come to any use of the revolutionaries as it had to be hidden underground during their escape and could not later be recovered by them. Besides this, three important political dacoities were committed in Calcutta in 1915 by the Barisal, Sylhet and Mymensingh revolutionary groups in which Manoranjan Gupta, Deben Choudhury, and Sudhin Bose and Durga Prasanna Roy took prominent part respectively. The dacoities above mentioned refer to the raids conducted (1) at 16 Kansaripara Road, Bhowanipore, on November 6, 1915, the loot amounting to Rs. 15,000; (2) at 80/1 Cornwallis Street, on November 17, 1915, the loot amounting to Rs. 800; and (3) at the Corporation Street on December 2, 1915, the loot amounting to Rs. 25,000.⁸⁵

Excepting the first which was committed at midnight, the second and the third dacoities were taxi-raids of the Garden Reach and Beliaghata type conducted in broad day-light. Apart from these incidents, two important murders were also committed by these revolutionary groups in Calcutta. The first relates to the murder of Sub-Inspector Girindra Nath Banerjee while sitting in a conference with Satis Banerjee and two others at 99, Masjidbari Street, on October 21, 1915, and the second to that of Sub-Inspector Madhusudan Bhattacharya at College Street, opposite to the Calcutta Medical College, on January 16, 1916. In connection with the murder of Girindra Nath

and was awaiting the return of some of the members of the party at a house at Nabadwip selected for the purpose where Tribeni Sur was living with his family.

85. *Index To Notes On Outrages*, Vol. VIII, compiled by Mr. J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., in 1917. Also see the I.B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal, File No. 755/17, for the details of the incidents.

Banerjee it requires to be noted that the real target of the revolutionaries was Inspector Satis Banerjee who had then been investigating the Shibpur dacoity case and who, like Basanta Chatterjee, had already earned notoriety to the revolutionaries. These incidents demonstrate beyond doubt that even the failures of Balasore and Shibpur had not been able to extinguish the revolutionary fire in Bengal.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ABSCONDERS

Since September, 1915, with new responsibilities thrust upon the shoulders of the revolutionaries, Atul Krishna Ghose set himself earnestly to the work of party re-organization and Jadugopal Mukherjee strenuously strove to forge renewed links with the foreign countries. As no news from Martin and Payne (i.e., Naren Bhattacharya and Phani Chakravarty) was forthcoming, Jadugopal Mukherjee during his abscondage at Chandernagore (September, 1915-January, 1916) sent Bhola Nath Chatterjee and Benoy Bhusan Datta as emissaries with code names and signals to the neutral Portuguese settlement at Goa (December 17, 1915) to maintain communication with Naren Bhattacharya then at Batavia. Another messenger Bhupati Majumdar was also sent for America via Singapore (December, 1915) to establish contact with the Indian revolutionaries in the U.S.A.⁸⁶ In 1916,

86. The interception by the British Government of a code-message from Goa to Batavia, dated December 27, 1915, containing the words "How doing. No news. Very anxious. B. Chatterton", led to the arrests of Benoy Datta and Bhola Chatterjee at Panjim. With reference to this Mr. J. C. Ker, the P. A. to the Director of Criminal Intelligence for many years, has given us the following information: "Chatterjee was caught in the act of trying to throw out through the tiles at the back of the house a bundle of papers which included a draft of the telegram and a note of what it cost... Chatterjee and Dutt made statements admitting their part in the German plot; the statement of the former was only a brief admission and he promised to give further details, but before doing so, on the night of January 27th, 1916, he committed suicide in the Poona jail where he was confined."

Sailen Ghose, another member of the Western Bengal Party, fled to America after a warrant of arrest had been issued against him. While living in that country he cultivated friendship with Miss Agnes Smedley, that American lady who for her active support to the cause of Indian revolution had to suffer imprisonment for four years at the hands of the American Government. According to the report published in the *New York World* (March 19, 1918), Sailen Ghose and Miss Smedley "are said to have sent messages to Trotzky and to the Brazilian Government, urging support for a republic in India". "In the appeal to Trotzky", reported the said newspaper, "written on the diplomatic papers of the India Nationalist Party, dated Tagore Castle, Calcutta, December 12, 1917, was this: 'The hand of British imperialism is long enough to have several scores of Indian revolutionists arrested in the United States on the pretext of violating the neutrality of the United States of America by starting a military enterprise from the United States of America to overthrow British rule in India.

'These Indian revolutionists are threatened with deportation from the United States of America so that British imperialism will have a fair chance of taking vengeance on its enemies by sending them to the gallows'."

Sailen Ghose made common cause also with the Irish Nationalist leader Eamon De Valera who had fled to the U.S.A. after escaping from Lincoln Jail in February, 1919 and raised a loan of six million dollars for Irish Republican Government. He also joined hands with George Freeman, that Irish-American gentleman working for many years for the *Gaelic American* and *Free Hindusthan*⁸⁷, and began to utilise

Sri Bhupati Majumdar, after he had left Singapore, was also arrested on the Pacific near the Indonesian Islands.

87. The Home Political Proceedings of the Govt. of India, February

the Irish Nationalist journal (the *Gaelic American*) for political propoganda in favour of Indian Independence.⁸⁸

After the arrests of Benoy Bhusan Datta and Bhola Nath Chatterjee, a third messenger was sent by Jadugopal Mukherjee to the Far East to establish contact with Naren Bhattacharya in Java, and he was Santipada Mukherjee *alias* Niazullah Khan who came from Calcutta to China *via* Java in 1916. But the mounting difficulties before him "gradually wore him down and led him to throw up the sponge. Excepting Das and Mukherjee", writes Mr. Petrie, "the Far East was not visited during 1917 by any itinerant conspirator of the first rank".⁸⁹

During this period Indian revolutionaries in the Far East, Rash Behari Bose and Narendra Nath Bhattacharya in particular, made strenuous attempts at arranging fresh shipment of arms to India with the help of the German Consulates in this sector. About this move the *Sedition Committe Report* (pp. 84-85) writes the following:

"There is reason to believe that, when the scheme connected with the *Maverick* failed, the German Consul-General at Shanghai arranged to send two other ships with arms to the Bay of Bengal, one to Rai Mangal and the other to Balasore. The first was to carry 20,000 rifles, 8,000,000 cartridges, 2,000 pistols and hand grenades and explosives and two lakhs of rupees, the other was to carry 10,000 rifles, a million cartridges and grenades and explosives. 'Martin' however, pointed out to the German Consul at Batavia that Rai Mangal was no longer a safe landing-place and sug-

1916. No. 201: Correspondence from the India Office on the subject of the activities of Indian Revolutionaries in the U.S.A.

88. Jadugopal Mukherjee: *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti*, p. 430.

89. The Report on Indian Sedition in the Far East in 1917 by Mr. D. Petrie deputed as Intelligence Officer of the Govt. of India in the Far East in 1916. 'Das' here referred to is no other than Tarak Nath Das who had visited China and Japan in 1917.

gested Hatia was better. The proposed change of place was discussed with Helfferich and eventually the following plan was evolved:

“The steamer for Hatia was to come direct from Shanghai and arrive about the end of December. The ship for Balasore was to be a German steamer lying in a Dutch port and was to pick up a cargo at sea. A third steamer, also a war-bound German vessel, was to sail to the Andamans shipping a cargo of arms at sea and raid Port Blair, pick up anarchists, convicts and men of the mutinous Singapore regiment, who it was thought were interned there, and then proceed to Rangoon and raid it. To assist the conspirators in Bengal a Chinaman was sent by Helfferich with 66,000 guilders and a letter to be delivered to a Bengali at Penang or to one of two addresses in Calcutta: he never delivered his message for he was arrested at Singapore with the money on his person.”

From the available sources it appears that while the venture of the first two ships was connected with the work of Rash Behari Bose, the third move was associated with that of Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. In 1943 Rash Behari in his statement entitled *Our Struggle* recalled his earlier revolutionary activities and stated: “With the aid of Germany I was able to send home two ship-loads of arms and ammunition but unfortunately they were confiscated before reaching India”. It has already been shown (pp. 141-42) that Rash Behari came into close touch with the German Consul-General at Shanghai and lived in the house of a German named Neilson, and that in collaboration with Neilson he sent two Chinese to India with arms, who were, however, arrested in October, 1915. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya did not go to Shanghai at this stage as revealed in his *Memoirs*. But during his second trip to Java (August, 1915) he made fresh attempts to send ships to India *via* the Andamans, about which his own

version was this: "I made yet another attempt to bring help overseas from Indonesia. The plan was to use the German ships interned in a port at the northern tip of Sumatra, to storm the Andaman Islands and free and arm the prisoners there, and land the army of liberation on the Orissa coast".⁹⁰

These efforts did not, however, materialise. Having failed in his mission, Martin tried to send arms through overland routes into Assam and even despatched an emissary from Japan, Bhupati Ghose by name, who communicated the message to Jadugopal Mukherjee at Mymensingh in 1916. Bhupati Ghose also carried some message from Rash Behari Bose in Japan.⁹¹ It should also be noted in this connection that during 1915-16 political absconders like Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, Atul Krishna Ghose, Jadugopal Mukherjee, Nalini Kanta Kar, Satis Chakravarty, Bejoy Chakravarty *alias* Vidyabinode, Manmatha Nath Biswas etc. had all assembled by this time in Chandernagore, which then grew into the greatest stronghold of the revolutionaries for their future activities. Following the police search in Chandernagore in February, 1916 Jadugopal Mukherjee and Nalini Kanta Kar left that place, and having toured through Calcutta, Barisal, Mymensingh and Dacca (February-December, 1916) they went along with Kamini Mohan Ghose (father of Surendra Mohan Ghose) and a few young men of Mymensingh, viz., Satis Thakur, Nagen Chakravarty, Khitish Bose, Khitish Choudhury etc. to the Assam-Bhutan border and lived there until the beginning of 1917 in futile expectation of the arrival of foreign arms. Their remotest base was set up in Bhutan. Throughout this period the link of communication

90. Vide Rash Behari Bose's statement entitled "Our Struggle" as incorporated in *Rash Behari Basu: His Struggle For India's Independence* (p. 222) as well as M. N. Roy's *Memoirs* (p. 4).

91. The writer's interview with Dr. Jadugopal Mukherjee.

between them and their Chandernagore headquarters was retained by Nalini Kanta Kar who occasionally visited that place.

Meanwhile, Amar Chatterjee, Atul Ghose and Satis Chakravarty who were left behind at Chandernagore took shelter at two houses in Salkia, Howrah. On August 4, 1916 when one of those houses was surrounded by the police, Atul Ghose and Satis Chakravarty fled in a hurry while two other inmates, Jugal Kishore Datta and Sudhir Shome, offered armed resistance before they could be overpowered by the police. Referring to Satis Chakravarty who was placed a sentry on the roof, Mr. Tegart writes: "This fact made it particularly impossible for us to surround the house without being discovered, and the jungle at the back of the house, coupled with the darkness and the subsequent rain, greatly facilitated the escape of Satis Chakravarty and Atul Ghose".⁹²

Sometime after the flight of Nalini Kanta Ghose (the Anusilan Samiti leader) and Probodh Biswas from the Dalanda House to Chandernagore (December, 1916) talks for fresh 'actions' were set afoot between the Anusilan Samiti men and the followers of Jyotin Mukherjee. Jadugopal Mukherjee and Nalini Kanta Kar were called back to Chandernagore from Assam by Atul Ghose and Amar Chatterjee. While conferences were still in progress, an important search by the British Indian police was conducted at numerous houses in Chandernagore on April 21, 1917. The absconders were once again scattered far and wide. Jadugopal Mukherjee and Nalini Kar fled to Assam while Amar Chatterjee followed Nalini Ghose to Gauhati and stayed there with the Anusilan Samiti men until the Gauhati fight of January, 1918. Throughout this period Atul Ghose remained in Chandernagore

92. Mr. Tegart's Note on Howrah Search, dated 5.8.1916.

and kept up secret contacts with the party members. After some time Jadugopal Mukherjee and Nalini Kanta Kar successively went to Purnea, Daijuri (in Midnapore) and Balarampore (in Purulia District) and being joined by Manmatha Nath Biswas from Chandernagore at Purnea, lived absconding lives till September, 1921⁹³ when Moti Lal Roy of Chandernagore sent to them the call of release after the announcement of the Royal Proclamation made in December, 1919.

Among the other activities of the revolutionaries during 1916-17 may be mentioned the publication of seditious leaflets, both in English and Bengali, exhorting the people to carry on their struggle until Independence was achieved. Of these leaflets, the undermentioned ones were the most important:

(1) From the Office of the Director General, Administration Department: Administration Report;

(2) From the Office of the Director General, Indian Revolution Vigilance Deptt., Bengal Branch, to the Public in General and Members of Our Camp;

(3) A Manifesto of the Indian National Party;

(4) From Indian National Defence Camp to our Patriotic Countrymen: Declaration of Our Policy;

(5) From the Secretary, Home Department, Indian Revolutionary Committee Camp to the Princes and People of India;

(6) *Jugantar* and *Sandhya* leaflets in Bengali.

These leaflets were widely distributed in Bengal and beyond and sent even to such persons as C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad), Pandit Jagat Narain Vakil (Lucknow), Raja of Mahmudabad (Mahmudabad), Mr. Mahajani (Akola), Annie Besant (Adyar,

93. Jadugopal Mukherjee, Nalini Kanta Kar and Manmatha Nath Biswas spent a short period in Purnea and Daijuri, and lived for four years in Balarampore. During the entire period they wore Mahomedan dresses and were known in Balarampore as Dr. Samsuddin, Gaffur and Mia Bhai respectively.

Madras), A. K. Fazlal Haq (Bengal) under cover of a big envelope with cover print of 'On His Majesty's Service' and bearing the Dharmatala postmark.⁹⁴ Sri Jatindra Lochon Mitra, who was at that time in charge of such despatches, has informed the writer that the big envelopes for the despatch of the leaflets were specially printed with cover print of 'On His Majesty's Service' and the despatcher's name in the corner, e.g., "Despatcher, Writers' Building", "From Registrar, High Court, Calcutta", "Sun Life Insurance Co.", "Alliance Bank of Simla", "Port Commissioners, Calcutta" etc. These were generally posted in the General Post-Office, Calcutta.

The revolutionaries also used in their transactions a seal, the motif of which was taken from the "Catalogue of Maps, published by the Survey of India, 1912". Mr. Tegart in course of his search in Chandernagore (December 1, 1916) discovered two well-cut brass seals of the revolutionary camp, which, he states, "by now are familiar to us, having appeared on several letters issued by the revolutionary party". Mr. Cleveland in his Weekly Report dated December 16, 1916 has also referred to these two brass seals of the revolutionary camp, discovered at Chandernagore, as "corresponding to the impressions which have appeared on letters and notifications purporting to be issued by the revolutionary party".⁹⁵

It is worth remembering in this connection that many of these leaflets were issued in the name of the shadow cabinet of the revolutionaries, which then

94. The File No. 1805/1917 of the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal.

95. The seals were made first in 1913 under the direction of Sri Jatindra Lochon Mitra, an ex-member of the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti and later a follower of Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee. Altogether three seals, two brass and one steel, were made, the dice of the steel seal being made from the Calcutta mint with the help of goldsmith Nilmoni Roy. The design of the seal is still to be found in the pages of the *Sedition Committee Report* (p. 74).

existed in their imagination only. The leaflets were so written as to give the public an impression as if they were the directives of an actual revolutionary Government functioning independently of alien control and working from behind the public scene.⁹⁶ In 1917, when the British Government were trying to rally the Indian nationalists to the Crown by their customary repression-*cum*-conciliation policy, the revolutionaries warned the countrymen against being trapped by the lures of the Commissions which Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, was then dangling before their eyes.

In this background, the revolutionary leaflet addressed to the Princes and People of India (1917) deserves special notice. It showed up the hollowness of bureaucratic professions, particularly the Montagu Mission, and exhorted the people to preserve their faith intact in the destiny of their mission. The aforesaid leaflet further affirmed: "Let there be no mistake about one central and cardinal fact. We are out after Independence, Independence *Sans Phrase*, Independence without qualification and reservation and Independence in the fullest and completest sense of the word. It is irreconcilable with our traditions and our faith that India should be an unequal partner in any Federation of Nations of which England shall still be the mistress."

The revolutionary workers responsible for the above leaflets also sent a letter to the American President Woodrow Wilson through Barrister Subramaniya Aiyar during the war period, drawing his attention to India's case for Independence and requesting him to help the legitimate cause of India in a true democratic spirit.

It is thus evident that notwithstanding failures and reverses coupled with increasing bureaucratic re-

96. The leaflet entitled *Director General, Administration Deptt: Administration Report* published by the Bengal revolutionaries during the First World War.

pression, the political activities of the Bengal revolutionaries did not cease altogether. But it must be admitted at the same time that the revolutionary movement in India was now flagging on all fronts mainly due to the vigorous pursuit of repression-*cum*-conciliation policy by the Government. Meanwhile, the international background of India's national movement was undergoing rapid changes unfavourably for the Indian revolutionaries. The entry of the U. S. A. in the World War I in 1917 on the side of the Anglo-French Powers followed by the military reverses of Germany produced very adverse effects on India's revolutionary activities, particularly in the U. S. A. Under the new political setting the Jugantar absconders were compelled to wind up their activities in India without bending their neck in servility to authority. Referring to them Mr. Dixon, the Bengal D. I. G., stated (May 25, 1920): "A small but dangerous band of Jugantar absconders still at large considered capitulation as a bluff, but finally decided against it. Their cry had all along been 'let us get our men back', but they were as disillusioned as disappointed at the number of deserters from the fold".⁹⁷

97. File No. 189/1920 in the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal.