

Calcutta by Hem Ghose with object of arranging an assassination on behalf of the revolutionary party".⁵⁵

According to Sri Haridas Datta of Hem Ghose's party (Mukti Sangha), the cart driven by him followed the six other carts from the Custom's House to Rodda's office at the Dalhousie Square and then proceeded through Mango Lane, British Indian Street, Bentinck Street and Malanga Lane and safely unloaded the wooden boxes in the waste iron stock-yard of Kanti Mukherjee, a friend of Anukul Mukherjee, at Malanga Lane, where Anukul Mukherjee of the Attonnati Samiti took delivery of the goods. Srish Mitra *alias* Habu hurriedly joined the party midway after having given delivery of six cart-loads of arms to the office, and then left Calcutta in company of Srish Pal that very evening by the Darjeeling Mail. Srish Pal kept Habu under the care of Dr. Surendra Bardhan of the Mukti Sangha at the Nageswari village in the Rangpur district and returned to Calcutta by the next mail.⁵⁶

The stolen packages were soon removed from Kanti Mukherjee's iron stock-yard to the junction of Hideram Banerjee Lane and Jellepara Lane at Bowbazer in a hackney carriage. Sri Satis De, then residing at Dixon Lane, under instruction from Bipin Behari Ganguli, went to the spot in the evening accompanied by Basanta Das and Jagat Gupta, all of them having coolie dresses on.⁵⁷ They removed the boxes to Bhujanga Dhar's house at 3 Jellepara Lane, and kept

55. Tegart's printed note on the revolutionary movement in Rangpur, dated March 1, 1915 (F. N. 239/15 of the I. B. Records, Government of West Bengal).

56. No trace of Srish Mitra could be obtained either by the police or by his associates later. Sri Hem Ghose thinks that possibly he died or was killed in his attempted escape from India into foreign lands.

57. Satis De, then an M.Sc. student of the Presidency College and also a member of the Attonnati Samiti, was so instructed by Bipin Ganguli on his way home from the College in the evening. His two companions also lived in the same locality and were members of the same club.

them in a small room on the ground floor under the stair case. These three men together with Bhujanga Dhar worked in that room till midnight, transferring the arms and ammunition to a number of new steel trunks already brought there and burning the original packages and papers to ashes, and everything was immediately cleaned to avoid anybody's suspicion.

From the house of Bhujanga Dhar the boxes containing arms and ammunition were distributed from next morning to different revolutionary groups at various centres under the direction of Bipin Ganguli, Harish Sikdar and Anukul Mukherjee. The exact nature of the distribution of the Mausers and cartridges is not easy to ascertain at this stage. But the information gathered from different sources furnishes some clues as to the distribution of the stolen arms.

Jadugopal Mukherjee removed one trunk containing a number of Mausers the next night in a *gharri* (hackney carriage) to Nirjharini Sarkar's house at the Shyambazar Street for its delivery to Narendra Nath Bhattacharya. Naren Ghose Choudhury, the leader of the Barisal party, also secured a portion of Rodda's stolen arms and ammunition. Sri Ranen Ganguli transported a number of them from one place to another in Calcutta by motor cars of his own workshop and carried one box to Nalhati in the Birbhum district, keeping it with Nibaran Ghatak and his aunt Dukari Devi.⁵⁸ Haridas Datta and Srish Pal also arranged for the safe custody of about 21,000 ammunition contained in 11 wooden boxes first kept in a hired room near Jora-began Thana, and then in a Marwari widow's house near Barrabazar from which centre Haridas Datta was arrested in October of 1914. A large number of cartridges went also to Chandernagore.

58. The fact has been derived from Sri Ranen Ganguli and it finds corroboration in official records too.

On information received from Calcutta Moti Lal Roy, in consultation with Srish Chandra Ghose, sent two of his faithful associates, Satya Karmakar and his brother Bhola (or Rameswar De?) to Calcutta to receive a portion of Rodda's consignments from a godown in Cotton Street. These two men, subsequently joined by Amar Roy at Calcutta, carried three trunks of arms and ammunition from the Cotton Street godown to Chandernagore *via* Ghugudanga and Shyamnagar. The munitions were transferred from packed wooden boxes to newly purchased trunks that were brought to Chandernagore⁵⁹. These facts suggest that the containers of Rodda's arms and ammunition had to be changed more than once while they were in the process of transit. A few Marwari friends of the revolutionaries, viz., Prabhudayal Himmatsinka, Fulchand etc., also took some important part in the disbursement of Rodda's arms.

These stolen Mauser pistols were gradually distributed throughout Bengal and even beyond, and came to be used in most of the violent incidents that took place since then. While commenting on this in his report dated February 18, 1915, Mr. Huges Buller, the I. G. of Police, Calcutta, wrote as follows :

"We have every reason to believe therefore that these Mauser pistols have been distributed among the anarchists throughout the Province, and as they now possess 20,000 rounds of ammunition, (*the rest having been captured by the police or used by the revolutionaries*) it is difficult to exaggerate the danger to which officials, police and the public are exposed. A Mauser

59. *Amar Dekha Biplab O Biplabi* by Moti Lal Roy and the writer's interview with Sri Amar Roy of the Globe Nursery. According to Moti Lal Roy, Bhola Karmakar of Chandernagore accompanied the party while Amar Roy mentions the name of Rameswar De instead. Sri Satya Karmakar, however, cannot remember whether his brother Bhola went with him.

pistol is sighted up to 500 yards and if held straight, is a very formidable weapon".⁶⁰

This "very formidable weapon" of H. Buller's description proved to be a highly valuable asset to the revolutionaries. Rash Behari Bose carried one such pistol as a defensive weapon since the Lahore conspiracy of 1915. He delivered it to Sachindra Nath Sanyal and Girija Babu on the eve of his departure from India for Japan. In 1915 the Mauser pistols came to play an important role in the historic Balasore fight in which Jyotindra Nath Mukherjee and others laid down their lives. Among the other incidents in which the Mauser pistols were used by the revolutionaries may be mentioned the following:⁶¹

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Kalamridha, | District
Faridpur, | January 20, 1915
(looted booty Nil). |
| 2. Bagmara, | District
Tippera, | January 22, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 4,170). |
| 3. Kurul, | District
Rangpur, | January 23, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 50,000). |
| 4. Garden
Reach, | Calcutta, | February 12, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 18,000). |
| 5. Dharail, | District
Rajsahi, | February 20, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 25,000
murder also committed). |
| 6. Beliaghata, | Calcutta, | February 22, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 22,000
murder also committed). |
| 7. Areadah, | District
24-Parganas, | April 6, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 500). |
| 8. Balda, | District
Tippera, | April 11, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 4,000). |
| 9. Pragpur, | District
Nadia, | April 30, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 2,700). |

60. Report by Mr. R. Hughes-Buller, Inspector General of Police (Bengal), dated February 18, 1915 (F. N. 229/15).

61. See F. Nos. 757/17 and 1847/17 in the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal.

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|----------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 10. Aerial, | District
Tippera, | May 25, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 4,250). |
| 11. Gazipura, | District
Bakarganj, | June 5, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 15,000). |
| 12. Haripur, | District
Tippera, | August 14, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 18,000
murder also committed). |
| 13. Chandra-
kona, | District
Mymensingh, | September 7, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 20,984). |
| 14. Chasa-
khand, | District
Balasore, | September 9, 1915
(armed fight with the police.
Jyotin Mukherjee and Chitta-
priya Roy Choudhury laid
down their lives). |
| 15. Shibpur, | District
Nadia, | September 30, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 20,700—one
constable and three villagers
also killed and eleven others
wounded). |
| 16. Cornwallis
Street, | Calcutta, | November 17, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 800). |
| 17. Corporation
Street, | Calcutta, | December 2, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 25,000). |
| 18. Sasherdighi, | District
Mymensingh, | December 19, 1915
(murder). |
| 19. Kaliachapra, | District
Mymensingh, | December 22, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 850). |
| 20. Chowpatti
Road, | Calcutta, | December 27, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 750). |
| 21. Kartola, | District
Tippera, | December 29, 1915
(looted booty Rs. 15,000—
murder also committed). |
| 22. Dafferpur, | District
Howrah, | March 3, 1916
(looted booty Rs. 2,000). |
| 23. Dhanakati, | District
Faridpur, | June 9, 1916
(looted booty Rs. 43,000). |
| 24. Bairagitola, | Dacca town, | June 23, 1916
(two constables killed). |

25. Sambhunath Pandit's Road, Calcutta, June 30, 1916
(Dy. Suptd. of Police killed).
26. Salkia, District Howrah, August 4, 1916
(armed clash with the police).
27. Kalta Bazar, Dacca town, June 15, 1918
(armed fight with the police, Tarini Majumdar and Nalini Bagchi laid down their lives after killing a Head Constable and seriously injuring one Sub-Inspector).

But, unfortunately, a good many of the stolen arms and ammunition of Rodda's firm were from time to time recovered by the police. According to an official report of 1917, 960 rounds of the stolen ammunition were recovered from 3 Ramlal's Lane, over 1,000 from 61|1|1 Wellington Street, and about 21,000 from 34, Sheo Thakur's Lane, Barrabazar, where Haridas Datta was arrested. Three Mausers were recovered from Jyotin Mukherjee and his followers at the Chasa-Khand battle-field in Balasore, one from Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya who was arrested at 39, Pathuria-ghata Street (1916), one from Debendra Nath Choudhury who was caught with a fully-loaded Mauser and 30 rounds of ammunition, as well as one from Bhupendra Kumar Datta in May, 1917 in Calcutta. Besides, from the house of Tincowrie Banerjee at Gondalpara, Chandernagore, four Mausers and 241 cartridges were recovered by the police on December 1, 1916. From the house of Dukari Devi at Jhaupara, District Birbhum, "7 Mausers, 1100 old rounds of cartridges and seditious literature, were found". Another Mauser pistol was captured by the police from Jugal Kishore Datta in Salkia, Howrah (August, 1916) and two more in Kalta Bazar held by Tarini Majumdar and Nalini Bagchi (June, 1918). In both these cases armed resistance was offered to the enemies

by means of the Mausers. A few of the Mausers were also thrown into the Ganges under unavoidable circumstances by the revolutionaries themselves.

NASIK AS A CENTRE OF CONSPIRACY

It has been already shown that towards the end of the 19th century the influence of Bal Gangadhar Tilak led to the formation of a party of violence in Maharashtra, the first overt act of which was the murder of the Messrs Rand and Ayerst, a Plague Commissioner and a Lieutenant respectively, by Damodar and Balkrishna Chopekars (1897) who were subsequently hanged. The lamp they lit was not, however, extinguished with their death. The cause was taken up by a band of fiery young men at Nasik of whom Vinayak Damodar Savarkar stood first and foremost. Even while a mere school boy, Savarkar had formed around him a small group known as the Mitra Mela (about 1900 A. D.) which a few years later grew into his famous Abhinav Bharat Society with ramifications at Bombay, Poona and Pen, and also at Aurangabad and Hyderabad in the Hyderabad State. The Judgment of the Special Tribunal in the Nasik Conspiracy Case shows that the Abhinav Bharat Society was a secret society which administered oaths to its members. It was founded on the model of the revolutionary societies in Russia. As a result of the search conducted at the house of Ganesh Savarkar, a brother of V. D. Savarkar and also an early member of the Mitra Mela, on March 2, 1909, "a copy of Forost's Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776-1876, was found, in which", states the Judgment, "is described the secret organisation of the Russian Nihilists, consisting of small circles or groups affiliated into sections, each member knowing only the members of the circle to which he belonged. This may explain the existence of various small groups of young men who are found in this case to have been

working for the same objects and drawing weapons from the same source without personal acquaintance with the members of other groups".⁶²

The murder of Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik, (December 21, 1909) by Anant Lakshman Kanher was the work of the Aurangabad group of Abhinav Bharat Society, done with one of the twenty Browning pistols sent by V. D. Savarkar from London.

The Nasik murder led to the Nasik Conspiracy Case in which thirty-eight persons including Vinayak Savarkar were tried by a Special Tribunal. Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life in December, 1910, while twenty-six other persons received varying conviction ranging from transportation or imprisonment from fifteen years to six months. The rest was acquitted.

An important ramification of the Nasik conspiracy was the Gwalior conspiracy which was brought to light in connection with the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar at Bombay on February 28, 1909. The Gwalior branch was called the Nava Bharat Society. The rules of the Society, as stated by the Judgment of the Special Tribunal, approved of constitutional agitation and, parallel to it, of agitation that comprised of "target shooting, sword-exercises, preparation of bombs, dynamite, procuring revolvers, taking gymnastic exercises, running races, learning and teaching the use of weapons and missiles, travelling in different provinces and countries and getting information thereof. . . Should an occasion for a general rising in any province at a proper time arrive, all should help that cause and attain liberty". Of the twenty persons convicted in the Gwalior Conspiracy Case, the ringleaders G. L. Desai and T. G. Sawartwala were sentenced to seven years' transportation.

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

Ever since the arrival of V. V. S. Aiyar, a political disciple of Savarkar, in Pondicherry from Paris (by November, 1910), Pondicherry became a foster ground of revolutionary conspiracy with political affiliation to the Paris group of Indian revolutionaries headed by Madame Cama. As the days of the Royal Coronation were approaching, V. V. S. Aiyar who was always in correspondence with Madame Cama, decided to strike a great blow at the bureaucracy by shedding English blood by violent methods. He issued 'seditious' leaflets from Pondicherry, and he inspired the minds of his associates, viz., Nagaswami Aiyar and Balkrishna Aiyar of Pondicherry and also Vanchi Aiyar of Tinnevely in that direction. It was this last-named person who murdered Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevely, on June 17, 1911 in a railway carriage at Maniyachi junction in the Tinnevely district. Vanchi Aiyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department, committed suicide a few minutes later, while Mr. Ashe died after about half an hour of the firing. The real brain behind this assassination was undoubtedly V. V. S. Aiyar whose letter to V. D. Savarkar, Prisoner, bearing Pondicherry postmark on the same date was significant. Undoubtedly, the letter was intended to convey to him a hint that the murder was the fruition of the policy of his Abhinav Bharat spirit. The jubilations of Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* over the assassination were also significant. In course of a commentary the paper wrote in July, 1911 thus: "Thank God His voice will not fall on deaf ears, because when the gilded slaves from Hindusthan were parading the streets of London as performers in the Royal Circus, and were prostrating themselves like so many clowns at the feet of the King of England, two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by heir daring deeds at Tinnevely, and at Mymensingh that Hindusthan is not sleeping". The

Mymensingh murder mentioned here refers to the murder of Sub-Inspector Raj Kumar Roy on June 18, 1911. The next issue of the *Bande Mataram* also wrote in the same vein. The Tinnevelly murder gave rise to the Tinnevelly Conspiracy Case which was conducted by a Special Tribunal of the Madras High Court. The Judgment delivered on February 15, 1912 convicted nine of the accused fourteen while acquitting the rest.⁶³

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN THE U.S.A.

Towards the close of the 19th century a general interest among Americans about India was created by the lecture tour of Swami Vivekananda, whose tradition was successfully carried on by his worthy successor, Swami Abhedananda, through the Vedanta Society founded by the Swamiji at New York.

At the beginning of the 20th century New York became a centre of anti-British intrigues. The activities of the Pan-Aryan Association (1906) formed by S. L. Joshi, a Mathathi Christian, and Mahomed Barkataullah, a Mahomedan of Bhopal, those of Indo-American National Association renamed as the Society for the Advancement of India (1907) founded by Myron H. Phelps, a Broadway lawyer, together with the activities of the Irish malcontents of the Clan-na-Gael and a visit paid by Madame Cama to New York in October, 1907, fostered a favourable background for Indians' anti-British work in the city. George Freeman, a discontented Irishman employed on the staff of the *Gaelic American*, who was in correspondence with Madame Cama and who received monthly financial help from her at one stage, rendered a great service to the cause of Indian revolutionaries "by way of distributing seditious literature and egging on Young Indians

63. *Ibid.*

in New York and elsewhere to work for the downfall of British rule in India". It has been stated that in 1908 Freeman, S. L. Joshi and Barkataullah used to meet twice a week at Barkataullah's house to discuss the Indian problems and that Freeman personally supervised the publication of Tarak Nath Das's *Free Hindusthan* at the office of the paper. But after the departure of Barkataullah for Japan (February, 1909) and of S. L. Joshi and Myron Phelps for India (March, 1909) the centre of political activity for India gradually shifted from New York to San Francisco and its neighbourhood.

At the end of 1906 a large number of Indians, mostly Sikh labourers, artisans and cultivators from the Punjab, began to migrate into the Western coast of the U. S. A. and Canada in search of employment. But being expelled by a black-white labour conflict at Bellingham and other places of the U. S. A., a large number of them took refuge in Vancouver, British Columbia. During 1907-13 a number of leaflets, periodicals and newspapers were issued by Indian leaders in America to incite discontent among Indian labourers (a large number of them being retired soldiers) in the U. S. A. and Canada. A Hindu named Ram Nath Puri of village Khem Karan in the Lahore district, who was employed as a watchman at a California hospital in 1906-07, worked as an interpreter to the large number of Sikh immigrants into that State. Early in 1907 he started a Hindusthan Association in San Francisco, with branches in Vancouver and Astoria, and issued a lithographed Urdu periodical called the *Circular-i-Azadi* (Circular of Freedom) first from San Francisco and then from Oakland (California) until it ceased to appear in 1908 for lack of funds. This Circular of Freedom stated the objects of the Association in the July and August number of 1907 as being "to impart instruction to Indians on

national lines, to teach gun-firing, Japanese exercises, and the use of the spear, sword, and other weapons in self-defence, and to foster American sympathy with India". It also quoted extracts from the *Gaelic American* and Indian newspapers with the manifest intention of creating disaffection against the British rule in India. About the same time Tarak Nath Das, a great revolutionary, published his own paper *Free Hindusthan* which contained appeals to Indians to rise up in arms against the British rule in India.

But as Tarak Das's paper was written in English which was not intelligible to a large section of Indians in America, so a more direct appeal was made to the Sikh settlers in America through the publication of another paper in Gurmukhi, *Swadesh Sewak* (1909), being a monthly mouthpiece of Swadesh Sewak Home founded at Vancouver by G. D. Kumar who belonged to Bannu in the N. W. Frontier Province of India. The paper dealt with the grievances of the Sikh immigrants in Canada centring round the Immigration Laws and incited them to resort to arms for the redress of their grievances. The paper continued till 1911. Besides the propaganda carried on by such papers as the *Pardeshi Khalsa* (The Sikh Abroad) in 1910, the *Aryan* in 1911 and the *Sansar* (World) in 1912, Tarak Nath Das worked strenuously in 1912-13 by writing articles in his own paper and in Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* and also by undertaking extensive tour to keep aflame the growing discontent among the Indians in America. From Berkeley, California, Tarak Nath Das wrote to a leading member of the Indian revolutionary party the following letter (June, 1913) which read thus: "I am now working with the Sikh brothers in the actual field. I feel as I always felt and wrote to you that there is always a dearth of true workers who can work among the mass people (sic) the backbone of India. If Sirdar (sic)

Ajit Singh is available and willing to come to the United States I can send you a ticket from Europe to United States at any time. I have talked the matter with my Sikh friends, and they have promised to do all they can to carry on the work, but where is the real worker? Please do your best to send Sirdarji if it is at all possible".⁶⁴

HARDYAL AND THE *Ghadr* MOVEMENT

The next stage in the movement is the advent of Hardyal in the U. S. A. in January, 1911 giving a new tone to the Indian activities there. Having left India in August, 1908, he spent some time at London, Oxford, Paris and Geneva. He met Krishnavarma and S. R. Rana at Paris and edited Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* at Geneva. Having served for a few months in the Stanford University at Palo Alto, California, as a Professor of Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit (February-September, 1912), Hardyal resigned his post and undertook extensive tour through California and Oregon fomenting anti-British feeling, particularly among the Sikh (and also Pathan) settlers in those States.

The contents of Hardyal's lectures at different places may be understood from the following summary notes taken from his lecture delivered at Astoria on June 4, 1913: "After the usual remarks about the drain of wealth from India and the consequent prevalence of famine and disease, he said that the Delhi durbar cost five million dollars while the people went hungry. . . Personal liberty was unknown in India,

64. *Ibid.* It is pertinent to mention here that Sirdar Ajit Singh who absconded to Persia in 1909 left that country in 1911 and settled at Lausanne, after a short visit to the Paris group of revolutionaries, as a teacher of Oriental Languages under the Persian *alias* of Mirza Hassan Khan. He again went to Paris in 1913 and left it for Rio-de-Janero in November, 1914. From there he sent Jodh Singh Mahajan to Berlin in 1915.

and the Government there was 'the worst Government on the face of the earth'. Torture in prison was not uncommon, and there was no justice in the courts in cases between a Hindu and an Englishman... The Roman Empire, the French before the Revolution, or even the Russian Empire was not worse than the British Government in India. It could not be reformed and it must be abolished... All were invited to help in teaching this poor people to rise against the tyrant Government. He called it 'the British Vampire not the British Empire...'

A momentous step taken by Hardyal at this stage was the foundation of a society at San Francisco popularly called the *Ghadr* party and the issue of a weekly as the organ of the society named the *Ghadr* (Mutiny). In spite of some valuable work done by many persons in America preceding Hardyal's arrival, it cannot be doubted that Hardyal was the real founder of the *Ghadr* party and the paper. About 1908 a group of Indian students had clustered round Tarak Nath Das engaged in the propagation of Indian nationalism. In December, 1912 a convention of Indian students was held at Chicago in which an association, called the Hindusthan Association of America, was founded. Its membership comprised such names as Tarak Das, Surendra Mohan Bose, Sudhin Bose, P. S. Khankhoje, Basanta Kumar Roy, Baneswar Das, Surendra Nath Kar, Keshav Das Shastri, R. Ahmed, V. P. Aiyar, P. C. Mukherjee, S. N. Deb Barman, Adhar Chandra Naskar, H. K. Rakshit, A. S. Hardikar, and Laxman Prasad Varma. The association published a monthly organ called *The Hindusthaneer Student* from Berkeley, California.⁶⁵ Sudhin Bose, at one stage president of the association, described it as "most emphatically an educational, not a political, organisation

65. See the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal, F. N. 102/1915.

whatsoever".⁶⁶ Sri Jitendra Nath Lahiri, who took admission as a student of Organic Chemistry in the University at Berkeley in 1913, has informed the present writer that besides Tarak Nath Das who had a small secret group of his own,⁶⁷ he himself organized a rifle club with the Indian students at Berkeley in 1913. But in spite of such spade work done by individual men, it was undoubtedly Hardy, states Sri Lahiri, who founded the *Ghadr* party of which Sri Lahiri himself was a member. The Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case (1915) quoted Nawab Khan's description in enumerating the name and composition of the society. According to it, the society consisted of Sohan Singh (President), Karam Baksh (Vice-President), Hardy (Secretary), Munshi Ram (Asstt. Secretary) and Kashi Ram (Asstt. Secretary) as well as Kesar Singh, Balwant Singh and Nawab Khan as members. The society of revolutionaries was called the 'Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast' and its publication centre was named the *Jugantar Ashram*. It decided to issue its paper *Ghadr* from San Francisco from November 1, 1913. Evidently, the name *Jugantar Ashram* was influenced by the 'Jugantar' ideal of the Bengal revolutionaries as preached to the Punjabis by Jatindra Nath Banerjee during his tour in the Punjab in 1906. As Mr. Ker writes : "When the news of the

66. The *Modern Review* for September, 1917.

67. To the secret group of Tarak Nath Das belonged such men as Suren Bose, Swarna Mitra, Suren Kar, Adhar Naskar, etc. Surendra Mohon Bose, who was a Chemist, sent from Chicago in 1913 to Harnam Singh (of Sahri) in Vancouver notes and formulæ of his own for making bombs, and, knowing that they have not reached his hands he again sent to him a copy of a Russian bomb manual from Paris in January, 1914 through the medium of Surendra Nath Kar. In his letter to Harnam Singh he wrote thus: "In this package I am sending you a very valuable copy of the process used by the Russian revolutionists. It is a very valuable copy, so do not lose it. After you are through with it, or have made a copy, send it registered to Dr. C. Chakravarty, 494, R. 141 St. Street, New York". G. D. Kumar in a letter to Tarak Das (1913) referred to this Harnam Singh as a leader of the revolutionary movement in Vancouver.

attempt to assassinate the Viceroy at Delhi on 23rd December, 1912, reached Berkeley, Hardyal is said to have claimed credit for it as the work of his party; there is little doubt that he was the author of the *Jugantar Circular* shortly afterwards issued from Paris in praise of the bomb-thrower".

The first issue of the *Ghadr*, dated November 1, 1913, described itself as 'the enemy of the English Raj, and announced that it would be issued weekly in Urdu and Gurmukhi. The first page had the following words on the top:

"O brave men! Indian young men! Take up arms soon". The aims and objects of the paper were set forth in the leader entitled 'Our Name and Work'. It wrote: "... a new epoch opens to-day, the 1st of November 1913, in the history of India, because there commences a war today in foreign lands against the English Raj in the country's tongue. This is an auspicious day, in that the word *Ghadr* which is to root out English oppression, appears on (the title-page of) this paper in Urdu and Gurmukhi (character)".

It further states: "What is our name? The *Ghadr*. In what does our work consist? (In bringing about) a rising. Where will (this) rising break out? In India. When will (it) break out? In a few years. Why should (it) break out? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practised under English rule and are ready to fight and die for freedom. It is the duty of every Indian to make preparations for this rising".

The first issue of the *Ghadr* also contained an article under the caption of "English Rule Exposed: Some Plain Things" which gave a graphic picture of the economic exploitation of India by the British and suggested the remedies in the leader "Our Name and Work". The second issue of the *Ghadr* (November 8, 1913) also reprinted this article and stated in the

leader, 'Our Duty and Your Duty', that the *Ghadr* conveyed to "the nation" once a week the message of rebellion which is "brave, outspoken, unbridled (and) swift-footed". It is "lightning", a "storm" and a "flame of fire". The article further stated : "We are India's voice, which the tyrant has suppressed within the country. We are a resume, of all those lectures which would have been delivered in every city, if our patriots had been out of jail to-day. We are the successor of all those newspapers which have been suppressed, but the memory of which will ever remain in the history of India".⁶⁸ •

In the conduct of the paper Hardyal was soon joined by Ram Chandra Peshwari of the Peshwar district, who had left India in 1911 and made his way from Japan to Seattle, California, in March, 1913. Soon he made himself prominent in the circle of the *Jugantar Ashram*, and at a dinner given in his honour by Hardyal on January 16, 1914 the latter announced the transfer of editorship of the paper from his hands to those of his honourable guest.

Through the persistent propaganda of the *Ghadr* and the extensive lecture tour of Hardyal and Ram Chandra, the *Ghadr* spirit spread far and wide in America and even in India. After Hardyal's flight to Switzerland while a case against him was still pending (March, 1914), Ram Chandra Peshwari became the chief figure in the *Jugantar Ashram* and was soon joined by Bhagwan Singh and Barkataullah who had arrived from Japan at San Francisco on May 22, 1914.

Meanwhile, the spread of 'sedition' round the question of immigration continued unabated in Canada in which prominent role was played by C. K. Varma, a Hindu of Kathiawar under the guise of Husain Rahim

68. An abstract of the first two issues of the *Ghadr*, published by the *Jugantar Ashram*, San Francisco, U.S.A.—Vide the I. B. Records of the Govt. of West Bengal, F. N. 586/1914.

and by Raja Singh of the Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. This ultimately resulted in the *Komagata Maru* expedition led by Gurdit Singh, which, starting from Hongkong on April 4, 1914 with 165 passengers and collecting new passengers on the way and which being addressed and incited by Barkatullah and Bhagwan Singh at Yokohama, arrived at Vancouver port on May 23, 1914. But as the passengers were prevented from landing under the Immigration Law, the ship left Vancouver for India and appeared on the Hooghly near Calcutta in September, 1914. After the initial paraphernalia of official search required by the existing rules, the ship went to Budge Budge on September 29 wherefrom its Sikh passengers, numbering about 250, started to march to Calcutta in a body defying the police orders. In the inevitable clash that followed men on both sides lost their lives. Besides, two Europeans were killed, six more were injured, including Sir Frederick Halliday, Police Commissioner of Calcutta, Mr. R. Humphreys of the Punjab Commission and Mr. D. Petrie of the Punjab Police.⁶⁹

The *Komagata Maru* incident not only sent a thrill of sensation through India, but also gave a great fillip to the *Ghadr* movement in the U. S. A. On Hardyal's departure from the American scene the tradition of his lecture tour was kept up by Ram Chandra, Barkatullah, Bhagwan Singh and also by Govind Lal of Delhi. These meetings as reported in the *Ghadr* may be indicated as follows.⁷⁰ :

1. Berkeley, Feb. 1, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of Feb. 10, 1914
2. Stockton, Feb. 15, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of Feb. 17, 1914
3. Another meeting on Feb. 16, 1914

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

70. The Judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, dated September 13, 1915.

4. Sacramento, March 4, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of March 10, 1914
5. Sacramento, March 22, 1914 announced in *Ghadr* of March 17, 1914
6. San Francisco, March 25, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of March 31, 1914
7. Meetings at Astoria, March-April, 1914
8. Alesandro (Los Angels), March 26, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of April 21, 1914
9. Stockton, April 13, 1914 announced in *Ghadr* of March 31, 1914
10. Fresno, Upland, Oxnard, Los Angels May 10, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of May 19, 1914
11. Astoria, June 7, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of June 16, 1914
12. Wina, June 9, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of June 16, 1914
13. Washington (Oregon), June 11, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of July 14, 1914
Aberdeen, June 13, 1914
Seattle, June 15, 1914
14. Portland, June 14, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of June 13, 1914
15. Stockton, July 3, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of July 14, 1914
16. Elton (California), July 5, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of July 14, 1914
Jersey (California), July 7, 1914 July 14, 1914
17. Oxnard, July 26, 1914 reported in *Ghadr* of August 4, 1914
18. Fresno, August 9, 1914 announced in *Ghadr* of August 4, 1914
Sacramento, August 11, 1914 August 4, 1914
19. Stockton, August, 1914
20. Portland, August 7, 1914

21. Fresno, Sept. 22, 1914 as reported in the *Fresno Republican* of Sept. 23, 1914
22. Special articles on war published in *Ghadr* of July 28 and August 4, 1914.

The chief orators in these meetings were obviously Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh and Barkataullah who, true to the tradition of Hardyal, spread the *Ghadr* spirit among their audience, and as soon as the war broke out, they made arrangements to send large batches of Sikhs to India in order to foment a general rising. While an advance party including Kartar Singh arrived at Colombo by the middle of September, 1914 to prepare in the Punjab a suitable ground for an eventual rising, big arrivals of *Ghadr* men took place by s. s. *Toshi Maru* and s. s. *Mashima Maru* reaching Calcutta and Colombo respectively on October 29 and October 25, 1914. Fresh batches followed suit by subsequent ships, of which mention may be made of s. s. *Salamis* which carried, among others, Sohan Singh, Pingley and Balwant Singh.

This was the Punjab background in which Rash Behari Bose proceeded to engineer a revolution with its base at Lahore in February, 1915.

“By the end of 1915”, writes Mr. Ker, “all the more enterprising Sikhs had left America for India, and practically all the real leaders had sought fresh woods and pastures new either in the pay of Germany or in promoting the various schemes of the *Ghadr* party for creating a rising in India from places in the Far East through Siam and Burma. Those who were engaged in latter movement kept in more or less casual touch with Ram Chandra, but when he was left to himself in San Francisco his influence declined, and in 1916 the quarrels and disagreements usual in all conspiracies which have not an efficient head began to break out.” One of the chief centres of opposition to

Ram Chandra was the Khalsa Diwan (Sikh Assembly) the first grievance of which against him was that he was diverting the funds of the party to San Francisco which would have otherwise been devoted to the local temple and, secondly, that they were called upon to contribute largely to a movement in the control of which they had hardly any share.

Within the *Ghadr* party Bhagwan Singh also led a faction against Ram Chandra. By obtaining the possession of the old Ghadr premises at 1324, Valencia Street Bhagwan Singh began to issue the paper since February 20, 1917, while Ram Chandra by setting up a new press at 1017, Valencia Street, published the first number of his new *Ghadr* on February 7, 1917. Besides, charges were brought against Ram Chandra for misappropriation of *Ghadr* funds which were not altogether without basis, as he himself admitted in a meeting at San Francisco on January 6, 1917 that "the money received from Germany had not been applied to the objects for which it was given, and that false accounts and reports had been sent to Germany; he excused himself on the interesting and remarkable ground that the Indian advisers of the Germans in Berlin were Bengalis". All these developments had been alienating the sympathy of Americans from the movement and reports against it began to appear increasingly in the press. The last and final blow to the *Ghadr* movement was struck by the fact of America's entry into the First World War in 1917 on the side of the Anglo-French Powers, and this in its turn was followed by the arrest of good many *Ghadr* men in the U. S. A. leading to the historic San Francisco Trial during 1917-1918.

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORK IN EUROPE

While things were shaping themselves thus in America, European capitals were also utilised by

Indian revolutionaries for organizing anti-British conspiracies. They had their bases, first at London and Paris, and later at Berlin. Shyamji Krishna Varma, S. R. Rana, Mrs. V. R. Cama and V. D. Savarkar formed the earliest band of Indian revolutionaries working in Europe. Krishna Varma, a man of Kathiawar, founded the "India Home Rule Society", with himself as President, at London as early as January, 1905 and brought out as the monthly organ of the Society the *Indian Sociologist* through which he gave voice to the grievances and problems of India. Another important service rendered by Krishna Varma was his Fellowship project (1905-06) which, supplemented by three Fellowships offered by S. R. Rana from Paris, attracted a number of Indian students to London in the first decade of the twentieth century. His 'India House' (July 1, 1905), ostensibly a hostel of Indian students, soon turned into a centre of Indian revolutionaries, where Sunday meetings were regularly held and topics of revolutionary significance discussed. The arrival of V. D. Savarkar with an award of Rana's Shivaji Fellowship, at London in July, 1906 and the withdrawal of Krishna Varma from England to Paris (1907) following the threat of British official action against him, gave a new tone to the India House politics. Savarkar, who was placed in charge of the India House by Krishna Varma, soon started there a branch of his Abhinav Bharat Society and formed before long a party of violence advocating open rebellion against the alien rulers. The arrival in London of a group of Extremist leaders from India at this stage, viz., G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti, Lala Lajpat Rai, Hardyal and Ram Bhuj Datta from the Punjab, and B. C. Pal from Calcutta (September, 1908), warmed up the activities of the India House.

In course of a discussion at the India House on November 8, 1908 on the subject of "Are We Really

Disarmed?" Savarkar pointed out that "in spite of the Arms Act there was plenty of warlike material in India. He instanced the Native States and Native troops which, he said, would be sufficient to overpower and drive the British out of India. What was wanted was active work in the Native States and among the native troops, and it would be the duty of every Indian leaving these shores for India to work in that direction. The advent of the bomb had terrified the British public, 'we must teach our people to hate the foreign oppressor and success is sure'." This was followed by the publication of Savarkar's historic book entitled *The Indian War Of Independence Of 1857* by 'An Indian Nationalist' (1909), many copies of which were sent to India under disguise. The Mutiny celebrations in the India House, first organised on May 9, 1905, became an annual affair since then, and on one such occasion on May 10, 1909 Savarkar delivered a passionate lecture exhorting Indians to take up arms against the British tyrants following the example of the heroes of 1857. As the character of the India House politics assumed a more and more radical turn, the attendance at its regular meetings began to decline, although a select few clustered round Savarkar and also started revolver shooting practice at a range in Tottenham Court Road. One of them was Madan Lal Dhingra who suffered execution at the hands of the British Government on a charge of murdering William Curzon Wylie, Political Aide-de-Camp at the India Office, at the Imperial Institute on July 1, 1909. A lengthy statement by Dhingra found in his pocket and which was afterwards printed in large numbers and widely circulated has been proved by its style to have been the work of Savarkar. It was worded thus: "I attempted to shed English blood intentionally and of purpose, as an humble protest against the inhuman transportations and hangings of Indian youth.

“In this attempt I consulted none but my own conscience; conspired with none but my own duty.

“I believe that a nation unwillingly held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible I attacked by surprise—since cannon could not be had I drew forth and fired a revolver.

“... The only lesson required in India is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying alone....

“It is my favourite prayer, may I be reborn of the same mother and may I redie in the same sacred cause, till my mission is done and she stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God.”

Although the authorship of the above statement could not be proved in court, yet it was the confirmed opinion of the authorities that the plot was planned and directed by Savarkar himself.

Another important service rendered by Savarkar to the cause of Indian revolution was the despatch of twenty Browning pistols with ammunition to India through a Bombay man, Chatturbhuj Amin, and they had been purchased at Paris through the instrumentality of S. R. Rana. Chatturbhuj Amin, a cook at the India House, took them concealed at the false bottom of his box and delivered them to G. K. Patankar, a member of the Nasik group of revolutionaries (March, 1909). It may be noted in this connection that one of these pistols was used in the murder of Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik, at a farewell party at the Vijayanand Theatre by a Maratha Brahmin named Anant Lakshman Kanher on December 21, 1909. Both Kanher and his two accomplices, Karve and Deshpande, faced death by hanging, thus setting up inspiring examples to the prospective martyrs of India.

After the arrest of Savarkar (March 13, 1910) under the Fugitive Offenders Act followed by the frus-

tration of his attempted escape, V. V. S. Aiyar and Virendra Chattopadhyay, both being political disciples of Savarkar, became the most important figures in England. But as the political atmosphere of England appeared more and more incongenial to them, they too retired from England to Paris respectively in April and June, 1910. With their retirement the movement in England virtually came to an end, and Paris turned into the chief centre of Indian revolutionary activities in Europe.

Two prominent Indians living at Paris at that time were S. R. Rana, a Rajput of Kathiawar, and Mrs. V. R. Cama, a Parsi of Bombay. The greatest service rendered by Ranaji to the cause of Indian revolution was in the form of providing funds and arms to it as well as an asylum to the revolutionaries at Paris. Hem Chandra Das of Midnapore, who had been to Paris in 1906 for learning bomb-making, was greatly helped by Ranaji in numerous ways. Ranaji not merely provided shelter to him (along with P. M. Bapat) at his own residence, but also supplied him with cyclostyled copies of Russian and Polish formulae of bomb manufacture translated into English. An enthusiastic admirer and supporter of Madame Cama, Ranaji organized in collaboration with the former a protest meeting at Paris (May 11, 1907) against the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai out of British India. Madame Cama delivered a fiery speech at that meeting.

The 'seditious' speeches of Madame Cama at the India House, London, in 1908 and her persistent endeavour in the printing and circulation of revolutionary literature made herself notorious in the eyes of the British bureaucracy. Her monthly paper *Bande Mataram* was directed to revolutionary propagandism till 1914. Besides, she was a great adviser and financial supporter of many Indian revolutionaries with whom she held frequent correspondence. That

Madame Cama was a spiritual inspirer, if not direct instigator, of Mr. Ashe's murder (June, 1911) is evidenced by her violent writing in the April, 1911 issue of *Bande Mataram* wherein she, after making a reference to the Nasik murder of Mr. Jackson (1909), the murder of Head Constable Srish Chakravarty at Calcutta (1911) and the attempted bomb outrage at Dalhousie Square (1911), wrote the following:

“Dealing with villains like these, an Indian must throw to the winds all the ordinary rules of warfare. . . In a meeting or in a bungalow, on the railway or in a carriage, in a shop or in a church, in a garden or at a fair, wherever an opportunity comes, Englishmen ought to be killed . . . The great Nana Sahib understood this, and our friends the Bengalis have also begun to understand”.⁷¹

Another signal service rendered by Madame Cama to the nationalist cause of India was that she raised a national flag of India, made by herself, at the International Socialist Conference at Stuttgart in Germany (August 18, 1907) and there delivered an impassioned speech advocating the cause of India's freedom. She also moved a resolution to that effect which was not, however, passed. At the outbreak of the World War I both Ranaji and Madame Cama were interned. As for Krishna Varma, it is necessary to note that he did not take any major part in revolutionary activities at Paris until his retirement to Geneva shortly afterwards. His *Indian Sociologist*, however, continued to be published from London under Savarkar's guidance till 1909, when it was transferred to Paris and finally to Geneva.

V. V. S. Aiyar of Trichinopoly who was the right-hand man of Savarkar in England, left Paris for Pondicherry (October, 1910) in the guise of a

71. *Political Trouble In India: 1907-1917.*

Mahomedan, while V. Chattopadhyay went to Germany in 1914 for prosecuting higher studies.

FORMATION OF THE BERLIN-INDIA COMMITTEE

With the outbreak of the World War I the focal point of India's revolutionary movement was no longer Paris but Berlin. It centred round the activities of Berlin-India Committee (formed in September, 1914) by Indians in Germany with the official co-operation of the German Government. Although it was a part of the German policy at that time to actively help Indian revolutionaries organize an armed rising against the British Indian Government, no practical step had yet been taken till the outbreak of the War (August 4, 1914). The efforts of two Bengali revolutionaries, Virendra Chattopadhyay and Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya (living at Halle, but starting work in Berlin from September 3, 1914), soon re-inforced by Chanji Kersasp, Dharendra Kumar Sarkar and N. S. Marathe (all living in Berlin at that time) seeking the assistance of the German Government to the cause of Indian revolution during the war period, elicited great enthusiasm from the German Foreign Office and culminated in the formation of the Berlin-India Committee in September, 1914. The members on the Committee were V. Chattopadhyay, Abinash Bhattacharya, Dr. Gyanendra Chandra Das Gupta, Champak Raman Pillai,⁷² Dr. Bishnu Suktankar (Vice-President), Dr. Joshi, Gopal Paranjpe, Karandikar, Mansur Rahman, Prof. Srish Chandra Sen, Satis Chandra Roy,

72. Champak Raman Pillai, a Tamil Boy, came from India to Switzerland in 1908 with Sir Walter Strickland, a Yorkshire baronet, who became very much anti-British in feeling and was in correspondence with Krishna Varma as well as a contributor to his *Indian Sociologist*. In June, 1912 a body called "International Pro-India Committee" was formed at Zurich with Pillai as President, Dr. Briesse Vice-President, and Strickland, Krishna Varma and Karl Bleibtreu assessors. Its major function was to contribute anti-British articles to the Swiss and German press. The Committee then issued a nationalist magazine called *Pro-India*.

Sambhasiv Rao, Dharendra Kumar Sarkar (Secretary), Chanji Kersasp, N. S. Marathe and Herr Albercht Ballin (President), and Baron Oppenheim (Vice-President). The last-named person represented the German Foreign Office on the Committee and was precisely the man whose interest and assistance led to its birth. It need be noted here that C. R. Pillai had also started a parallel move in Zurich in September, 1914. Pillai as President of the International Pro-India Committee approached the German Consul at Zurich and gave him an outline of the Indian revolutionary movement. The German Consul promised to communicate his proposal to the German Government. Pillai soon came to Berlin and became a member of the Berlin-India Committee. Through the organization of the Committee the German Foreign Office stood committed to the despatch of arms and ammunition and, if necessary, trained personnel too to the Indian shores as well as financial help to the Indian revolutionaries in and outside India. A circular was also prepared in different Indian languages. The members who had knowledge of Chemistry began to learn the art of preparing powerful explosives at Spandau, while others contacted the captured prisoners of war brought to Germany from the Middle East.⁷³

After the initial spade work was over, it was decided to send messengers both to America and India to contact Indian revolutionaries there. Dhiren Sarkar and N. S. Marathe went to America with code instruction written on the inside of the cloth linings of their coats to the German embassy at Washington. Satis Chandra Roy, Sambhasiv Rao, Dr. Joshi, Srish Chandra Sen, Abinash Chandra Battacharya and three others left for India.⁷⁴ At this stage Dr. Mueller and V.

73. *Europe Bharatiya Biplaber Sadhana* by Dr. Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya (Calcutta, 1958, Chapter VII).

74. *Ibid.* Also see *Aprakasita Rajneetik Itihas* by Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 3-10.

Chattopadhyay became its Secretary and a Vice-President respectively. Meanwhile, Jitendra Nath Lahiri, Bhupendra Nath Datta, Tarak Nath Das, Lala Hardyal, Md. Barkataullah, Heramba Lal Gupta, Dr. Abdul Hafiz, Dr. M. G. Probhakar, Jodh Singh Mahajan, Trimul Acharia, C. K. Chakravarty and many other became members of the Committee at different stages. Jitendra Nath Lahiri has informed the present writer that under instruction from Dhiren Sarkar and N. S. Marathe, he started from Berkeley for Berlin with passport and money from the German Consul at New York. In December, 1914 he reached Berlin and found the Committee to be an independent organization known as the Indian Independence Committee owning collective responsibility. The liaison between the Indians and the German Foreign Office headed by Zimmermann and assisted by Wesendonk was Baron Oppenheim. V. Chattopadhyay was the Secretary to the Committee during 1915-16 and Bhupendra Nath Datta during 1916-1918.

ITS WORK IN AMERICA

In America, the Committee's work was mainly directed to the chartering of a steamship, *Maverick*, for carrying arms to India which however proved to be a failure in the long run. Heramba Lal Gupta and later C. K. Chakravarty (since January, 1916) was in charge of the American affairs. The *Ghadr* party worked in close co-operation with the schemes sponsored by the I. I. C., approved and financed by the Germans.

THE BAGDAD MISSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In the Middle East, the activities of the Indian Independence Committee (I. I. C.) were directed in four different directions, viz., Bagdad, Suez Canal, Persia and Afghanistan.

According to Bhupendra Nath Datta, early in 1915 the I. I. C. sent a Mission led by Barkataullah, Tarak Nath Das and Kersasp to Istamboul to devise ways and means to work in Western Asia. The delegation waited upon Enver Pasha who received it very cordially and appointed Ali Bey of Tashkilat-i-Makshusa (Eastern wing of the War Office) to provide all facilities to it. By keeping one or two at Istamboul the Mission divided itself into two, one proceeding towards Syria and another towards Bagdad in Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia these men tried to come into touch with the Indian soldiers, secretly spreading anti-British leaflets, booklets etc. among them. The Bagdad Mission headed by Dr. Mansur was able to collect about 100 sepoys who had fled from their camps and to organize them into a national volunteer corps.⁷⁵ In a letter dated July 4, 1916 the members of the I. I. C. from Constantinople informed the head office at Berlin that through the mediation of Enver Pasha the War Office of Turkey had consented to the organization of a Volunteer Legion by Indians. The Turkish authorities, the letter continued, at first wanted it to be incorporated in the Turkish army without its separate identity and for its use for Turkish purposes. But later they consented to the Indian scheme to collect as many able-bodied Indians as possible to form Volunteer Legion, which would make its way through Southern Mesopotamia to the Indian frontier, fighting the English forces in Persia, if necessary. "Our whole object is not a military action which is obviously impossible by mere Volunteers but a political action calculated to exercise a moral influence on the Indian people".⁷⁶ Another letter from

75. *Ibid*, pp. 41-57.

76. Material of the German Foreign Ministry Archives during 1867-1920, as microfilmed by American Committee for the study of War Documents, (A. C. P.), and preserved in the National Archives of India, Reel No. 398.

Constantinople, dated July 22, 1916 and addressed to General Von Lossow, Imperial German Embassy, Constantinople, gives us further details about it. The letter reads in part as follows:

“One of the chief objects we had in view in sending the mission consisting of Dr. Mansur & others to Bagdad was to carry on a vigorous anti-English propaganda in Mesopotamia and see to what extent it would be possible to obtain volunteers for our proposed Legion. We have now received information from three sources regarding the progress made in this direction:—

1. From Ali Bey Bash Hampa of the Tashkilat-i-Makhsusa (Special Department of the War Office).
2. From the telegrams sent by Dr. Mansur to us through the German Embassy, as well as the information sent by the German Consul at Bagdad to the Ambassador.
3. From the telegrams sent directly to us by Dr. Mansur through the Tashkilat.

“Ali Bey Bash Hampa reports that he accompanied H. E. Enver Pasha to Bagdad and presented to Dr. Mansur and party to His Excellency as well as to the Commandant at Bagdad, H. E. Khalil Pasha. H. E. Enver Pasha told H. E. Khalil Pasha to let the Indians have the freedom to organise a Legion if they could. Khalil Pasha thereupon agreed to give us the necessary freedom of action, but expressly stated that he would have no Volunteers in the Ottoman Army as they were merely a hindrance. We would have no objection of their being used outside Turkey—either in Persia or against India. He has given Dr. Mansur and his party (according to the latter's telegram) the necessary wasika for the formation of Legion from

among the Indian residents in Turkey including the Indian prisoners”⁷⁷.

The Volunteer Legion was called the Indian National Legion which marched under Indian National Flag.

Besides, as soon as the news of the fall of Kut-el-Amara (April 29, 1916) reached Berlin, Bhupen Datta, and Viren Chattopadhyay started for Istamboul whence they, together with Biren Das Gupta, went to the military camps at Eski Shehr and Konia and met the fallen Indian soldiers and officers with the avowed object of getting recruits from them for the Indian National Legion. From a copy of a letter from Constantinople forwarded by the I. I. C. to Baron Von Wesendonk at Berlin, dated July 8, 1916, we come to know the following : “Messrs Datta, Das Gupta and Chatto are leaving in a day or two for Konia, where there are over 200 officers interned. We were given to understand today that the prisoners will be divided into two sections—Muslim and Hindu, and that the Muslims will be kept at Adena, and the Hindus at Haleb (Aleppo). The Government has given us freedom to make propaganda among the troops but makes it a condition that only Muslim workers shall be used for the Muslim troops. They accept our point of view that Hindus shall work among the Hindu troops. The latter are to be used to work on the Bagdad Railway”.⁷⁸

But the work of the Bagdad Mission did not proceed far. Several factors such as bad leadership and misappropriation of power by Dr. Mansur, the policy of the Turkish officers, made up mainly of Arabs and Egyptians, to use the Indian soldiers in their own interests, the policy of the Germans to form small bands out of Indians and to send them to Persia to

77. *Ibid.* Reel No. 398.

78. *Ibid.* Also see *Aprakasita Rajneetik Itihas*, pp. 49-50.

fight against England on behalf of Germany, and, above all, the pan-Islamic anti-Hindu propaganda of a few Indian Mahomedans like Abdul Jabbar of Delhi as well as the religious fanaticism and superstitious belief of the Mahomedan masses led to the ultimate failure of the Bagdad Mission.

THE SUEZ CANAL MISSION

The party that proceeded to Damascus through Syria arrived at El-Arish by the middle of July, 1915. It consisted of Trimul Acharia (*alias* Mahomed Akbar), Tarak Nath Das, Biren Das Gupta (*alias* Ali Haidar), Varma (a Hindu from Lucknow under the *alias* of Hussain Ali), Rajab Ali, Ismail Hussain (an Egyptian) etc. It was joined by Abdur Rahaman, an Indian Mahomedan who was in charge of the inn meant for the Muslim pilgrims at Jerusalem. The party contacted the German Commander Kress Von Kressenstein at Bir-el-Sabba, the headquarters of the Senai Desert, and discussed on the following points:

1. Organization of the Beduins under some Turkish officers.
2. Introduction of Indian revolutionaries to Beduin Sheikhs who could be of some help to them to carry their messages to Egypt. Also possibilities to use Beduin women for the purpose to be explored.
3. Opportunity to Indians to go with Turkish patrols to come in contact with the Indian troops.

The Commander received the party very cordially and disclosed to them how he had organised the Beduins of the south and how he proposed to do with the others. He also sent for the Beduin Sheikhs for their introduction to the Indian party and promised to give help to it to go in a patrol.

Soon a patrol party got ready for the Suez Canal.

It was composed of twenty foot-soldiers under a lieutenant, ten Hazines (riding camels), as well as ten Beduins and a few Sheikhs (Beduin chiefs). There were altogether 40 camels, for provisions and water included. A Syrian army also accompanied the party for its defence.

After marching for five nights through rocky and sandy routes, the party arrived at last within three hours of the Canal. As it did not come across any English patrol on this side of the Canal and as it could not afford to wait indefinitely lest it should run short of provisions or be overpowered by the enemies with a large force, it soon changed its original plans and decided to blow off the railways on the other side of the Canal. Two Beduins were instructed how to blow off a railway line and were provided with a dynamite by the party. Four Beduins were to accompany them to keep watch. "Two packets of picric blocks of one kilo each were made ready for them; the explosives and the prepared fuses were put in separate water-tight bags. They took a rifle and one of our revolvers also with them. We had sent them between Kantara and a point northwards called '34'. A party of twenty of us went very near the water opposite the point of explosion to see that the blowing was properly done and to help our men to escape. The soldiers were left behind as reserve".⁷⁹

After having done the explosion work, and after having fired at a boat carrying Englishmen, the Beduins swam across the Canal and were duly rewarded by the patrol party.

On return to El' Arish the Indian Mission not merely contacted the German and Turkish Commanders,

79. G. F. M. A., Reel No. 398 for the Report of the Suez Canal Mission as forwarded to Baron Von Wesendonk at Berlin by the I. I. C. (Berlin) on October 12, 1915. Also the writer's interview with Sri Biren Das Gupta at Calcutta. Sri Das Gupta held a very important position on the Suez Canal Mission.

but also sent Beduins as messengers to the Arab chiefs in Egypt seeking their co-operation in war with England, and the response was favourable.

THE PERSIAN MISSION

On the Persian Mission two persons figured very prominently, and they were Pandurang Sadashiv Khankhoje and Pramatha Nath Datta (*alias* Dawood Ali Khan). Khankhoje of Nagpur, accompanied by Agashe (*alias* Mohammed Ali), a Maratha young man both being members of the *Ghadr* party, came to Persia *via* Turkey in 1915. At Constantinople Khankhoje met Pramatha Datta, both of whom waited upon Enver Pasha and Talat Pasha and sought their permission to bring the *Ghadr* military men to attack India. The consent having been obtained Khankhoje wrote an Address to the sepoys of the *Ghadr* party which was despatched to California through the German and Turkish embassies. This part of his work did not further proceed. The party then arrived at Bagdad wherefrom it went to Bushire in Persia with a small expedition and carried ample literature for distribution. By this time men who had already been in Persia and who had come along with the Bagdad Mission joined this party. These men included Khandhoo Bhai Kumarji Naik (Gujrati), Kedar Nath, Amin Sarma, Basant Singh and Chait Singh (Punjabis), Mirza Abbas (Hyderabadi), Rishikesh Latta (Garwali), Kersasp (Parsi) etc.

These men, specially Kedar Nath, Basant Singh, Chait Singh etc., distributed a large number of leaflets in the trenches of Indian soldiers in Mesopotamia and Persia. Several thousand copies of five different leaflets, which were discovered among the effects of Herr Wassmuss, German Consul of Bushire (1915), were "identical with some found recently near the lines and guard-posts of the 102nd K. E. O. Grenadiers

at Bushire". These leaflets included one in English, two in Urdu, one in Hindi and one in Marathi. The English leaflet, headed *Awake And Arise; O Princes And Peoples Of India!* and signed 'Bande Mataram', concluded with an impassioned appeal to the soldiers of India to kill English officers and men indiscriminately if they desired to establish themselves "among the free nations of the world." The Urdu leaflets included one which, signed by ten Ulama of the Society of Ulama and being a direct incitement to *Jehad*, had already been found in large numbers in the possession of returning pilgrims from the *haj* in November-December, 1914. The other Urdu leaflet, lithographed on one side only of a long narrow white sheet, was an appeal to the Sikhs of the Indian Army to drive the British out of India. It began with the Sikh war-cry and greeting 'Sat Siri Akal. Siri wah guruji da Khalsa, Siri wah guruji di fateh' and ended with 'Bande Mataram'. The Hindi leaflet made separate appeals to Hindu, Mahomedan, Rajput and Sikh soldiers and also to the Marathas with the stock revolutionary arguments suitable for each class. The leaflet was headed *Victory To Mother India*, and ended with the words "Shout victory to Mother India and murder the Englishmen. Bande Mataram". The fifth leaflet, lithographed in Balbodh writing and Maratha language, was a direct appeal to the Maratha sepoys for similar action.⁸⁰

It is to be noted here that Persia at the outbreak of the First World War enjoyed only nominal independence, the northern portion being under Russian influence and the southern portion including the oil regions being overrun by the British troops. The Indian party that went to Bushire under the leadership of Khankhoje was driven by the enemies to Shiraz, where it was joined

80. The Note forwarded by the Central Intelligence Office, Simla, to the I. B. Office of different provinces of India, dated April 29, 1915.

by Sufi Amba Prasad.⁸¹ The party then proceeded to Kerman where it set up its base, organizing a force jointly with Indians and Persians. It is pertinent to mention here that Syed Taki Zade, leader of the Persian Democratic Party, had also formed an Iranian-German Committee at Berlin and worked in collaboration with the Berlin-India Committee for the independence of Persia. Taki Zade also sent batches of Persians from Berlin to his own country with the same object. These emissaries together with such men as belonged to the Persian Democratic Party and/or were sympathetic to the cause of India were enlisted in this expedition.

Pramatha Nath Datta who was sent to the border of Beluchistan and Afghanistan by Khankhoje, returned with bullet wounds in his leg and remained at Kerman along with Agashe while the rest under Khankhoje proceeded to Bam in Persian Beluchistan where they raised troops from among the Beluchs. A Beluch chief Jihan Khan also joined them. The Indian expedition and the Beluch troops combined to attack the Frontier Province and set up a provisional government there under Jihan Khan. At this stage they received the *jihad fatawahs* of Turkey and waited upon the Amir of Persian-Beluchistan who at first agreed to help them but he was soon bribed over by the British to their side. The Amir fought against the Indian troops who were dispersed and to a great extent destroyed too. Persia was a very difficult place at that time where fighting continued on all sides. Khankhoje with a small force returned to Bam and then to Baft in Western Persia fighting all the way, but was wounded and captured. But he fled from the clutches of the enemies and came to Nehriz with the help of a local man. Meanwhile Pramath Nath

81. Sufi Amba Prasad who had absconded to Persia in 1909, lived there till 1915 when he joined the Persian Mission pitted against England. He was arrested twice, but in the first instance he managed to escape.

Datta and Agashe also came fighting to Baft and thence to Nehriz where they, along with some of their German companions, had fallen captives at the hands of the enemies. Khankhoje, after arriving at Nehriz, managed to free them and then the three Indians waded through utmost difficulties to Shiraz (1916). As Khankhoje has stated, he then joined the Persians and fought in their camp against the British till 1919. In 1919 Khankhoje was handed over to the British by the Persians, but again he escaped.⁸²

About the fate of the other members of the Mission we may observe that "Abdul Aziz (Basant Singh), Jan Mohammed (Chait Singh), Hassan Ali Khan (Kersasp) after crossing mountains and surmounting many other difficulties, managed to reach Kandahar. Afterwards they returned to Hirat, after that we received no news. Khankhoje who was wounded on the frontier of Beluchistan, returned to Kerman. . . Mr. Hassan Ali Khan by virtue of his extraordinary services, has won testimonial". Kedar Nath (*alias* Kedar Ali) and Sufi Amba Prasad (*alias* Mohammed Hussain Sufi) were captured at Shiraz. Kedar Nath was hanged, and Sufi Amba Prasad committed suicide in January, 1917, the day before he was to have been shot. Basant Singh and Kersasp were arrested on the Persian border and were executed. Rabi Chand (*alias* Mubarak Ali Khan) and Rishikesh Latta (*alias* Zia Uddin) were rewarded with three certificates each in recognition of his services. The Mission also devoted itself to the circulation of leaflets and pamphlets in diverse languages among the soldiers and pilgrims as well as in mosques. Mullahs and Muja-

82. The statement of Dr. Khankhoje as incorporated in the *Appendices* to B. N. Datta's *Aprakasita Rajneetik Itihas*. The present version has been seen and corrected by Dr. Khankhoje himself who is of opinion that it has been "concise and comprehensive" (Vide the letter of Sri Anandrao Joshi to the writer, dated September.4, 1966).

hids were also sent to various tribes in Persia to persuade them to stir up disturbances against England.⁸³

THE KABUL MISSION

Next, we may turn our attention to the Kabul Mission which was sent under the leadership of Raja Mahendra Pratap in 1915. In 1914 he left India for Europe and settled in Switzerland where he met V. Chattopadhyay and Hardyal. Accompanied by the former he went to Berlin, and having an autograph letter from the German Emperor to the Amir of Afghanistan, he left Berlin (April 10, 1915) for Constantinople where he was favoured with an interview by the Sultan who gave him an autograph letter to the Amir on his behalf. Raja Mahendra Pratap was accompanied in his Mission by Md. Barkataullah as well as Dr. Von Hentig, the German representative, and Captain Casim Bey, the representative of Turkey. The Mission was received cordially by the Amir who sent on his turn two letters to the Sultan of Turkey and the Emperor of Germany respectively.

Mahendra Pratap, on his return to Berlin on March 23, 1918 through many hazards and difficulties, presented a lengthy report of ten fulscape-typed pages describing his trip from Berlin to Berlin for the gracious perusal of His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of the German Empire. The following is an extract from his lengthy report which will give us an inside view of the Kabul Mission :

“On the second of October 1915 Kabul was reached. Towards the end of October I had the good fortune of presenting the two Imperial letters from H. I. M. The Kaiser and H. I. M. The Sultan to H. M. The Amir. Soon afterwards I and Moulvie Barkataullah were received by H. M. The

83. G. F. M. A., Reel No. 399. See the Report of the Indian Nationalist Society in Persia to the I. I. C., Berlin, dated November 14, 1916.

Amir and Princes at an informal conversation. Later followed a number of conferences and conversations between us and the Afghan Government. By the grace of God I had the good fortune to enjoy the confidence of all the parties in Kabul. But I regret very much that I could not accomplish the great work in view—the revolution in India as I had not a single farthing to start my Indian work, I mean that not a single farthing was placed at my disposal either by the Indian public or our friends, Germany or Turkey—to carry on my holy duties. True, besides that there were also a few official handicaps from the Afghan side but these were only due to the backward state of Afghan civilisation, and they could have been easily mended by a flow of the shining metal. H. M. The Amir wished that all of us should stay on in Kabul so that whenever an opportunity presents itself the Afghan Government may openly side with Germany and Turkey. In the meantime military preparations were pushed forward and my Indian work was carried on secretly under certain restrictions by the Afghan Government”.

Referring to the joining of Moulvie Obedullah⁸⁴ from India with the party, the Raja further states in his Report: “I together with Moulvie Barkataullah and Moulvie Obedullah had formed a provisional government of India. I was acting as the President of this Government and Moulvie Barkataullah (Diwan Sahib) was working as the Prime Minister and Moulvie Obe-

84. Moulvie Obedullah was a Sikh, later converted to Islam, and had been a teacher at the Deoband Moslem College in the U. P. under the name of Obedullah. An important member of the “Silk Letter” conspiracy, Obedullah, and also a number of Muslim youths had fled away in 1915 from India to Kabul and other Islamic countries to foment anti-British and pro-Islamic feelings. Two sons of an old Mahomedan soldier of the Punjab, who had accompanied the party, employed their family retainer as liaison between Kabul and the Punjab. That retainer carried a number of letters from the conspirators, written in neat Persian on Silk and sewn up in the lining of his coat, to India and left them in one of the Punjab States. The conspiracy was discovered by Mr. Cleveland and was termed the “Silk Letter” conspiracy.

dullah was our administrative minister. We did not care to put down much in black and white but we were every day labouring for our cause as best as we could. I have even with me the minutes and the seal of the Provisional Government of Hind. But as our German friends had left Kabul in May 1915 and my estates were confiscated and my friends in India were extremely watched and as they were also sending messages that to start the big revolution they wanted a few thousand German and Turkish troops and since this was also the idea of the Afghan Government that the Afghan Government could not openly join our side in the ordinary circumstances without the help of money, arms, ammunition and troops, I, Captain Casim Bey and Moulvie Barkataullah Sahib took leave of the Afghan Government."

H. M. the Amir was good enough to hand over to Raja Mahendra Pratap his replies to the two letters of the Emperors, and with these in his possession Mahendra Pratap left Kabul on September 17, 1916.⁸⁵

The report submitted by Raja Mahendra Pratap on his return to Berlin also contained a complaint about Dr. Von Hentig, the German representative accompanying the Mission, who left behind in Persia 23 out of 26 Imperial German Government letters addressed by H. E. The Chancellor to the Indian Princes, and as these never reached Afghanistan, their Indian work suffered a good deal from this loss. Besides, this Mission suffered badly from lack of funds mainly due to the bungling and selfishness of Von Hentig who was controlling the funds, about which a complaint was lodged by Md. Barkataullah with the German F. O. in a letter dated Bagh-i-Babershad Kabul, Afghanistan, May 21, 1916.

OPERATION IN THE FAR EAST

In the Far East the important regions of the

85. G. F. M. A., Reel No. 398.

Indo-German conspiracy were Siam, Burma and Malay where anti-British schemes were financed and controlled by the Consulates at Peking, Shanghai, Batavia and Bangkok. The Siam project was undertaken by the Germans and the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco combined. It aimed at collecting a force of about ten thousand men, armed and drilled with German help and stationed at Burma-Siam borders. The revolutionaries would then secure the co-operation of the Burma Military Police, half of whom were Sikhs and Mahomendans, and then would overrun Burma and finally the whole of India. Two students from Berkeley, California, viz., Sukumar Chatterjee of Jabbalpore and Darisi Chenchiah, a Madrasi of Nellore, came to Bangkok as emissaries of the *Ghadr* party. They would do the preliminary work and recommend places and forests and submit photos where all these operations were to be carried on. The German railway officers and their Punjabi overseers and surveyors would supply them with all necessary information.

Among the persons connected with the conspiracy in Siam and Burma the more prominent were Atmaram and Shiv Dayal Kapur (both coming from China), Sohan Lal Pathak, Jodh Singh Mahajan (*alias* Hassan Zada), Harnam Singh, Narain Singh etc. These men and many others of the *Ghadr* party came to Siam from the U. S. A. and the Far East in 1914-15. Sohan Lal who was arrested at Maymyo in Burma (August 14, 1915) was perhaps the leader of the *Ghadr* men in these sectors as proved by a letter from Ram Chandra Peshwari in San Francisco to Sohan Lal intercepted at Singapore in June, 1915. At the time of his arrest three automatic pistols and about 270 cartridges, besides several papers including a copy of 'New Light and New Science' by Hardy, were found with him. Five days later Narayin Singh was arrested

at Maymyo with a fully loaded pistol, a considerable quantity of the Turkish *fatawah* and a copy of the *Ghadr*. Harnam Singh was arrested in Moulmein on his way back to Siam. All these three were executed—Sohan Lal Pathak under the Defence of India Act and the other two in the Mandalay Conspiracy Case. Shiv Dayal Kapur was arrested at Bangkok (August, 1915), in whose note-book was “a pencil-sketch of a ship with three horizontal lights, at the mast head. Above this the following notes were made in Hindusthani : ‘Schooner; 1st August; 500 revolvers; Chittagong, and below was written ‘Anjer’ in English and the words ‘Java town’ in Hindusthani”. Obviously, this referred to the scheme of the schooner *Henry S*.

Besides, two parties of Indians who entered Burma from Siam through the Raheng-Mesort-Myawaddy route—the first consisting of five Indians and an American, Charles W. Allan, and the second consisting of sixteen Sikhs and one Mahomedan,—were arrested in early May, 1915. All these arrests struck a death-blow to the conspiracy in this sector. These arrests led to the Mandalay Conspiracy Case of which the Judgment was delivered on July 27, 1916. Of the seventeen persons tried in this case, seven comprising Harnam Singh, Chelliah Ram, Bassawa Singh, Narain Singh, Narinjan Singh, Pala Singh and Kirpa Ram were sentenced to death. Five received life sentence, one seven years’ transportation and four were acquitted.⁸⁶

The Siam conspiracy directed itself also to the project of attacking the Andaman Islands and freeing the prisoners therein. About this part of the conspiracy an interesting account is revealed in Mr. Ker’s book. Mr. Ker’s information is derived mostly from a European employed by the German Secret Service, arrested

86. The Judgment in the Mandalay Conspiracy Case: Vide Home (Poll. A) Proceedings of the Govt. of India, September 1916, Nos. 403-10.

in Singapore (July, 1915), and who has been referred to by Mr. Ker as X. About this episode Mr. Ker writes :

“It appeared from the statement of X that one of the German plans was to take the Andaman Islands before raising a revolt in Burma and India. First of all an agent was to go to the Andamans, in the guise of a merchant, and to land arms supplied from German sources; he was then to get into touch with released prisoners who were working on their own ground, and arrange with them to destroy the wireless station on an appointed night. One or two of some twelve German ships laid up in Sabang, after getting together the fittest of the crews of all the vessels, and taking as many Germans from Del (Sumatra) as possible, were to leave for the Nicobars; here they would pick up quick-firers, guns and ammunition, which would be previously deposited by pre-concerted arrangement. The ships would then proceed to the Andamans so as to arrive there on the night fixed for the destruction of the wireless station, landings being effected at the same time on both the East and the West side of the islands. After this had been done, and the place had been captured, as many of the convicts as were fit and willing were to be shipped under German leadership, to a place near Rangoon. If the undertaking seemed to promise success, all Germans of military age in the Dutch East Indies and Siam would be ordered to join the insurrectionary force. X had with him three detailed maps of the Andamans, and some photographs of Aberdeen Jail, and was well informed as to the numbers of officials, troops, police and warders on the islands”.⁸⁷

THE SINGAPORE MUTINY

Although this part of the conspiracy remained un-

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

realized, yet the Sepoys at Singapore actually revolted in February, 1915. The Indian battalion at Singapore was the Fifth Light Infantry, comprising almost entirely of Moslems from India. On February 15, 1915 they revolted under the instigation of the Ghadarites and recklessly murdered a number of Europeans including military officers, soldiers, and civilians. They kept the city under their control until the evening of February 18. Although the mutineers had released many German prisoners, yet no help was forthcoming either from them or from other sources as had been fondly expected. So the mutiny was easily suppressed.

About the genesis and subsequent development of the Singapore Mutiny Lt. General MacMunn observes the following:

“On the 15th, Major-General D. Ridout, commanding at Singapore, inspected the 5th, prior to the battalion embarking. All was quiet and in order, but as the battalion's ammunition was being loaded into lorries at the Alexandra Barracks, a shot was fired. An outbreak immediately followed. Those who tried to keep order were shot down... The mutineers, at first at sixes and sevens, now broke up into three parties, one to overpower the men guarding the German internment camp and release the prisoners; another to attack the Colonel's house, and a third to prevent any assistance arriving down the road from Singapore. Further, several small parties made off, apparently to murder stray Europeans”. For three days bloody scenes were enacted in the streets of Singapore. But lacking in ammunition and resources, the mutineers could hardly hold their own for long. Lt. General MacMunn writes further: “By the morning of the 18th the aggregate of armed forces was sufficient for General Ridout to occupy the whole of the scene of the tragedy, Tanglin, Alexandra Barracks, and Normanton... By the evening of the 18th, the situation was completely in hand,

and residents returned to their houses. Some 300 mutineers only were at large, and these were driven into the jungle... Two of the leaders were hanged, thirty-eight were shot, all in public. The incident was over, and the 5th Light Infantry were no more."⁸⁸

88. Vide Lt. General Sir George MacMunn: *Turmoil & Tragedy In India: 1914 And After* (London, 1935, pp. 105-113). Also see *Aprakasita Rajneetik Itihas*, pp. 23-24.



RASHBEHARI BASU

Rash Behari Bose
(May 25, 1886—January 21, 1945)



Rash Behari Bose with his wife Toshiko Bose