SEDITION COMMITTEE, 1918.

REPORT.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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GOVT. OF INDIA

The Hon'ble Mr. JUSTICE ROWLATT, Judge of the King's Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice ... ... ***President.***

The Hon'ble Sir BASIL SCOTT, Kt., Chief Justice of Bombay ... ...

The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRI, Judge of the High Court of Madras ... ...

The Hon'ble Sir VERNEY LOVETT, K.C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, United Provinces ... . } ***Members.***

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER, Additional Member of the Bengal Legislative Council ... ...

Mr. J. D. V. HODGE, Indian Civil Service, Bengal ... ... ***Secretary.***

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CHAPTER I.

REVOLUTIONARY CONSPIRACIES IN BOMBAY.

First indications of a revolutionary movement.

Indications of a revolutionary movement were first observed in Western India in connection with the development of two classes of annual festivals, namely, those in honour of the Hindu god Ganpati and those in honour of the Maratha leader Sivaji, who united the people of the Deccan against their Muhammadan rulers.

Public Ganpati festivals appear to have arisen out of an anti-Muhammadan movement started after riots which broke out in the city of Bombay in 1893 between Hindus and Muhammadans. Agitators who were interested in widening the breach between these two communities encouraged the holding of public celebrations in honour of Ganpati, the elephant-headed god of wisdom and success, on a much larger scale than in previous years. The idea appears to have been to make the procession in which the god is carried to his final resting-place in the water as offensive as possible to Muhammadans by framing them upon the same lines as the processions at the Mohurrum festival, when *taboots* representing the tombs of the martyrs at Kerbela are immersed in the sea or river.

At this time the Muhammadans enjoyed the privilege enforced by police regulations of stopping music in processions while passing mosques during the hours of prayer.

The agitators on the approach of the Ganpati festival in September 1894 inaugurated a *Sarvajanik Ganpati* or public Ganpati celebration providing for worship of Ganpati in places accessible to the public (it had till then been a domestic ceremony) and arranging that Ganpati images should have their *mêlas* or groups of attendants, the members of the *mêla* being trained in the art of fencing with sticks and other physical exercises. During the 10 days' celebration of the festival bands of young men paraded the streets of Poona singing verses calculated to intensify the feelings against Muhammadans and Government. At the same time leaflets were circulated by schoolboys and others broadcast through the city calling the Hindus to arms, urging the Marathas to rebel as Sivaji did, declaring that the dagger of subjection to foreign rule penetrated the bosom of all, and urging that a religious outbreak should be made the first step towards the overthrow of the alien power. Ganpati processions were naturally followed by disturbances. On one occasion the police came in conflict with a *mêla* estimated at from 50 to 70 men which deliberately provoked disorder by passing in procession a mosque in which a Muhammadan religious gathering was assembled.

About the time of the Ganpati disturbances in Poona the attention of the public had been drawn to the fact that the tomb of the Maratha leader Sivaji was suffering from neglect. Steps were taken in Poona to revive the memory of Sivaji by holding festivals in celebration of his birth and his coronation. The first coronation festival was in June 1895. The festival became an annual observance at which stirring speeches were delivered recalling the prowess of the leader who revolted against the foreign domination of the Muhammadans. The application of the moral derived from Sivaji's successful struggle against the Muhammadans to the present condition of India under British rule was a natural and easy step.

The Chapekars.

2. At this time Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar, Chitpavan Brahmins in Poona, formed a society for physical and military training which they called the "Society for the removal of obstacles to the Hindu Religion." The spirit by which they were actuated will appear from the following *sloks* or verses recited by the Chapekars at the Sivaji and Ganpati festivals :—

"*Sivaji Sloks.*

Merely reciting Sivaji's story like a lord does not secure independence; it is necessary to be prompt in engaging in desperate enterprises like Sivaji and Baji;

knowing, you good people should take up swords and shields at all events now; we shall cut off countless heads of enemies. Listen. We shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war; we shall shed upon the earth the life-blood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing only, while you will hear the story like women.

Ganpati Sloks.

Alas, you are not ashamed to remain inservitude: try therefore to commit suicide; alas, like butchers, the wicked in their monstrous atrocity kill calves and kine; free her (the cow) from her trouble; die, but kill the English; do not remain idle or thereby burden the earth; this is called Hindustan. how is it that the English rule here?* "

Events at Poona in 1897. Rand murder. The "Kesari" and the first prosecution of B. G. Tilak.

3. In the year 1897, when the devastation caused by the plague led to the institution of house-to-house visitations and the compulsory evacuation of plague-infected houses in Poona, much alarm and resentment was aroused. On the 4th of May Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin, published an article in his paper, the *Kesari* (the most influential Marathi paper in Western India), imputing not merely to subordinate officials but to the Government itself a deliberate direction to oppress the people. He described Mr. Rand, Plague Commissioner, as tyrannical and stated that the Government was practising oppression. It was useless to petition the Supreme Government, as from it the orders for oppression had emanated.

On the 15th June 1897 the *Kesari* gave an account of the proceedings at the Sivaji coronation festival held on the 12th of June and also published certain metrical paragraphs entitled "Sivaji's utterances." One of the speakers at the festival was reported to have said :† "Every Hindu, every Maratha, to whatever party he may belong, must rejoice at this Sivaji festival. We all are striving to gain our lost independence, and this terrible load is to be uplifted by us all in combination. It will never be proper to place obstacles in the way of any person, who, with a true mind, follows the path of uplifting this burden in the manner he deems fit. Our mutual dissensions impede our progress greatly. If anyone be crushing down the country from above, cut him off, but do not put impediments in the way of others. . . . All occasions like the present festival which tend to unite the whole country must be welcome." Another speaker observed : "The people who took part in the French Revolution denied that they had committed murder and asserted that they were only removing thorns from their paths. Why should not the same argument be applied to Maharashtra?" The President at the festival meeting, Tilak himself, said : "Did Sivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan (the Muhammadan General) or not? The answer to that question can be found in the *Mahabharat* itself. Srimat Krishna's advice in the *Gita* is to kill even our own teachers and our kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruits of his deeds. Sri Sivaji did nothing with a view to fill the void of his own stomach. With benevolent intentions he murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others. If thieves enter our house and we have not sufficient strength to drive them out. we should without hesitation shut them up and burn them alive. God has not conferred upon the foreigners the grant inscribed on a copper-plate of the Kingdom of Hindusthan. The Maharaja (Sivaji) strove to drive them away from the land of his birth. He did not thereby commit the sin of coveting what belonged to others. Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well; get out of the Penal Code and enter the extremely high atmosphere of the *Srimat Bhagavad Gita* and consider the actions of great men."

The metrical paragraphs entitled "Utterances of Sivaji" were a lament upon the oppression which he found prevailing in his native land on awaking from the sleep of death.

The 22nd of June was the occasion of the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria and it was marked on that night by the murder, by the brothers Chapekar, of two Government officers, Mr. Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst, while returning from a gathering in celebration of the coronation at Government House, Ganeshkhind, Poona.

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* Autobiography of Damodar Chapekar.
† Translated from Marathi.

There appears to be no doubt that the intended victim was Mr. Rand, who had become unpopular owing to his being the officer charged with the enforcement of measures for the eradication of plague. The murder of Lieutenant Ayerst was apparently an accident. Damodar Chapekar was tried and convicted of the double murder on the 22nd June. In a long autobiographical essay written by him while in jail he stated that he and his brother were the persons who had disfigured the marble statute of Queen Victoria in Bombay by covering it with tar, " in order to rejoice their Aryan brethren, fill the English with sorrow, and put upon themselves the brand of treason."

In February 1899 other members of the Chapekar Association made two unsuccessful attempts on the life of a Chief Constable in Poona and afterwards murdered two brothers who had been rewarded by Government for information which led to the arrest and conviction of Damodar Chapekar. The result of these crimes was that four members of the Chapekar Association were hanged and one was sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. There can be no doubt that the Chapekar Association was a criminal conspiracy connected with the revolutionary movement in India.

The publications of the *Kesari* of the 15th June 1897 led to the trial and conviction of the proprietor, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, for sedition. The position taken up by Tilak had been one of casuistical apology for political assassination. It will be seen that afterwards the same attitude was maintained by him at a time when younger men were openly disseminating incitements to political assassination.

The Poona Press after 1897.

4. The conviction of Tilak did not put an end to the attacks of the anti-British Press in Poona. In 1898 a weekly paper in Marathi was published in Poona by Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpe, also a Chitpavan Brahmin. On account of its seditious tone Paranjpe was warned in 1899, and in 1900. 1904, 1905 and 1907 the question of prosecuting him for seditious writings was seriously considered. Finally in June 1908 he was prosecuted and sentenced to 19 months' imprisonment The article which was the subject of the prosecution will be referred to later in connection with other prosecutions in that year.

Another paper edited by Chitpavan Brahmins in Poona was the *Vihari*. Criminal proceedings were successfully taken against three successive editors for seditious articles appearing in 1906, 1907 and 1908.

During the period from 1898 to 1906 the *Kesari* grew steadily in popularity and influence without exceeding the limits of reasonable criticism. By 1907 its circulation had risen to 20,000 copies a week. At that time a favourite topic in its columns was the alleged Russianisation of the administration, which must lead to Russian methods of agitation by the people.

Political use continued to be made of the Ganpati and Sivaji festivals.

Shyamaji Krishnavarma's doings in England.

5. It is necessary now to refer to certain occurrences in England between the date of the Rand murder and the next outbreak of political crime in the Bombay Presidency. The Rand murder in 1897 had, we have seen, resulted in the conviction of the murderers and the issue of the *Kesari* of the 15th of June in that year had resulted in the conviction of the proprietor, Tilak. In addition to this, two well-known citizens of Poona belonging to the Natu family had been deported under Regulation XXV of 1827 for reasons of State in connection with the disorders in Poona of that year.

Shortly after these events, one Shyamaji Krishnavarma, a native of Kathiawar in Western India, went from Bombay to London for reasons, as he stated in a paper subsequently published by him, not unconnected with the arrests which were made in connection with the Rand murder. Krishnavarma for some time lived in obscurity, but in January 1905 he started in London the India Home Rule Society, appointed himself President, and issued the first number of the *Indian Sociologist*, a penny monthly, as the organ of his society. In that paper he describes the society as having the object of securing Home Rule for India and carrying on a genuine Indian propaganda in England by all practicable means. In December 1905 Krishnavarma announced that he proposed to establish six lectureships of

Rs. 1,000 each for enabling authors, journalists and other qualified Indians to visit Europe, America and other parts of the world beyond the limits of India so as to equip themselves efficiently for the work of spreading among the people of India a knowledge of freedom and national unity. He also published a letter from S. R. Rana of Paris (another Indian), who offered three travelling scholarships of Rs. 2,000 to be called after Rana Pertab Singh, Sivaji, and some distinguished Muhammadan ruler.

Vinayak Savarkar.

6. By means of these offers Krishnavarma collected in London some recruits, amongst whom was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, a Chitpavan Brahmin, then aged about 22, who had been educated at the Fergusson College, Poona, and obtained a B.A. degree from the Bombay University. He was a native of the Nasik district in the Bombay Presidency. Nasik is one of the holy cities of Western India and it became a centre of Brahmin disaffection. Before leaving India Vinayak Savarkar had been drawn into a movement initiated early in 1905 by a person styling himself Mahatma Sri Agamya Guru Paramhansa, who toured in India delivering lectures and speaking fearlessly against Government, telling his audiences not to fear Government. As part of the movement, a number of students early in 1906 started in Poona a society which elected Vinayak Savarkar as their leader and invited him to Poona to meet the Mahatma. Savarkar attended a meeting on the 23rd February and suggested that a committee of nine should be appointed to carry out the objects of the movement. A committee was accordingly elected, of which most of the members had at one time or other belonged to the Fergusson College in Poona, where Vinayak had been educated. The Mahatma at this meeting advised the raising of funds by a contribution of one anna from every person for the purposes of the society and said he would advise how it should be utilised when a sufficient amount had been collected. Vinayak Savarkar having left India in June 1906, the society appears to have come to an end, though certain of its members subsequently joined the Abhinav Bharat Society founded by Ganesh, Vinayak Savarkar's elder brother, of which more will be heard later. At the time of his departure from India, Savarkar and his brother were the leaders of an association known as the Mitra Mêla, started about 1899 in connection with the Ganpati celebrations, and Ganesh Savarkar supervised the teaching of drill, physical exercises and fencing to the members in Nasik.

The India House in London.

7. During the year 1906 and the following year, the India House in London which had been opened by Krishnavarma became notorious as a centre of sedition, and in July 1907 a question was put in the House of Commons inquiring whether Government proposed to take any action against Krishnavarma. Soon after and probably in consequence of this inquiry he left for Paris and took up his residence there. In Paris he continued the campaign of sedition with a freer hand, but still had his paper, the *Indian Sociologist*, printed in England. The printer was prosecuted and convicted in July 1909. The printing was then taken up by another person who was prosecuted and convicted in September 1909 and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. After that the paper was printed in Paris. Krishnavarma continued to keep in touch with the India House and controlled the work done there through S. R. Rana of Paris, who frequently visited London for the purpose. In December 1907 the following passage appeared in the *Indian Sociologist*:—"It seems that any agitation in India must be carried on secretly and that the only methods which can bring the English Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny and are driven out of the country! No one can foresee what rule will be laid down or line of action defined for any particular course. That will probably depend on local conditions and circumstances, but it is likely that as a general principle the Russian method will begin with Indian officials rather than European."

Prosecution of B. G. Tilak for articles relating to the Muzaffarpur murders.

8. On the 30th of April 1908 there occurred in Bengal the shocking murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy by Khudiram Basu, who threw a bomb into their carriage at Muzaffarpur,* believing it to be that of Mr. Kingsford, an unpopular Magistrate.

* See paragraph 37.

Among those who united to excuse the murderer and to praise the bomb as a weapon of offence against unpopular officials was Tilak. For two articles in the *Kesari* published in May and June 1908 in connection with the Muzaffarpur murders he was convicted and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

In another article published in the *Kesari* on the 22nd of June of the same year we find :* " From the murder of Mr. Rand on the night of the Jubilee in the year 1897 till the explosion of the bomb at Muzaffarpur, no act worth naming and fixing closely the attention of the official class took place at the hands of the subjects. There is considerable difference between the murders of 1897 and the bomb outrage of Bengal. Considering the matter from the point of view of daring and skilled execution, the Chapekar brothers take a higher rank than members of the bomb party in Bengal. Considering the ends and the means, the Bengalis must be given the greater commendation. Neither the Chapekars nor the Bengali bomb-throwers committed murders for retaliating the oppression practised upon themselves; hatred between individuals or private quarrels or disputes were not the cause of these murders. These murders have assumed a different aspect from ordinary murders owing to the supposition on the part of the perpetrators that they were doing a sort of beneficent act. Even though the causes inspiring the commission of these murders be out of the common, the causes of the Bengali bomb are particularly subtle. In the year 1897 the Poona-ites were subjected to oppression at the time of the plague and the exasperation produced by that oppression had not exclusively a political aspect. That the very system of administration is bad, and that, unless the authorities are singled out and individually terrorised, they would not consent to change the system, this sort of important question was not before the eyes of the Chapekar brothers. Their aim was specially directed towards the oppression consequent upon the plague, that is to say, towards the particular act. The Bengali bombs had of course their eyes upon a more extensive plain brought into view by the partition of Bengal. Moreover, a pistol or a musket is an old weapon, while the bomb is the latest discovery of the Western scientist. . . . . It was the Western science itself that created new guns, new muskets, and new ammunition; and it was the Westerner's science itself that created the bomb. . . . The military strength of no government is destroyed by bombs; the bomb has not the power of crippling the power of an army, nor does the bomb possess the strength to change the current of military strength, but owing to the bomb the attention of Government is attracted towards the disorder which prevails owing to the pride of military strength."

The "Kal" on bomb-throwing.

9. On the 8th of July 1908 Paranjpe was convicted in the Bombay High Court of seditious libel in his paper, the *Kal*, for an article relating to the Muzaffarpur murders, couched in the same tone of apology for, if not approval of, the crime, which characterised the articles in the *Kesari*. The following is a passage from the article in the *Kal* :* " People are prepared to do anything for the sake of *swarajya* and they no longer sing the glories of British rule. They have no dread of British power. It is simply a question of sheer brute force. Bomb-throwing in India is different from bomb-throwing in Russia. Many of the Russians side with their Government against these bomb-throwers, but it is doubtful whether much sympathy will be found in India. If even in such circumstances Russia got the Duma, *a fortiori* Indian is bound to get *swarajya*. It is quite unjustifiable to call the bomb-throwers in India anarchists. Setting aside the question whether bomb-throwing is justifiable or not, Indians are not trying to promote disorder but to obtain *swarajya*."

Proceedings at the "India House."

10. In May 1908 the Indian Mutiny was celebrated at the India House; invitation cards were issued and it was attended by nearly 100 Indian students, who had travelled from all parts of the United Kingdom to be present, and shortly afterwards India was visited with a leaflet entitled " Oh Martyrs," in celebration of the murders of the memorable year 1857, the first commemoration of the War of Indian Independence. The leaflet was printed in French type and was no doubt issued with the knowledge of Krishnavarma. Some of the copies sent to a college in Madras

* Translated from Marathi.

were wrapped in a part of the London *Daily News*, indicating that they had been distributed from London. Copies of this leaflet and of another entitled "Grave Warning" were presented gratis to visitors at India House, who were invited to take them and send them to their friends in India. In this year also the policy of assassinations was advocated at regular Sunday meetings at the India House.

In June 1908 a Hindu studying at London University gave a lecture at India House on the making of bombs justifying their use and explaining what ingredients were required. He said to his hearers: "When one of you is prepared to use a bomb at the risk of his life, let him come to me and I will give him full particulars."

Murder of Sir W. Curzon Wyllie.

11. In 1909 Vinayak Savarkar rose to the position of acknowledged leader at the India House and it became the fashion to read at Sunday meetings passages from the book on the Indian Mutiny prepared by Savarkar, styled "The Indian War of Independence, 1857, by an Indian Nationalist." In this year members of the India House began to practise revolver-shooting at a range in London, and on the 1st July 1909 one of the young men connected with the India House named Madan Lal Dhingra assassinated Colonel Sir William Curzon Wyllie, Political A.D.C. at the India Office, at a gathering at the Imperial Institute in London.

Ganesh Savarkar's conviction at Nasik.

12. About the same time Ganesh Savarkar, the elder brother of Vinayak, was convicted in Nasik upon a charge of abetment of waging war against the King under section 121 of the Indian Penal Code. His offences consisted chiefly of a series of inflammatory verses published early in 1908 under the title of "*Laghu Abhinav Bharat Mêla.*" In disposing of the case in the Bombay High Court, a Marathi-speaking Judge thus characterised the nature of the publication: "The writer's main object is to preach war against the present Government in the names of certain gods of the Hindus and certain warriors such as Sivaji. These names are a mere pretext for the text, which is, 'Take up the sword and destroy the Government because it is foreign and oppressive.' For the purpose of finding the motive and intention of the writer it is unnecessary to import into the interpretation of the poems sentiments or ideas borrowed from the *Bhagavad Gita*.* The poems afford their own interpretation and no one who knows Marathi can or will understand them as preaching anything but war against the British Government."

Ganesh Savarkar was convicted and sentenced to transportation on the 9th June 1909 and a cable message was at once sent from Nasik to Vinayak, telling him of the sentence. At the usual Sunday meeting of the India House on the 20th June Vinayak Savarkar was especially violent and repeated his oath to wreak his vengeance on the English. Whether the sequence between the conviction of Ganesh Savarkar and the murder of Colonel Sir William Curzon Wyllie was more than a mere sequence in point of time has not been established. A statement of Dhingra's reasons for committing this crime was found in his pocket when he was arrested. It was afterwards printed as a leaflet and posted by the India House group in large quantities to India. The first paragraph was as follows: "I attempted to shed English blood intentionally and of purpose as an humble protest against the inhuman transportations and hangings of Indian youths."

The murder of Mr. Jackson.

13. In February of that year Vinayak Savarkar, who had obtained from Paris a parcel of 20 Browning automatic pistols with ammunition, sent them out to Bombay concealed in the false bottom of a box forming part of the luggage of one Chatrabhuj Amin, who had been employed as cook at the India House. Chatrabhuj arrived in Bombay on the 6th of March, about a week after the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar. Before his arrest on the 28th February Ganesh had informed a friend that the pistols were on their way. The house of Ganesh Savarkar at Nasik was searched on the 2nd March and among the documents found concealed in the eaves were 60 pages of closely typed matter in English, which proved to be a copy of the same Bomb Manual of which a cyclostyled copy was found in the Maniktala Garden in

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* *Bhagavad Gita.* See paragraph 24.

Calcutta, to which reference is made in the Bengal chapter of this report. Savarkar's copy was more complete than the Maniktala Garden copy, as it contained 45 sketches of bombs, mines and buildings to illustrate the text.

The District Magistrate of Nasik whose duty it had been to commit Ganesh for trial was Mr. Jackson, a very popular officer widely known for his sympathy and knowledge of Hindu custom and sentiment. His murder was, however, decided on by the associates of Ganesh Savarkar as a punishment for the fate which had befallen Ganesh. None of them were bold enough to do the deed themselves, so a young Brahmin from Aurangabad in the Deccan was brought down to Nasik for the purpose and on the 21st of December 1909 Mr. Jackson was shot dead at a farewell party given in his honour at the theatre with one of the Browning pistols which had been sent out by Vinayak.

This crime was at once followed by a vigorous investigation and many arrests were made and searches instituted, with the result that a conspiracy was disclosed which had not come to light during the proceedings against Ganesh Savarkar. For the murder of Mr. Jackson seven men, all Chitpavan Brahmins, were brought to justice and three of them were executed.

The Nasik conspiracy.

14. For what is known as the Nasik conspiracy 38 men, all but one of whom were Brahmins and most of whom were Chitpavans, were put on their trial; 27 of them were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment.

The evidence in this trial showed that the Mitra Mêla at Nasik, which has already been referred to, had, before the departure of Vinayak Savarkar for England, developed into the Abhinav Bharat or Young India Society, a title probably suggested by the Young Italy of Mazzini. Its objects were undoubtedly revolutionary.

All the witnesses who described the inner working of the Abhinav Bharat Society at Nasik spoke to the administration of oaths to its members, and certain documents found in possession of one of the accused indicated that the association aimed at some sort of organization founded upon the model of revolutionary societies in Russia. In the search of the house of Ganesh Savarkar after his arrest in 1909 a much-scored copy of Frost's "Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776 to 1876," was found, in which is described the secret organization of the Russian nihilists consisting of small circles or groups affiliated into sections, each member knowing only the members of the group to which he belonged. In accordance apparently with this scheme the Nasik conspiracy involved the existence of various small groups of young men working for the same object and drawing weapons from the same source without personal acquaintance with the members of other groups. While in England Vinayak Savarkar completed a Marathi version of the autobiography of Mazzini with an introduction summarising his political teaching. It was sent out by him to his brother Ganesh, who had it issued from a press in Poona, an edition of 2,000 copies being printed in April 1907.

The introduction emphasised the importance of elevating politics to the rank of religion and argued that Ram Das, the saint of the Maharashtra in the time of Sivaji, possessed the same spiritual essence as Mazzini under a different name. It pointed out how Mazzini relied upon the youth of the country to obtain independence and then proceeded to dilate upon his two-fold programme of instruction and war. The suggested methods of preparation for war were the purchase and storing of weapons in neighbouring countries to be used when opportunity should occur; the opening of many very small but secret factories at some distance from one another for the manufacture of weapons clandestinely in the country seeking independence; and the purchase by secret societies of weapons from other countries to be secretly imported in merchant ships.

The evidence also disclosed that in August and September 1908 Vinayak was occupied with other associates at the India House in manifolding a number of typed copies of a work dealing with the preparation of bombs and dangerous explosives suitable for anarchical outrages. Many of these were despatched by post to various places in India. One of the manuals was found in the search of Ganesh Savarkar's house as already mentioned; another was in the possession of Tikhe, whose residence was in the Hyderabad State,

although he was a member of the Nasik society. Another copy was found upon the person of one Chanjeri Rao, who had received it from Vinayak in London and was arrested on arrival in Bombay in 1910. Chanjeri Rao had also in his possession several copies entrusted to him by Vinayak of a pamphlet styled "*Bunde Mataram*" in praise of Dhingra, the assassin of Sir Curzon Wyllie. This pamphlet strongly advocated political assassination in India. The following are some of the maxims contained in it:—"Terrorise the officials, English and Indian, and the collapse of the whole machinery of oppression is not very far. The persistent execution of the policy that has been so gloriously inaugurated by Khudiram Basu, Kanai Lal Datta and other martyrs will soon cripple the British Government in India. This campaign of separate assassinations is the best conceivable method of paralysing the bureaucracy and of arousing the people. The initial stage of the revolution is marked by the policy of separate assassinations."

The evidence disclosed that the Abhinav Bharat Society in Nasik had members in various parts of Western India. Those convicted included residents of Bombay, Nasik, Poona, Peu, Aurangabad and Hyderabad.

The Gwalior conspiracies.

15. The investigations of the police also led to the discovery of correspondence of Ganesh Savarkar and a man named Joshi in Nasik with conspirators in the Gwalior State, of which the ruler is His Highness the Maharaja Scindhia, descended from one of the great Maratha chieftains. This discovery led to the prosecution by the Gwalior State, in a State Tribunal constituted for the purpose, of 22 Brahmins, members of a revolutionary society styled the Nav Bharat Society, and of 19 other Brahmins as members of the Abhinav Bharat Society. In each case many of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to punishment.

In section 4 of the rules of the Gwalior Nav Bharat Society the following passage occurs:—"There are two ways of carrying out the advice of obtaining liberty, education and agitation. Education includes *swadeshi*, boycott, national education, entire abstinence from liquor, religious festivities, lectures, libraries, etc., while agitation includes target-shooting, sword exercise, preparation of bombs, dynamite, procuring revolvers, learning and teaching the use of weapons and missiles. Should an occasion for a general rising in any province at a proper time arise, all should help that cause and attain liberty. We are fully confident that the Aryan land is quite able to recover its independence. In order to face the yellow peril we shall have to be doubly prepared because the red peril is just rising on our breast. Confidence itself is a means to shake off servitude; we are fully convinced that if 30 crores of people are prepared to fight, none can thwart them in their desire. First, education will be given to prepare the mind, and then a rebellion raised; the war of independence will be carried on by resorting to cunning and craft."

The Ahmedabad bomb.

16. In Ahmedabad, the chief city of Gujerath in the north of the Bombay Presidency, an event occurred in November 1909 which indicated that there were revolutionaries in that place also. During the visit of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to Ahmedabad, when he and Lady Minto were driving in a carriage with outriders, something was thrown at the carriage from the crowd, and subsequently two cocoanut bombs were discovered on the road, one of which exploded and blew off the hand of the finder.

The Satara conspiracy.

17. During 1910 a conspiracy of the same type as the Nasik conspiracy came to light in Satara district. Three Brahmin youths, two belonging to Aundh and one to Kolapur, were charged with conspiracy to wage war. The evidence showed the establishment of a secret society at Satara in 1907 for the purpose of effecting the liberty of the country. It was a branch of the Abhinav Bharat founded by Ganesh and Vinayak Savarkar. One of the accused was found to have been experimenting in the preparation of bombs and to be in possession of literature of a revolutionary character. All the accused were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Poona leaflets.

18. In September 1914, two persons, a Maratha and a Brahmin, in Poona were found in possession of a printing press with Marathi type with which a quantity of seditious pamphlets had been printed, including concise bomb formulæ for the preparation of cocoanut bombs.

For more than a year they had been posting and disseminating numbers of copies of these productions, many of them to addresses at the Fergusson, Science and Agricultural Colleges in Poona. They had printed four "Liberty" leaflets of the usual extravagant and inflammatory description. The fourth was about to be distributed, when the press was found by the police. One of the documents posted by the accused was dated the 1st January 1913, just after the bomb outrage in Delhi, when Lord Hardinge was wounded. In place of signature it bore the words "Bengal Revolutionaries" and it was styled "A call to Maharashtra brethren," asking why they were sitting quiet. Had they given up attempts for winning liberty as soon as a few patriot stars that shone in Maharashtra two years back had set? The whole country was in hope that Maharashtra would be renowned for some special achievement; was the hope to prove fruitless? The whole country from the bridge of Rama to the Himalayas had become exasperated and the day (1st January 1913) was the auspicious time for the whole nation to become bound by unity.

The position of Chitpavan Brahmins.

19. Before stating our conclusions a few words are necessary on the position of the Chitpavan Brahmins in Western India at the present time. Poona has remained their headquarters. They have continuously shown high intellectual capacity. They have furnished the Bombay Presidency with its two best political thinkers, Ranade and Gokhale, and the Poona Press with its most influential journalists, Tilak and Paranjpe. They have provided Western India with many most efficient teachers and officials. If a comparatively small body of impressionable young men of this community have imbibed revolutionary ideas and carried their ideas to the point of political assassination, it must not therefore be supposed that the community as a whole is disaffected.

Conclusions.

20. The foregoing account of revolutionary activity in Bombay leads us to the following conclusions as to the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with it.

All the conspiracies were Brahmin and mostly Chitpavan.

The Chapekars and their associates were ultra-orthodox and, perhaps consequently, anti-Muhammadan and anti-British. They had no definite political aims, but were daring in the achievement of any outrage which they conceived could prove their hatred of the British or satisfy their desire to punish supposed oppression.

Their principal crime, the Rand murder, was effected at a time when Tilak, the most prominent journalist in the Deccan, was publishing incitements to his countrymen to strike a blow for independence and disregard the limitations of the Penal Code.

The Savarkar conspiracy at Nasik and the other smaller plots which were mere eddies spreading from the same centre were the result of somewhat similar causes.

As a primary exciting cause we must point to the virulent anti-British writings of the Chitpavan Press in Poona appealing both to religious and racial sentiment. It would have been surprising if impressionable youths of that community had not under the influence of such teachings conceived designs for ending the alien rule in India by violence. The leader of Poona Extremists was Tilak, but the younger men who imbibed the teaching of the Extremist Press were prepared to go further than Tilak. For them the Savarkar brothers provided suitable literature which illuminated the road to political assassination. For this class of crime, as we have seen, Tilak's paper was quick to furnish apology if not actual encouragement.

The Savarkar conspiracy, in so far as it was not Chitpavan, was negligible. Few names from any other community are to be found in the records of political crime in Western India. The conspiracy and its offshoots were therefore within a fairly manageable compass and there are no indications of contact with any criminal conspiracy in Bengal or other parts of India. The only outside group of conspirators who were in any way responsible for the Nasik murder were the Indian plotters in Paris who furnished Savarkar with the pistols with which the murderers were armed. There is reason to believe that the Paris group also instigated the Tinnevelly murder, which will be discussed in the chapter relating to Madras.

Tilak's attitude in 1914.

21. Before closing this chapter attention must be drawn to a statement of his views by Tilak in August 1914 after the expiry of his term of imprisonment in which he disclaimed hostility to His Majesty's Government and condemned the acts of violence which had been committed in different parts of India.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN BENGAL.

First campaign of Barindra Kumar Ghosh.

22. In order to appreciate correctly the nature and extent of the movement which within the last ten years has produced a series of violent crimes in Bengal, we must understand the influences which gave birth to that movement and the circumstances in which it was launched.

In the year 1902 Barindra Kumar Ghosh, a young Bengali Hindu, who had been born in England in 1880 but had been brought out to India as a child, arrived at Calcutta from Baroda, where he had been living with his brother, Arabinda Ghosh, then Vice-President of the Gaekwar's College. The brothers are the sons of the late Dr. K. D. Ghosh, a medical officer in the service of Government. Arabinda had been educated entirely in England, had taken a first class in the Cambridge University Classical Tripos; and passing for the Indian Civil Service, had been rejected at the final examination for inability to ride.

Barindra's object in returning to Bengal was, as he subsequently stated, to organize a revolutionary movement with the object of overturning the British Government in India by violent means. This object could only be attained after elaborate effort, of which the first stage would be secret conspiracy. It is probable that he had been attracted by stories of the exploits of secret societies in Europe;* and it is certain that with the idea of starting such organizations in Bengal he devoted himself to working among the English-educated class to which he belonged, the *bhadralok* (respectable people). He found among these a few associations organized for the promotion of physical culture. He succeeded in adding others, and in spreading revolutionary ideas to some small extent; but he was, on the whole, disappointed with the response to his efforts, and returned to Baroda in 1903, convinced that a purely political propaganda would not serve his purpose.

The people among whom he worked.

23. The *bhadralok* of Bengal have been for centuries peaceful and unwarlike, but, through the influence of the great central city of Calcutta, were early in appreciating the advantages of Western learning. They are mainly Hindus and their leading castes are Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas; but with the spread of English education some other castes too have adopted *bhadralok* ideals and modes of life. *Bhadralok* abound in villages as well as in towns, and are thus more interwoven with the landed classes than are the English-literate Indians of other provinces. Wherever they live or settle, they earnestly desire and often provide English education for their sons. The consequence is that a number of Anglo-vernacular schools, largely maintained by private enterprise, have sprung up throughout the towns and villages of Bengal. No other province of India possesses a net-work of rural schools in which English is taught. These schools are due to the enterprise of the *bhadralok* and to the fact that, as British rule gradually spread from Bengal over Northern India, the scope of employment for English-educated Bengalis spread with it. Originally they predominated in all offices and higher grade schools throughout Upper India. They were also, with the Parsees, the first Indians to send their sons to England for education, to qualify for the Bar or to compete for the higher grades of the Civil and Medical services. When, however, similar classes in other provinces also acquired a working knowledge of English, the field for Bengali enterprise gradually shrank. In their own province *bhadralok* still almost monopolise the clerical and subordinate administrative services of Government. They

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* "In every country there are plenty of secret places where arms can be manufactured . . The very large number of bombs which have been and are being manufactured in Russia have all been manufactured in the secret factories of the revolutionists."—"*Jugantar*" *of the 12th August 1907.*

are prominent in medicine, in teaching, and at the Bar. But, in spite of these advantages, they have felt the shrinkage of foreign employment; and as the education which they receive is generally literary and ill-adapted to incline the youthful mind to industrial, commercial or agricultural pursuits, they have not succeeded in finding fresh outlets for their energies. Their hold on land too has weakened owing to increasing pressure of population and excessive sub-infeudation. Altogether their economic prospects have narrowed, and the increasing numbers who draw fixed incomes have felt the pinch of rising prices. On the other hand, the memories and associations of their earlier prosperity, combined with growing contact with Western ideas and standards of comfort, have raised their expectations of the pecuniary remuneration which should reward a laborious and, to their minds, a costly education. Thus as *bhadralok* learned in English have become more and more numerous, a growing number have become less and less inclined to accept the conditions of life in which they found themselves on reaching manhood. *Bhadralok* have always been prominent among the supporters of Indian political movements; and their leaders have watched with careful attention events in the world outside India. The large majority of the people of Bengal are not *bhadralok* but cultivators, and in the eastern districts mainly Muhammadans; but the cultivators of the province are absorbed in their own pursuits, in litigation, and in religious and caste observances. It was not to them but to his own class that Barindra appealed. When he renewed his efforts in 1904, the thoughts of many members of this class had been stirred by various powerful influences.

Various influences.

24. In 1886 had died the Bengali ascetic Rama Krishna. He was undoubtedly a remarkable and purely religious man. He strongly defended Hinduism but taught that all religions were true, that all deities were manifestations of the impersonal Supreme, and that Brahmin disdain of low castes was wrong. To him the goddess Kali was the goddess of divine strength, although another of her attributes is destruction. She was his mother and the mother of the universe. If he worshipped through idols, it was because he believed that these idols were filled with the presence of the Divinity. He taught social service as the service of humanity. He died in 1886; and after his death his doctrines were preached by some of his disciples, the chief of whom was Narendra Nath Datta, a young *bhadralok* B.A., subsequently famous as Swami Vivekananda. Narendra Nath Datta became an ascetic and attended the Parliament of Religions in Chicago as the representative of Hinduism. There he made a great impression and founded Vedanta societies for spreading the teaching of the Hindu scriptures (*Vedas*). He returned to India in 1897 with a small band of followers, and was acclaimed by many educated Hindus as a saviour and prophet of their faith. He organized centres of philanthropic and religious effort under the supervision of a Rama Krishna Mission, and carrying much further the teachings of his master, preached that Vedantism was the future religion of the world, and that, although India was now subject to a foreign Power, she must still be careful to preserve the faith of mankind. She must seek freedom by the aid of the Mother of strength (*Sakti**). Vivekananda died in 1902; but his writings and teachings survived him, have been popularised by the Rama Krishna Mission and have deeply impressed many educated Hindus. From much evidence before us it is apparent that this influence was perverted by Barindra and his followers in order to create an atmosphere suitable for the execution of their projects. So indeed was the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* or Lord's song of the *Mahabharat* epic recited by Sri Krishna, the incarnation of the Preserver of the World, before the great long-ago battle of Kurukshetra.

But neither the religious teachings of Vivekananda nor the exhortations of Sri Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gita* would have afforded so moving a text to preach from had not the whole world, and especially the Asiatic world,

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* "Oh India, wouldst thou, with these provisions only, scale the highest pinnacle of civilisation and greatness? Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved only by the brave and heroic? . . . Oh Thou Mother of strength, take away my weakness, take away my unmanliness, and make me a man!"—*Vivekananda's Works: Part IV—Mayavati: Memorial Edition: pp. 970-71.*

been electrified and amazed by the victories of Japan over Russia at a time when within this country circumstances occasioned by certain Government measures specially favoured the development of Barindra's plans.

Early in the century Lord Curzon, then Viceroy, had introduced a Universities Bill which provoked much controversy and was interpreted by politicians as designed to limit the numbers of Indians educated in English, and thus to retard national advance. In Bengal, where, as we have seen, English education had been largely adopted, opposition was intensely bitter; and while the dispute was in progress, the Government projected a partition of the province. It was the agitation that attended and followed on the latter measure that brought previous discontent to a climax and afforded a much-desired opportunity to Barindra and his friends.

The partition of Bengal.

25. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, with their seventy-eight millions of people and their great capital city, were then a single charge under a Lieutenant-Governor. Lord Curzon and his advisers felt that times had altered since this charge was constituted. Population had greatly increased; business and trade had extended; administration had become more complex; the educated classes had grown in numbers and had taken to politics. On the other hand, the Government had weakened. The province was undermanned; the British and Indian staff was overworked: administrative departments were starved; and communications were neglected. Especially were those defects prominent in the eastern districts, the physical features of which are peculiar. They have thus been described by the Bengal District Administration Committee of 1913-14: "Communications are more precarious, more scanty and more inefficient than those of any part of India known to us. Traversed by mighty rivers and tributary streams, visited by abundant rains, these eastern districts are mainly a water-country, which yields rich harvests of rice and jute to a teeming population, partly concentrated in a few towns, but mainly scattered over a number of villages. The villages, often close to marshes or winding along the banks of some tortuous stream, generally consist of scattered homesteads, built on whatever rising ground may be available. Often the houses are hidden in thickets of bamboos, fruit trees and undergrowth. In the rains vast tracts of the country are completely submerged; the houses, each on its own plot of naturally or artificially raised land, stand up like islands in the flood; and only a few of the more important roads are out of water. Boats are the ordinary means of transit, and markets spring up on the banks of waterways."

A project for dividing the provinces into two charges was vehemently discussed during the last two years of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty. The Government of India held that some such arrangement was imperative, but the Calcutta political leaders were strongly opposed to any division of Bengal proper. When the Government pressed this division in the cause of administrative efficiency and convenience, Hindu politicians and newspapers preached far and wide that Bengali interests would seriously suffer and Bengali nationality would be divided. Lord Curzon visited the eastern districts. After much consideration he decided that there was no substance in this objection, and that the contemplated division must be made. The partition was announced in July 1905 and was carried out in the following October, when the two new provinces of Western Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Eastern Bengal and Assam started on their short-lived career.

The subsequent agitation.

26. The politicians, however, decided not to abandon hope. Through the volume and intensity of a general and thoroughly organized movement, it might still be possible to procure a reversal of the obnoxious measure. An agitation of unparalleled bitterness was started in both provinces and especially in the eastern. It was proclaimed through newspapers, pamphlets and orators that Bengal was a motherland once rich and famous now dismembered: she had been torn in two despite the protests of her children. These must make their voices heard by the British public through a boycott of British goods. They must earnestly set to work to manufacture their own goods. The more violent spirits went further. They constrasted Bengali acceptance of this insult with the brilliant valour shown by Japan against one of the proudest of European nations. Had Bengalis no religion, no

patriotism! Let them remember their Mother Kali, the goddess of strength! Let them improve their own strength! Let them also think of the great deeds of the Maratha hero Sivaji! Let them retaliate on the foreign Government in the most effective way possible by boycotting foreign goods! Let them make their own goods!

The cult of Sivaji was imported from Bombay but took little root, although B. G. Tilak* himself visited Calcutta and said at a Sivaji festival that the great Maratha would yet come and lead Indians to glory and prosperity.† A song, however, which was extracted from a popular Bengali novel, has since become famous as "*Bande Mataram*" (Hail to thee, Oh Mother!" or as now generally translated, "Hail Motherland!"). The novel had been written many years previously, and the song hitherto had excited no particular emotion, but now gradually it was raised to the rank of a national anthem. The boycott was preached in towns and villages. It was to be carried out by persuasion through the agency of schoolboys and students enlisted for the purpose. For the production of indigenous goods, *swadeshi* (indigenous) enterprises were hastily started and attracted sympathy from some persons unconnected with politics.

The agitation was Hindu and drew its strength from the *bhadralok*. It was keenly resented by the Muhammadans, who form the majority of the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal; and thus throughout the year 1906-07, Hindu and Muhammadan relations became exceedingly strained in that province. The boycott and the consequent picketing of shops by students and schoolboys led inevitably to frequent disturbances. In both Bengals it was frequently asserted and sometimes believed that Government was setting the Muhammadans against the Hindus. Educated Hindu feeling reached a remarkable intensity of bitterness.

Second campaign of Barindra and his associates. Its motives and objectives.

27. The partition agitation was beginning when Barindra returned to Calcutta in 1904 to reopen his campaign. He was young himself and he addressed his appeal mainly to uncritical and emotional youths already stirred to unwonted depths and enlisted in a popular political cause. It is important to hear from himself an account of his motives and methods. He said before a Magistrate on the 22nd of May 1908 that at Baroda he devoted himself "to the study of history and political literature." "After being there a year," he continued, "I came back to Bengal with the idea of preaching the cause of independence as a political missionary. I moved from district to district, and started gymnasiums. There young men were brought together to learn physical exercises and study politics. I went on preaching the cause of independence for nearly two years. By that time I had been through almost all the districts of Bengal. I got tired of it, and went back to Baroda and studied for a year. I then returned to Bengal, convinced that a purely political propaganda would not do for the country, and that people must be trained up spiritually to face dangers. I had an idea of starting a religious institution. By that time the *swadeshi* and boycott agitation had begun. I thought of taking men under my own instruction to teach them, and so I began to collect this band which have been arrested. With my friend Abinash Bhattacharji and Bhupendra Nath Datta I started the *Jugantar* newspaper. We managed it for nearly one and a half years and then gave it over to the present managers. After I gave it up I took again to the recruiting. I collected together 14 or 15 young men from about the beginning of 1907 till now (1908). I educated the boys in religious books and politics. We are always thinking of a far-off revolution and wish to be ready for it, so we were collecting weapons in small quantities. Altogether I have collected 11 revolvers, 4 rifles and 1 gun. Among other young men who came to be admitted to our circle was Ullaskar Datta. He said that, as he wanted to come among us and be useful, he had learnt the preparation of explosives. He had a small laboratory in his house without his father's knowledge and he experimented there. I never saw it. He told me of it. With his help we began preparing explosives in small quantities in the garden-house at 32, Muraripukur Road. In the meantime another friend

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* See paragraphs 3, 8, 21.

† See the *Bengalee* newspaper of 8th June 1906.

of ours, Hem Chandra Das, after, I think, selling part of his property, went to Paris to learn mechanics, and, if possible, explosives. When he came back he joined Ullaskar Datta in preparing explosives and bombs. We never believed that political murder will bring independence. We do it because we believe the people want it." Previously, when asked what certain people were doing in his house when he was arrested, Barindra had said: " They are being instructed by me and Upendra Nath in religious and political books."

The ideas which prompted the early revolutionary efforts were further explained by some of his associates. In the statement of Upendra Nath Banarji we read: " As I thought that some people of India would not be made to do any work except through religion, I wanted the help of some *sadhus* (religious ascetics). Failing *sadhus* I fell back upon schoolboys and collected them to give them religious, moral and political education. Since then I have been mainly engaged in teaching boys about the state of our country and the need of independence, and that the only way left us is to fight for independence and to start secret societies in different parts of the country to propagate ideas and collect arms and rise in rebellion when the time shall be ripe. I knew that Barindra, Ullaskar and Hem were engaged in manufacturing bombs with a view to do away with the lives of those Government officials who by repressive measures hampered our work, viz., the Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Kingsford." Hrishikesh Kanjilal said on the 11th of May 1908: " I am a teacher by occupation. . . . At Chandernagore Upen showed me a few copies of the *Jugantar* and I studied them. I decided that we must secure the political independence of our country, and I asked Upen to enquire in the *Jugantar* office whether there was really such organization to free our country from the foreign yoke, in Calcutta. Next day I went to Chatra and I resolved to get a post in the Education Department so that I might preach to young boys the idea that it was by hypocrisy and everlasting duplicity the English had conquered our country, and I got a post in the Bhadreswar High English School." Another associate said: " When the Government at the time of partition refused to listen to our petition we tried to have *swaraj* (self-government). My heart was touched by reading the *Jugantar* newspaper."

It is important to note that the confessions from which the above statements have been extracted were held by the Chief Justice of Bengal to be free from " the slightest apprehension of sinister influence or pressure." We may therefore safely conclude that the object of Barindra and his associates was to persuade the English-educated youths of Bengal that the British Government was founded on fraud and oppression, that religion and history dictated its removal. Ultimately the British must be expelled from the country. In the meantime by religious, athletic, educational discipline, a fanatical organization must be created which would develop its inspiration by murders of officials, and, as we shall see later, would finance and arm itself largely by the plunder of peaceable Indian folk justified by the most cynical reasoning.

28. It was obvious that, in a country where men, as a rule, incline to the callings of their fathers, it would be difficult to pervert the sons of lawyers, clerks, schoolmasters and tradesmen into gangs of murderers. It was equally clear that such perversion would not be effected merely by calling assassinations " violent enterprises " or by asserting that a peaceable and law-abiding people, who had only a few years before entirely declined to respond to revolutionary appeals, had begun to thirst for the blood of officials. Persevering, sustained and extraordinary methods were requisite if the desired objective was ever to be reached. We will now see that such methods were employed.

Its methods of influencing public opinion.

29. The associates formed a body called the Anusilan Samiti (society for the promotion of culture and training). One of these societies was soon in working order at Calcutta, the capital of Western, and another at Dacca, the capital of Eastern, Bengal. They extended their ramifications in all directions. At one time the Dacca society had 500 branches in towns and villages. Beside these societies other less formal groups collected; but all

IMPERIAL RECORDS DEPARTMENT

were inspired by the same seditious principles, and united in creating an atmosphere which would swell their ranks and facilitate their operations. The atmosphere was to be created by " building up " public opinion by means of newspapers, songs and literature, preaching, secret meetings and associations. " Unrest " must be created. Welcome therefore unrest, " whose historical name is revolt!*" There was unfortunately already more than enough unrest in both Bengals, but something far more violent and durable was desired by Barindra and his friends. Arabinda Ghosh had joined him from Baroda; and the brothers with their immediate followers started various newspapers the most popular of which, published in fluent vernacular Bengali, was the *Jugantar* (New Era). This journal began to pour forth racial hatred in March 1906, attained a circulation of 7,000 in 1907, and rapidly reached a still wider range before it ceased to appear in 1908 in consequence of the newly passed Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. Its character and teaching entirely justify the comments of the Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, quoting and adopting the following words of the Sessions Judge of Alipore. " They exhibit a burning hatred of the British race, they breathe revolution in every line, they point out how revolution is to be effected. No calumny and no artifice is left out which is likely to instil the people of the country with the same idea or to catch the impressionable mind of youth." We will here give two passages, both published when the paper was in its mid-career, which announced to thousands of people how the revolutionaries proposed to accomplish their object. One appeared in the issue of August the 12th, 1907. After dilating on the ease with which arms could be collected and bombs manufactured, provided that secrecy were maintained, the article proceeded : " There is another very good means of acquiring strength of arms. Many people have observed the Russian revolution that there are many partizans of the revolutionaries among the Czar's troops. These troops will join the revolutionists with various arms. This method succeeded well during the French Revolution. The revolutionists have additional advantages where the ruling power is a foreign power, because the latter has to recruit most of its troops from among the subject people. Much work can be done by the revolutionists very cautiously spreading the gospel of independence among these native troops. When the time arrives for a practical collision with the ruling power, the revolutionists not only get these troops among their ranks, but also the arms with which the ruling power supplied them. Besides, all the enthusiasm and courage of the ruling power can be destroyed by exciting a serious alarm in its mind." The other appeared on the 26th of the same month. It purports to be a letter from a mad *yogi* (devotee) : " Dear Editor,—I hear that copies of your paper are being sold by thousands in the bazar. If at least fifteen thousand copies are distributed in the country, nearly sixty thousand people read them. I cannot withhold the temptation of telling a certain thing to these sixty thousand people and am therefore taking up my pen untimely . . . I am mad and crack-brained and a sensation-monger. The cup of my delight becomes full when I see unrest descending in all directions; like deaf dumbness I cannot rest any longer. News of loot is reaching me from all quarters, and I am dreaming as if the future guerilla bands were looting money and as if the future war had commenced in the shape of petty dacoities (gang robberies). . . . O Plunder, I worship you to-day, be our helpmate. You so long hid yourself like a canker in a flower and ate away the country's substance. Come and do again here and there resuscitate the old martial spirit behind the public eye. . . You made me promise that day that by your grace, the Indians when they remembered and worshipped you would get both the money to arm themselves and the military training. That is why I worship you to-day."

The *Jugantar* was by no means the only newspaper organ of the associates. There were others, such as the *Sandhya*, which proclaimed abroad : " We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the

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* See article headed " Welcome Unrest " in the *Jugantar* issue of April the 11th, 1907, quoted in the High Court judgment, Alipore conspiracy case.

veriest shred of the *Feringhi's* supremacy over it is left. *Swadeshi*, boycott, all are meaningless to us, if they are not the means of retrieving our whole and complete independence. . . . Rights granted by the *Feringhis* as favour, we shall spit at and reject, and we shall work out our own salvation."

The virulent hatred expressed by such publications was further disseminated by thousands of leaflets which have continued to issue intermittently up to the present time.

Mental training of revolutionary recruits.

30. For their own initiates the conspirators devised a remarkable series of text-books. The *Bhagavad Gita*, the writings of Vivekananda, the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi, were part of the course; and in the words* of Mr. Justice Mukharji: "such principles as the religious principle of absolute surrender to the Divine Will were employed by designing and unscrupulous men as potent means to influence and unbalance weak-minded persons and thus ultimately bend them to become instruments in the commission of nefarious crimes from which they might otherwise recoil with horror." Three books, however, of a mischievous or specially inflammatory kind have particularly attracted our attention.

The *Bhawani Mandir* (temple of Bhawani, one of the manifestations of the goddess Kali) exalts Bhawani as the manifestation of *Sakti*. Indians must acquire mental, physical, moral and spiritual strength. They must copy the methods of Japan. They must draw strength from religion. How this is to be done is described in moving and powerful terms. The book is a remarkable instance of perversion of religious ideals to political purposes.

The *Bartaman Rananiti* (the modern art of war) preaches that war is inevitable when oppression cannot otherwise be stopped. *Karma* or action is the way to wealth and salvation; and it is to establish this *Karma* that the Hindus have set up the worship of *Sakti*. Action is wanted. . . . The strength of youths of a country must be applied to irregular warfare, then they will gradually become fearless and expert in sword-play. They must face dangers and acquire heroic qualities.

Next we come to the book *Mukti Kon Pathe* (what is the path of salvation?), which is of peculiar importance as it shows how the conspirators devised and justified the system of raising funds by committing dacoities (gang robberies) on their own countrymen. The whole book, which is a reprint of selected articles from the *Jugantar*, indicates in frank terms the main features of the campaign which was actually carried out. At an early stage the book denounces the "smallness and lowness" of the ideals of the National Congress. It indicates the correct attitude for recruits to follow in regard to current agitations. "The bands may always join such agitations and undertakings regarding different contemporary events which the present leaders of the country always wish us to join. But it should always be a first consideration that in the matter of those undertakings alone which extend over the whole country and which raise a desire for liberty, the bands are to join whole-heartedly and to try to be in the foremost ranks. . . . In the present circumstances of our country there is no lack of undertakings and agitations regarding it; and by the grace of God, the Bengalis are everywhere being initiated by these efforts into a love of the country and a determination to obtain liberty. Therefore let these be by no means disregarded. But if these agitations be joined in without the ideal of freedom being cherished in the heart, real strength and training will never be acquired from them. Therefore as the members of the band will, on the one hand, stake their lives on increasing the scope of the bands, so on the other they should remain persevering and active in keeping the country excited by these undertakings and agitations."

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* The whole passage runs thus: "At the same time we cannot overlook the lamentable fact that the revolutionary literature brought to light in this instance and in other cases previously reported does suggest that such principles as the religious principle of absolute surrender to the Divine Will, a doctrine common to many religions, are employed by designing and unscrupulous men to influence and unbalance weak-minded persons and thus ultimately bend them to become instruments in the commission of nefarious crimes from which they might otherwise recoil with horror."—*Calcutta Weekly Notes*, *Vol. XXIX*, *p 698*. *King-Emperor* vs. *Amrita Lal Hazra*.

The book further points out that not much muscle was required to shoot Europeans, that arms could be procured by grim determination, and that weapons could be prepared silently in some secret place. Indians could be sent to foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons. The assistance of Indian soldiers must be obtained. They must be made to understand the misery and wretchedness of the country. The heorism of Sivaji must be remembered. As long as revolutionary work remained in its infancy, expenses could be met by subscriptions. But as work advanced, money must be exacted from society by the application of force. If the revolution is being brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for the purpose. It is admitted that theft and dacoity are crimes because they violate the principle of the good of society. But the political dacoit is aiming at the good of society, " so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of this small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore if revolutionaries extort money from the miserly or luxurious member of society by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just."

Mukti Kon Pathe further exhorts its readers to obtain the " help of the native soldiers. . . . Although these soldiers for the sake of their stomach accept service in the Government of the ruling power, still they are nothing but men made of flesh and blood. They too know (how) to think; when therefore the revolutionaries explain to them the woes and miseries of the country, they, in proper time, swell the ranks of the revolutionaries with arms and weapons given them by the ruling power. . . . Because it is possible to persuade the soldiers in this way, the modern English Raj of India does not allow the cunning Bengalis to enter into the ranks of the army. . . . Aid in the shape of arms may be secretly obtained by securing the help of the foreign ruling powers."

Summary.

31. We have now described the origin and causes of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. We have shown that at first the efforts of Barindra Kumar Ghosh were unsuccessful, but that they were subsequently renewed with marked determination in more favourable circumstances. We have said enough to make it apparent that the intentions of the revolutionaries were eventually to subvert by violent means British rule in India, and meanwhile to assassinate Government officials, to obtain such help as might be obtainable from the Indian army, and to finance their enterprises by plundering their fellow-countrymen. We have described the propaganda and indicated the methods and the organization, by which they prepared to carry these intentions into effect. In the following pages, after giving some account of the materials which have been available to us, we shall trace a gradual development of a series of wilfully calculated crimes, of bomb outrages, of dacoities committed against helpless people in far-away villages, of secret murders, of assassinations of Indian police officers whose only fault was their courageous and undeviating loyalty.

Lastly we shall examine in more detail the organization and methods by which these outrages were promoted and offer grounds for concluding that they were all the outcome of a widespread but essentially single movement of perverted religion and equally perverted patriotism.

CHAPTER III.

BENGAL REVOLUTIONARY CRIME. THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE.

Foundations of our general conclusions.

32. It is convenient before pursuing the narrative further to describe the evidence upon which we have worked, not only in classifying crime as due to revolutionary agitation, but also in reaching the general conclusions to be set forth later as to the nature and extent of the conspiracy behind this crime.

We have tried to bear in mind that our duty has been not to try a large number of particular issues relating to individual incidents or cases, but to realise and, if we can, present in a clear light to others the broad features of the situation. While therefore we have had necessarily to consider evidence with regard to many individual incidents and, in each case, see what it comes to, the only importance of such enquiries for our purpose lies in the general conclusions which, taken in the aggregate, they suggest.

Characteristics of crimes and criminals.

33. In the first place as regards the political character of the outrages we have described, there are of course certain classes of outrage which by their very nature proclaim themselves as revolutionary. Murder by bomb is practically certain to be of this character. So too are murders or attempted murders of magistrates, police officers or informers, actual or suspected, connected with the detection or prosecution of persons accused of revolutionary crime. But even in the case of mere robbery or murder in the course of robbery there are certain features, the persistent recurrence of which at once distinguishes these crimes from those committed by ordinary criminals and connects them with each other. It is not to be understood that all the features are present in each case or even that any one feature is present in all. But these characteristics run through the outrages as a whole, some in one group, others in another overlapping group, and so on.

The persons committing these outrages were usually young men of the *bhadralok* class. They are often reported as speaking in English or in the vernacular as spoken by person of *bhadralok* position in life. Sometimes they wear khaki "shorts" or khaki haversacks, or both, and wear masks either red or white of a similar pattern. The ages, caste and occupation of those convicted or killed in the commission of revolutionary crime are shown in tabular form in annexure (2).

The circumstance that robberies and murders are being committed by young men of respectable extraction, students at schools and colleges, is indeed an amazing phenomenon the occurrence of which in most countries would be hardly credible. We do not, however, treat an outrage as necessarily revolutionary merely because it is committed by *bhadralok*. That is only one element. Conversely, however, it sometimes happens that a revolutionary arrested in another connection mentions an outrage as committed at such and such a time and place when no such crime is known to the Criminal Investigation Department as imputable to the revolutionary organization, yet on reference to the local police it is found that the crime was committed, but that, no circumstances being noted at the time to indicate its *bhadralok* character, it has not been reported as such.

Further, in many cases implements have been left behind by the dacoits and specimens have been inspected by us. In a large number of cases flogging-hammers were used and in four cases they were of identical pattern. Cold chisels have been used which at first had handles of split bamboo, later of stout wire and ultimately of twisted iron rod. Similarly, the means employed to give light were up to 1912 bottle-torches (viz., a rag soaked in kerosene and held by being thrust into the neck of a bottle), while in 1914-15 these gave place to acetylene lamps or specially prepared tin lamps with wicks. All the implements and apparatus found at the scenes of outrage have been preserved and have been inspected by us. The persistence of certain types of article is remarkable and convincing.

Again, there is a strong family likeness in the methods employed. In many cases the telegraph wires have been cut, often at a distance of some miles from the actual outrage, or the dacoits have been divided into parties, some as guards, some to break open safes, some to terrorise the inmates, and so on. Often they have obeyed a leader, communicating his orders by whistle or bugle, and have moved off in some rudimentary military formation. In some of the later cases in Calcutta motor cars have been employed. These are not the characteristics of endemic dacoity as heretofore known to the police.

The circumstance that firearms are used goes a very long way to differentiate these crimes from ordinary dacoities, inasmuch as by reason of the Arms Act, which requires a permissive and not merely a revenue license for the possession of firearms, they cannot readily be obtained without an organization for their illicit acquisition beyond the resources of the ordinary criminal. Statistics, moreover, show that the use of firearms has not been a usual characteristic of dacoity in Bengal. In the six years ending December 1906 there were in all Bengal, according to police statistics for which we asked, only one case in which pistols and nine in which other firearms are known to have been used.

A much more cogent piece of evidence is where there has been the use in a number of cases not merely of firearms or of firearms of a similar pattern but of weapons traceable, in some cases by demonstration, in others upon a very strong presumption, to a common source. This evidence connects as due to confederacy dacoity with dacoity, murder with murder, and the murders with the dacoities. This subject is elaborated hereafter when we deal with the connection between groups and districts in the matter of organization. It is here referred to in passing as one of the external features justifying our classifying these crimes together.

It may be mentioned here that, out of 250 confessions tabulated with reference to the motive assigned for engaging in crime, in only five cases has it been stated that the object was private gain. Of the five persons referred to three were taxi-cab drivers.

Apart from the circumstances of the crimes themselves the materials upon which we have formed our conclusions are mainly as follows :—

Judgments and documents.

34. In the first place we have a number of decisions in the criminal courts. These naturally have had great weight with us because they have been arrived at upon evidence formally given and elaborately tested, and after hearing both sides. We have devoted a special annexure* to summarising the more important of these decisions one by one. Although a great many accused persons were acquitted either in the court of first instance or on appeal and although a great many outrages have not been the subject of any trial, it will be found that our general conclusions as to the character of the revolutionary movement, its aims and methods have been affirmed over and over again in the courts. Prosecutions, however, are directed to particular outrages or, in the case of conspiracies, to charges against particular gangs, whereas we have to enquire how far a system of revolutionary outrage has overspread the country and how far the gangs committing them are connected in a common movement.

In the second place we have a number of documents obtained by searches of premises or found on persons arrested, including some correspondence. There have also been finds of arms and materials from which important deductions can be drawn.

Statements.

35. Lastly we have had placed before us a great number of statements. In some cases these have been made by approvers, who have been willing to give evidence, but in most cases they were made by persons in custody, who are not so disposed. There are a very few statements, and those only as to particular incidents, made by police agents and members of the public. The great mass of the statements are by persons in custody other than approvers, and as to these we must offer some comment and explanation. Unfortunately, with few exceptions, we have felt bound to treat these statements as confidential. By the Indian Evidence Act a confession by a person in

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* Annexure (1).

police custody is not evidence against him unless made before a magistrate with certain formalities laid down in the Code of Criminal Procedure. No statement made by an accused to a police officer is admissible, except in so far as it distinctly refers to some fact deposed to as discovered in consequence of that statement. This has induced a great candour in speaking to the police, but if statements made under such circumstances were made public we are satisfied that it would be a breach of a well-understood though often unexpressed condition. What compels us to be particularly careful in this respect is that the deponents would in our judgment certainly be exposed to the vengeance of their associates.

The above considerations have hampered us considerably in fortifying, by way of reasoning upon evidence disclosed upon the face of this report, the conclusions at which we have arrived. They have robbed us of the power to cite particular deponents by name, to set forth the circumstances of the making of the statement, to discuss his means of knowledge and the corroboration which he receives from independent statements or ascertained facts. We have, however, been able to use extracts from statements where the identity of the deponent is not directly or indirectly disclosed.

The statements in question have been made at various times from 1907 down to the date of the sittings of this Committee. They are most copious in the latest period, when police action under the Defence of India Act broke the morale of the conspirators. At this time the leaders when arrested, sometimes after a long period of hiding, have in many though not all cases been ready to tell the whole story freely. Some speak under the impulse of a feeling of disgust for an effort which has failed. Some, of a different temperament, are conscience-stricken. Others speak to relieve their feelings, glad that the life of a hunted criminal is over. Not a few only speak after a period of consideration, during which they argue with themselves the morality of disclosure. We have not failed to bear in mind that information of this kind is not to be blindly relied upon, least of all in India. But we have had remarkable facilities for testing these statements. The fact that they are exceedingly numerous, that they have been made at different dates and often in places remote from one another gives an opportunity for a comparison far more useful than if they were few and connected. But this is not all. In numerous instances a deponent refers to facts previously unknown, to revolutionary haunts not yet suspected or persons not arrested. Upon following up the statements the facts have been found to have occurred, the haunts are found in full activity, the persons indicated have been arrested and in turn have made statements, or documents have been unearthed and a new departure obtained for further investigation. This class of research has been particularly successful in the years 1916 and 1917 and a network of information has been obtained which leaves no escape from the general conclusions which we shall record. The fatal precision of the information given by persons arrested was only too well appreciated by those who remained at large. A revolutionary and undoubted murderer, since arrested, thus writes in a letter dated the 2nd January, found in January 1918: "One gives out the names of ten others and they in their turn give out something. By this process we have been entirely weakened. Even the enemy don't consider that they who remain are worth taking."

Two sample episodes taken from the history of the investigations pursued are described in a later section of this report.* They give some idea of the completeness and cogency of the methods by which the conspirators have been tracked down and their methods largely revealed. They also illustrate the ramifications of their organizations.

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* See paragraph 170.

CHAPTER IV.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL.

1906—1908.

Development of revolutionary crime during the years 1906–08.

36. We now propose to give a chronological statement of the outrages committed by the revolutionaries in Bengal. In order to give a general view in moderate space we shall avoid undue detail, but sketch maps will be introduced at convenient periods to show the volume and distribution of this class of crime from time to time. We shall just note in passing certain collateral matters such as legislation and occurrences in other provinces to facilitate the appreciation of the general development.

At first the persons undertaking to commit outrages in Bengal showed a lack of resolution. Thus there is reason to believe that in August 1906 a plot to rob a widow's house at Rangpur was abandoned because the intending robbers, on arrival at the scene of operations, heard that there was a Sub-Inspector in the village. At Sekharnagar in September 1906 a large body of armed dacoits were baffled by an iron safe. In May 1907 a party of nine or ten gave up an intended dacoity at a jute office near Arsulia on hearing that the people in the office had a double-barrelled gun. In August of the same year a projected dacoity at Bankura was abandoned because the man who was to point out the house was too drunk to do so. These abandoned projects are not indicated on any of the sketch maps which will be found on the succeeding pages to illustrate the spread of outrages, because they came to nothing. They are only mentioned because there is information believed by us that those who were party to them included men who were afterwards found guilty by the courts of serious outrages, and in order to show how the mischief grew from small beginnings under the influence of criminal propaganda.

More serious incidents, however, soon occurred. There is information to show that in October 1907 there were two plots to blow up the Lieutenant-Governor's train, and on December 6th, 1907, the train in which he was travelling was actually derailed by a bomb near Midnapore, the explosion making a hole 5 feet wide by 5 feet deep. In October 1907 a man carrying money in a bag was stabbed and robbed at Netaiganj, in the Dacca district. On the 23rd December 1907, Mr. Allen, formerly District Magistrate at Dacca, was shot in the back, though not fatally, at a railway station in the district of Faridpur between Dacca and Calcutta. On the 3rd April 1908, seven men armed with knives and pistols entered a house at Sibpur, just outside Calcutta, and, by threatening to murder the owner's infant daughter, secured the surrender of money and ornaments of the value of Rs. 400. For want of corroborative evidence no one was put on his trial, but we are satisfied the robbery did take place and a well-known revolutionary has since admitted complicity in it.

On the 11th April 1908, a bomb containing amongst other ingredients picric acid was thrown into the house of the Maire of Chandernagore. It exploded but fortunately no one was injured. Chandernagore is a small French possession on the Hooghly above Calcutta and had been a channel for the illicit importation of arms. The Maire had recently got an "ordinaire" passed prohibiting this traffic. Well-known revolutionaries have since confessed to being party to this outrage.

The Muzaffarpur murders.

37. On the 30th April at Muzaffarpur in the north of Bengal (now in Bihar and Orissa) a bomb was thrown into a carriage in which two ladies, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, were driving. They both were killed. The outrage occurred outside the house of Mr. Kingsford, the Judge of Muzaffarpur, for whom it was no doubt intended. Mr. Kingsford had formerly been Chief Presidency Magistrate and had resided at Garden Reach, Calcutta.

and the assassins had been sent to Muzaffarpur, far away in Bihar, to commit the crime. The police had received information 10 days before that the murder of Mr. Kingsford was intended, and during the next year a well-known revolutionary, when in custody, said that before this outrage a bomb had been sent to Mr. Kingsford in a parcel. Upon search being made, a parcel was found which Mr. Kingsford had received but not opened, thinking it contained a book borrowed from him. The parcel did contain a book; but the middle portion of the leaves had been cut away and the volume was thus in effect a box and in the hollow was contained a bomb with a spring to cause its explosion if the book was opened.

Within two days of the murder of the two ladies two youths were arrested. One, a student, confessed in court and was hanged. The other shot himself dead on arrest. The Sub-Inspector who arrested the latter was shot dead in Serpentine Lane, Calcutta, on November 9th following.

Alipore Conspiracy case and connected murders.

38. Meanwhile, on the 2nd May, on evidence obtained in connection with a previous outrage, searches were made in a garden at Maniktala and elsewhere in Calcutta and bombs, dynamite, cartridges and correspondence seized. Upon this 34 persons were charged with conspiracy, of whom one, Narendra Gosain, became an approver. Fifteen were ultimately found guilty of conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor, including Barindra Kumar Ghosh, already mentioned as one of the most active founders of the criminal revolutionary movement in Bengal. Hem Chandra Das, the manufacturer of the bomb which killed Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, and another who made the statement already alluded to and so strikingly confirmed as to the sending of a bomb in a parcel to Mr. Kingsford. The trial in this case is known as the Alipore conspiracy case. It is convenient to mention by anticipation that, pending the trial, the approver Narendra Gosain was shot dead in jail by two revolutionaries also confined, who managed to get arms smuggled in. They were both convicted and executed. Further, on the 10th February 1909, the Public Prosecutor who had acted in the Alipore case and in the case of the murder of the approver was shot dead in Calcutta, while on the 24th January 1910, a Deputy Superintendent of Police was shot dead while leaving the High Court, Calcutta, where he was attending the hearing of the appeal in the Alipore case.

The arrests made in the beginning of May 1908 in connection with the Alipore conspiracy for a time removed from the scene between 30 and 40 persons, twelve of whom as shown by their convictions and ultimate sentences in that case were leaders in outrage. Crime, however, continued.

More outrages and murders.

39. On the 15th May 1908, a bomb exploded in Grey Street, Calcutta, injuring four persons, and between June and the end of the year there were four cases of bombs being thrown into railway carriages near Calcutta. These bombs were, however, not of a formidable character, being enclosed in cocoanut shells. On one occasion a European gentleman was badly wounded and two others slightly injured. On the other occasions no one was hurt. It may be that the intention was to injure Mr. Hume, the Public Prosecutor, who on one occasion was in the carriage into which the bomb was thrown and on another occasion was in the train but not in the particular carriage. Two other cases of cocoanut bombs being thrown into trains occurred near Calcutta on the 10th February and 5th April 1909. They do not call for further notice. Proceedings under the preventive section of the Criminal Procedure Code were instituted against a certain person and this type of outrage ceased when he was bound over.

On the 2nd June 1908, at Barrah in the Dacca district, there took place a serious dacoity, with murder. The circumstances of this crime presented most of the characteristics by which dacoities organized by the revolutionaries were thereafter distinguished. A body of about 50 men armed with rifles, revolvers and daggers and wearing masks came in a boat apparently from a considerable distance and attacked the house of a native resident. They took away about Rs. 25,000 in cash and about Rs. 837 worth of jewellery. They then retired to their boats which were about 400 yards from the house. The village chaukidar or watchman attempted to stop them. They shot him dead. They then got into their boats, but were pursued by villagers and police on the banks for a great distance. At different times they fired on

their pursuers and three more men were killed and several wounded. Three persons were put on their trial for this outrage, but the evidence did not sufficiently identify them.

Another serious dacoity of this kind took place at Naria in the Faridpur district on the 30th October. Thirty or forty men armed with guns and other weapons arrived in a large boat at the village landing-place. They scattered the boats and people by firing guns and looted the steamer office and three houses. They did not find much money or jewellery, but in their retreat through the bazar they set fire to several houses and caused damage to the extent of Rs. 6,400. Although a reward of Rs. 1,000 was offered for information, no evidence on which any individuals could be brought to trial was obtained, but among articles left behind by the dacoits was a copy of a book circulated from the Dacca Anusilan Samiti.

There is no doubt that the Barrah and Naria dacoities were the work of the Dacca Samiti. There is abundant evidence of that before us, including the confession of a man who took part in both.

In August three men were arrested in a boat which had been stolen in the Dacca district. Two country-made daggers were concealed in the boat. and one of the men found in it was afterwards convicted and sentenced to transportation in what was known as the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case. There is no reasonable doubt that the boat was stolen for use on another enterprise of the character of the Barrah and Naria dacoities.

Dacoits posing as police officers.

On the 15th August 1908 and on the 16th September 1908, there occurred dacoities, one at Bajitpur, Mymensingh district, and another at Bighati in the Hooghly district, more than 100 miles away. In both cases a number of young men armed with pistols obtained admittance to houses on the pretence of being police officers conducting a search, and when admitted robbed the premises. In the latter case four men were convicted, of whom two had also been committed for trial on ample evidence in the former case. A conviction having been obtained, this case was not proceeded with against the men convicted.

Murders.

The murders in September and November 1908 of Naren Gosain, the approver, and of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji who had arrested one of the murderers of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, have already been mentioned. In November there were certainly one and probably three murders of the same kind. In the first, the victim was a man called Sukumar Chakrabarti, who had been arrested with Pulin Behari Das of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and others upon a charge of enticing away a boy. Sukumar made a statement and was released on bail, but never appeared. There is abundant concurring but independent testimony, including a confession by one of the murderers, that he was killed to prevent him giving evidence. Two other men, Keshab De and Annada Prasad Ghosh, members of the revolutionary party, are also believed on substantial grounds to have been murdered about the same time, because it was feared they would give information against the samiti.

Dacoities.

In November and December of 1908 there were two more serious dacoities in West Bengal at Raita and Morehal in which armed bands with firearms took part. There was also one at Dehargati in the Bakarganj district. One man who was wounded and arrested in the act was convicted in the Morehal case.

On the 7th November 1908 there was also an attempt to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The assailant was arrested and sentenced to ten years' rigorous imprisonment.

This brings the narrative down to the end of 1908: it is summarised in the table appended. The scenes of the outrages mentioned are shown on the accompanying map.

Announcement of constitutional reforms.

40. On the 2nd November of this year was issued the Royal Proclamation foreshadowing the enlargement of the Legislative Councils and the extension of the representative principle. The reforms were announced by the Secretary of State in the succeeding month.

Tabular statement of revolutionary crimes for the years 1906–08.

41. We annex a tabular statement of revolutionary crimes perpetrated during the years 1906—08 :—

Serial No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
1	August 1906	Rangpur ...	Mohipur ...	Attempted dacoity.	...	.....	
2	September 1906.	Dacca ...	Sekharnagar ...	Ditto ...	...	.....	

1907.

					Rs.		
1	1907 ...	Dacca ...	Netaiganj, police-station Narayanganj.	Robbery ...	80	One man stabbed.	
2	1907 ...	Do. ...	Arsulia ...	Projected dacoity.	...	.....	
3	21st April 1907 and June 1912.	Mymensingh	Jamalpur ...	Rioting and civil case.	...	One man wounded	Various convictions for rioting.
4	Aug. 1907	Bankura ...	Hasa Danga ..	Projected dacoity.	...	.....	
5	Oct. 1907	French Chandernagore.	.....	Attempted train-wrecking.	...	.....	
6	6th Dec. 1907.	Midnapore	Narayangarh ...	Ditto ...	...	...	
7	23rd Dec. 1907.	Faridpur ...	Goalundo ...	Attempted murder of Mr. Allen.	...	One person wounded.	

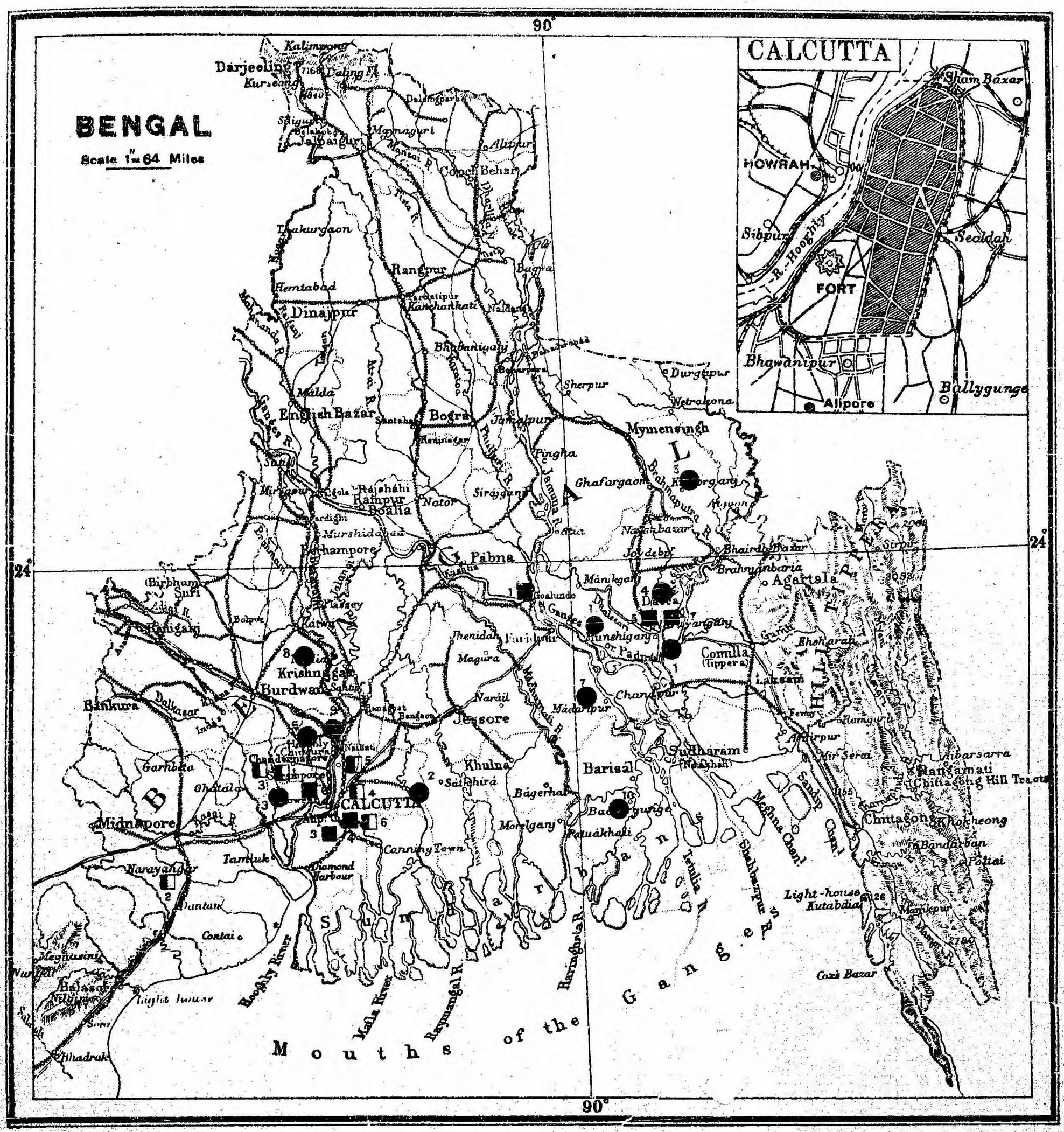
1908.

					Rs.		
1	3rd April 1908.	Howrah ...	Sriharinapara, police-station Sibpur.	Dacoity ...	400	.....	
2	11th April 1908.	French Chandernagore.	.....	Attempted murder with bomb.	...	.....	
3	30th April 1908.	Muzaffarpur, Bihar.	.....	Murder ...	...	Two ladies killed, one man wounded.	One culprit hanged.
4	2nd May 1908 and 12th February 1910.	24-Parganas	Alipore ...	Conspiracy case	...	.....	Three men sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment, four to transportation for life, three to 10 years, four to 7 years and three to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment each.

Serial No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
					Rs.		
5	3rd May 1908 and 7th Aug. 1912.	Midnapore...	.....	Conspiracy case	...	.....	
6	15th May 1908.	Calcutta ...	Grey Street ...	Bomb explosion	...	.....	
7	2nd June 1908.	Dacca ...	Barrah, police-station Nawabganj.	Dacoity with murder.	25,837	Four persons killed and several wounded. One dacoit killed.	
8	21st June 1908.	24-Parganas	Kankinara ...	Miscellaneous cocoanut bomb outrages.	...	.....	
	12th Aug. 1908.	Ditto ...	Shyamnagar ...				
	24th Nov. 1908.	Ditto ...	Belgharia, Agarpara.				
	21st Dec. 1908.	Ditto ...	Sodepore, Kharda.				
9	14th Aug. 1908.	Dacca ...	Satirpara ...	Boat theft ...	...	.....	Three men sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs. 50 each.
10	15th Aug. 1908.	Mymensingh	Bajitpur ...	Dacoity ...	1,500	.....	One youth sentenced to 1½ years' and another to 1 year's rigorous imprisonment.
11	1st Sept. 1908.	24-Parganas	Alipore Jail ...	Murder of Naren Gosain.	...	One man killed	Two culprits hanged.
12	16th Sept. 1908.	Hooghly ...	Bighati, police-station Bhadreswar.	Dacoity ...	536	.....	One man sentenced to 6 years, two to 5 years and one to 3½ years' rigorous imprisonment.
13	30th Oct. 1908.	Faridpur ...	Naria, police-station Palong.	Dacoity with arson.	670*	Two men wounded.	
14	7th Nov. 1908.	Calcutta ...	Overtoun Hall ...	Attempted murder of Sir Andrew Fraser.	...	.....	Culprit sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment.
15	9th Nov. 1908.	Do. ...	Serpentine Lane	Murder of Sub-Inspector Nanda Lal Banarji.	...	One Sub-Inspector killed.	
16	14th Nov. 1908.	Dacca ...	Ramna ...	Murder of Sukumar Chakrabarti.	...	One youth killed.	
17	Nov. 1908...	Howrah ...	.....	Murder of Keshab De.	...	One man killed.	
18	Ditto ...	Dacca ...	Ramna ...	Murder of Annada Ghosh.	...	One youth killed.	
19	29th Nov. 1908.	Nadia ...	Raita ...	Dacoity ...	1,915	.....	
20	2nd Dec. 1908.	Hooghly ...	Morehal, police-station Krishnagar.	Do. ...	130	One person wounded.	One man sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.
21	Dec. 1908 ...	Bakarganj	Dehargati ...	Do. ...	3,000	.....	

* Damage Rs. 6,400.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL DURING 1907-08.



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Heliozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta.

Murder or wounding with intent to murder.....■

1 Goalundo (Faridpur)
2 Muzaffarpur
3 Calcutta, Alipur Jail
4 Calcutta, Serpentine Lane
5 Ramna, Dacca Town
6 Howrah Town
7 Ramna, Dacca Town

Other attempts at murder.....◧

1 French Chandernagar
2 Narayangarh (Midnapur)
3 French Chandernagar
4 Calcutta, Grey Street
5 Kharda, 24-Parganas
6 Calcutta, Overtoun Hall

Dakaity or Robbery...●

1 Netaiganj (Narayanganj, Dacca)
2 Chingripata (24-Parganas)
3 Sibpur (Howrah)
4 Satirpara (Narsinghdi, Dacca)
5 Alkapara (Bajiptpur, Mymensingh)
6 Bighati (Bhadreswar, Hooghly)
7 Naria, (Palong, Faridpur)
8 Raita (Nadia)
9 Morehal (Kristonagar, Hooghly)
10 Dehargati (Bakarganj)

Dakaity with Murder...●

1 Barrah (Nawabganj, Dacca)

Preventive action.

42. On the 11th December 1908 was passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908. This statute provided that charges of certain scheduled offences might after an abridged form of preliminary investigation be tried by a Special Bench of three High Court Judges without jury or assessors. It further enabled the Governor-General in Council to declare unlawful certain classes of associations. Under this enactment the following samitis of Eastern Bengal were declared unlawful in January 1909 :—

Dacca Anusilan Samiti	...	...	...	Dacca.
Swadesh Bandhab Samiti	...	...	...	Bakarganj.
Brati Samiti	...	...	...	Faridpur.
Suhrid Samiti	...	...	...	Mymensingh.
Sadhana Samiti	...	...	...	Ditto.

In November 1908 Pulin Behari Das, the head of the Dacca Samiti, with 8 other persons had been deported under Regulation III of 1818.

Dacoities and murders of the year 1909.

43. On February 10th, 1909, as has already been mentioned, Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor, who had appeared for the Crown in the case of the murder of Naren Gosain, the approver, was shot as he was leaving the Suburban Police Court, Calcutta. His assailant was seized by constables, convicted and hanged. On the 3rd June 1909 a young man named Priya Nath Chatarji was murdered at his home in the presence of his mother by a band of men armed with firearms. This man was murdered in mistake for his brother, Gabesh, who at the time was giving evidence for the police in a case then pending. There is clear proof by the confession of a participator corroborated by other statements that this was the work of the Dacca Samiti.

On the 16th August, at Nangla in the Khulna district, a dacoity was committed by 8 or 9 masked persons armed with pistols and daggers, who obtained delivery of the victim's keys by menaces and took away Rs. 1,070 in money and ornaments. In searches made in connection with the arrest of persons suspected of this crime seditious literature and instructions for the manufacture of explosives were found. A number of persons were convicted.

On the 11th October 1909, while a consignment of Rs. 23,000 in seven bags was being conveyed in a train which had just left Rajendrapur station, 7 or 8 *bhadralok* youths who had entered the train at Dacca attacked the three men who were in charge of the money. Two of the men were shot, one fatally, and the other stabbed. The robbers then threw the money out of the train and jumped off. About half the money was ultimately recovered and one man was convicted. From at least three statements made at later dates, at different times and places, by persons in custody independently of each other, it is clear that this was a dacoity on account of the revolutionary organization, and one deponent, whose statement has been proved otherwise trustworthy and has been so characterised in a judicial decision, states definitely that part of the money went to the Dacca Samiti and part to the Jugantar party in Calcutta.

On the 10th November 1909, a house at Rajnagar, Dacca district, was entered by 25 or 30 youths armed with guns, who carried away in ornaments and money Rs. 28,000. On the 11th November, next day, 20 or 30 youths with bombs and guns looted four shops at Mohanpur, Tippera, and carried off Rs. 16,000 in cash and ornaments. Both these dacoities were planned at Sonarang National School, and they have been described since by undoubted members of the Dacca Samiti. These three dacoities were clearly the work of the Dacca Society, which, it is observed, are using a school for the organization of such crimes.

Another important dacoity committed this autumn, but not by the gang just mentioned, was at Haludbari in the Nadia district. On October 28th, ten or twelve youths armed with pistols and a gun, with faces muffled and some with false beards, raided two houses and carried off in ornaments and money Rs. 1,400. Five of them were intercepted on their way to a railway

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station and arrested. In the house of one of them 35 loaded revolver cartridges were found. Five of these men were convicted. In the possession of one of them, Upendra Deb, were pills containing fatal doses of cyanide of potassium. One of the others in his statement said that such pills had been given to Upendra in order that they might commit suicide if necessary.

There were other thefts and dacoities in 1909, which in order to avoid overloading this statement are only noted in the following table for the year :—

Serial No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incidents.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
					Rs.		
1	1st Jan. 1909.	Tippera ...	Comilla ...	Theft of arms	...	...	Three rifles stolen from the store of the Nawab of Dacca at Comilla. One person bound down.
2	10th Feb. 1909.	Calcutta ...	.....	Murder of Ashutosh Biswas.	...	One man killed	Culprit hanged.
3	10th Feb. and 5th April 1909.	24-Parganas	Belghurria, Agarpara.	Cocoanut shell bomb cases.	...	Two persons injured.	
4	27th Feb. 1909.	Hooghly ...	Mashupur, police-station Haripal.	Dacoity ...	500	.....	Dacoity by 10 or 12 youths.
5	23rd April 1909.	24-Parganas	Netra, police-station Diamond Harbour.	Do. ...	2,400	.....	Dacoity by masked men with at least 3 revolvers. The dacoits demanded the keys of the victim, opened his safe and took cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 2,400, saying they were only borrowing it for the purpose of exterminating the English.
6	3rd June 1909.	Faridpur ...	Fatehjangpur ...	Murder of Priya Nath Chatarji.	...	One man killed.	
7	16th Aug. 1909.	Khulna ...	Nangla, police-station Tala.	Dacoity ...	1,070	.....	One man sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment.
8	16th and 30th Aug. 1909	Jessore ...	Nangla ...	Conspiracy ...	...	.....	Six persons transported for 7 years, three for 5 years and 2 for 3 years each.
9	24th Sept. 1909.	Khulna ...	Hogulbunia, police-station Baitaghala.	Dacoity ...	50	One man wounded.	Dacoity by youths armed with guns and revolvers.
10	11th Oct. 1909	Dacca ...	Rajendrapur ...	Train dacoity ...	23,000 11,864*	One man killed and one wounded.	One man sentenced to transportation for life.

* Recovered.

Serial No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incidents.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
					Rs.		
11	16th Oct. 1909.	Faridpur ...	Dariapur ...	Dacoity ...	2,600	.....	Dacoity by men armed with revolvers and daggers, wearing masks and carrying hammers and torches.
12	28th Oct. 1909.	Nadia ...	Haludbari, police-station Daulatpur.	Do. ...	1,400	.....	Five persons sentenced to 8 years, 1 to 7 years and 1 to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.
13	10th Nov. 1909.	Dacca ...	Rajnagar, police-station Manikganj.	Dacoity and arson.	27,827	.....	
14	11th Nov. 1909.	Tippera ...	Mohanpur, police-station Matlab.	Ditto ...	16,400*	One man wounded.	
15	24th Nov. 1909.	Hill Tippera	Agartala ...	Suspicious loitering.	...	....	Two persons bound down.
16	27th Dec. 1909.	Jessore ...	Bikara, police-station Nawapara.	Dacoity ...	814	.....	Dacoity by 8 or 9 youths armed with revolvers and daggers.

* Damage by fire, Rs. 14,000.

During this year, 1909, there is information indicating that a number of other murders and dacoities were plotted. As nothing occurred we do not notice these matters. It is worth mentioning, however, that in November, when the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal was paying a visit to Agartala in Hill Tippera, three young men, two of whom have been since convicted of revolutionary crime, were found loitering there disguised as religious devotees and gave false names when questioned.

In December of this year occurred the murder already mentioned of Mr. Jackson, the Collector of Nasik in the Bombay Presidency.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL DURING 1909-10.



Reg. No. 2011 E 18

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

Murder or wounding with intent to murder.....■ Other attempts at murder.....◧

Dakaity or Robbery.....● Dakaity with Murder...◍ Other attempted Outrages.....◐

Murder or wounding with intent to murder...■

1 Calcutta
2 Fatehjangpur (Palong, Faridpur)
3 Calcutta, High Court
4 Dacca Town

Other attemtpts at murder.....◧

1 Kharda (24-Parganas)

Dakaity with Murder...◍

1 Rajendrapur (Dacca)
2 Haldiahat (Lohajang, Dacca)

Dakaity or Robbery....●

1 Comilla Town
2 Mashupur (Haripal, Hooghly)
3 Netra (Diamond Harbour, 24-Parganas)
4 Nangla (Tala, Khulna)
5 Hogulbunia (Baitaghata, Khulna)
6 Dariapur (Faridpur)
7 Haludbari (Daulatpur, Nadia)
8 Rajnagar (Manikganj, Dacca)
9 Mohanpur (Matlabbazar, Tipperah)
10 Buikara (Nawapara, Jessore)
11 Solegants (Damuria, Khulna)
12 Dhulgram (Abhoyanagar, Jessore)
13 Nandanpur (Khulna)
14 Mohisa (Muhammadpur, Jessore)
15 Golakpur (Kotwali, Mymensingh)
16 Kalargaon (Bhedarganj, Faridpur)
17 Dadpur (Mehendiganj, Bakarganj)

1910.

44. The first outrage of the revolutionaries in 1910 was the murder of the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Shamsul Alam, on the 24th of January in the High Court, which has already been referred to. **Murder of Shamsul Alam.**

45. In the month of March action in connection with what is known as the Howrah conspiracy case began, but it was not until April 1911 that the proceedings terminated with the judgment of the Special Bench appointed under the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908. Fifty persons were charged with conspiracy to wage war against the King and with committing various dacoities in the districts round about Calcutta in order to collect money in furtherance of their scheme. Among the dacoities specified in the charges were the Bighati, Raita, Morehal, Netra and Haludbari robberies already mentioned. That these dacoities actually occurred and were the work of persons of the *bhadralok* (or respectable) class was the conclusion of the court, though the conspiracy charged was held proved against six only of the accused. These six had already been convicted and sentenced in the Haludbari case. The continuance of the proceedings under the Criminal Law over a period of 12 months against 50 accused persons was followed by a complete cessation of *bhadralok* dacoities in the districts around Calcutta, until a notable individual named Jatindra Mukharji became the leader of a party in Western Bengal about 1914. **The Howrah conspiracy case.**

46. The first part of the year 1910 was marked by the following dacoities :— **The Khulna gang.**

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
7th Feby. 1910.	Khulna ...	Soleganti, police-station Damuria.	Dacoity ...	200	.....	
11th Feby. 1910.	Jessore ...	Dhulgram, police-station Abhaynagar.	Do. ...	6,175	.....	
30th March 1910.	Khulna ...	Nandanpur, police-station Khulna.	Do ...	6,500	.....	
5th July 1910	Jessore ...	Mahisa, police-station Mahmadpur.	Do. ...	2,204	.....	One youth sentenced to 6 years, one to 5 years and three to 3 years' rigorous imprisonment each.

All these robberies took place in the Khulna-Jessore country lying between Calcutta and Dacca and were perpetrated by young men armed with pistols and daggers. Inquiries led to the discovery of a gang of educated youths who associated for the purpose of committing dacoities in the Khulna district, of whom 17 were committed for trial to the High Court in what was known as the Khulna gang case. They all pleaded guilty and were discharged without punishment on their own recognizances binding them to be of good behaviour. There is no reason to doubt that they had combined to commit these crimes under the influence of the revolutionary ideas then prevalent.

47. In July 1910, in consequence of the prevalence of anarchical crime in the Dacca district, proceedings were instituted in Dacca city against a number of persons charging them with conspiracy to wage war against the King. Among them was Pulin Behari Das, who had been deported, as **The Dacca conspiracy case.**

already mentioned, in November 1908, but had been allowed to return at the beginning of 1910. Forty-four accused were eventually brought to trial, and 15 found guilty sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from 7 to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. In the case of Pulin Behari Das the sentence was for 7 years. The Sessions Judge, whose findings were affirmed in the appeal to the High Court, remarked that " the members of the organization (the Dacca Anusilan Samiti) had committed dacoities obviously for the purpose of collecting funds and had got possession of arms and committed murders to ensure their secrets being kept inviolate. These overt acts clearly showed that the conspiracy to wage war had long passed the passive stage and had become an active conspiracy in respect of which it was essentially the duty of Government to take action." Searches made at the headquarters of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti in connection with this prosecution brought to light a quantity of literature by the aid of which, as we shall hereafter show, the organization and working of the society was to a large extent made clear.

Further outrages in Eastern Bengal.

48. Unfortunately this prosecution had no effect in reducing the political crime in this district, probably because the conspirators and associated organizations were too numerous and the net of the prosecution had not been cast far enough. From July to December 1910, the following political outrages occurred in the country about Dacca :—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
21st July 1910.	Mymensingh	Golakpur, police-station Kotwali.	Arms theft ...	.....	.....	
5th Sept. 1910.	Dacca ...	Munshiganj ...	Discovery of bombs.	.....	.....	One man sentenced to 10 years' transportation.
30th Sept. 1910.	Do. ...	Haldia Hât, police-station Lohajang.	Dacoity with murder.	1,500	One man killed and several wounded.	
7th Nov. 1910.	Faridpur ...	Kalargaon, police-station Bhederganj.	Dacoity ...	12,660	.....	
30th Nov. 1910.	Bakarganj	Dadpur, police-station Mahendiganj	Do. ...	49,368	Five people wounded.	

and in addition a dacoity was planned to take place in which conspirators from Calcutta, Mymensingh and Sonarang were to take part. The plan fortunately miscarried and no property was stolen.

From the statement of a witness accepted as true in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case, it appears that the three last mentioned dacoities originated among the students and teachers at the Sonarang National School (which attained greater notoriety in 1911). The loot was partly used for the defence of the accused in the pending Dacca conspiracy case.

Press Act of 1910.

49. This year saw the enactment of the Indian Press Act (Act I of 1910), which received the assent of the Governor-General on the 9th of February. The virulence of the seditious newspapers in the early days of the movement has been mentioned in the introduction. By the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, power was given to forfeit presses used for publishing newspapers inciting to certain offences, with the result that the *Jugantar* soon ceased to appear. By the Act of 1910, security might be required from the keeper of any printing press. This Act drove much of the seditious literature to secret presses.

1911.

50. In the year 1911 there were 18 outrages by revolutionists. Of these, 16 occurred in Eastern Bengal, a sufficient proof of the remark already made that the proceedings in the Dacca conspiracy case, which were not concluded till April 1912, had no substantial deterrent effect. The following is a tabular statement of the outrages in Eastern Bengal :— **Outrages of the year 1911.**

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
21st Jany. 1911.	Dacca ...	Sonarang ...	Postal peon assault case.	.....	.....	One man sentenced to 4 months' and one man to one month's rigorous imprisonment, four men fined Rs. 25 each.
5th Feby. 1911.	Faridpur ...	Panditchar ...	Dacoity ...	5,500	.....	
20th Feby. 1911.	Dacca ...	Goadia, police-station Lohajang.	Do. ...	7,457	.....	
31st March 1911.	Mymensingh	Suakair, police-station Madarganj.	Do. ...	1,200	One man wounded	
10th April 1911.	Dacca ...	Rauthbhog ...	Murder of Man Mohan De.	.....	One man killed.	
22nd April 1911.	Bakarganj	Lakhankati ...	Dacoity ...	10,200	.....	
30th April 1911.	Mymensingh	Charshasa ...	Do. ...	2,150	.....	
1911 ...	Tippera ...	Barkanta ...	Do. ...	260	.....	
19th June 1911.	Mymensingh	Mymensingh ...	Murder of Rajkumar.	.....	Sub-Inspector killed.	
11th July 1911.	Dacca ...	Sonarang ...	Murders ...	.....	Three men killed.	
27th July 1911.	Mymensingh	Sarachar, police-station Bajitpur.	Dacoity ...	.....	.....	One youth sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.
5th Sept. 1911.	Dacca ...	Singhair, police-station Manikganj.	Do. ...	8,170	.....	
3rd October 1911.	Mymensingh	Kaliachar, police-station Bajitpur.	Do. ...	3,125	One man wounded	
6th Novr. 1911.	Rangpur ...	Baliagram ...	Do. ...	1,218	.....	
11th Decr. 1911.	Bakarganj	Barisal ...	Murder of Man Mohan Ghosh.	.....	Inspector killed.	
31st Decr. 1911.	Noakhali ...	Chaulpalli ...	Dacoity ...	1,977	.....	

51. The first of the above outrages was an assault by the students and teachers of the Sonarang National School, who seized the bag of a postal peon with its contents, including registered orders for money and cash. Fourteen teachers and students were arrested and seven were ultimately punished by fine or imprisonment. The Sonarang murders of the 11th July appear to **The Sonarang National School.**

have been an offshoot of this case, for upon that day Rasul Dewan was shot dead, and his brother and another man were mortally wounded at their house at Sonarang. They had been assisting the police with information, and Rasul Dewan particularly had assisted the police in the postal peon case.

There is reason to believe that the students and masters of the Sonarang School participated in the Goadia dacoity mentioned in the foregoing list. This notorious school had been founded in the year 1908 and at the time of the Dacca conspiracy case was attended by 60 or 70 students. The curriculum was the same as in the Government schools up to the Entrance or Matriculation standard, with the addition that physical exercise and *lathi*-play were taught and a blacksmith's and carpenter's shop utilised for the teaching of practical carpentry and iron-work. No syllabus of subjects taught or text-books used at this school had ever been issued, and it has not been ascertained what books were actually in use there, but on the occasion of a search made in August 1910 in connection with the Dacca conspiracy case, the following books were found in the school library :—

(1) History of Tilak's case and sketch of his life.
(2) Chhatrapati Shivaji, by S. C. Sastri.
(3) History of the Sepoy Mutiny.

Murders.

52. Of the other murders mentioned in the list, Man Mohan De, murdered at Rauthbhog, was a witness in the Dacca case and the Munshiganj bomb case already referred to; Sub-Inspector Rajkumar, murdered at Mymensingh, was shot in cold blood while walking home in Mymensingh town, Inspector Man Mohan Ghosh, who was murdered at Barisal, was shot on the evening of the day of the Royal proclamation at Barisal, while returning to his quarters; he had been conspicuously active in various political inquiries and had appeared as a witness in the Dacca conspiracy case.

Although the great majority of the outrages in this year took place in Eastern Bengal, two daring crimes were committed in the streets of Calcutta by the revolutionaries in this year. On the 21st February 1911 head constable Srish Chandra Chakrabarti, attached to the Calcutta Criminal Investigation Department, was shot dead in that city, and there is reason to believe that he was murdered by a member of the gang known as the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti. Within a fortnight, on the 2nd of March, a little before 5 o'clock in the evening, a bomb was thrown into the motor car of a European gentleman named Cowley by a boy aged 16, who was arrested on the spot. The bomb fortunately did not explode. It was, however, one of the type manufactured at Chandernagore which has since proved in more than one case to be of a very dangerous make. It is certain that the bomb was intended not for Mr. Cowley but for Mr. Denham, a prominent officer of the Criminal Investigation Department in Calcutta.

The Seditious Meetings Act.

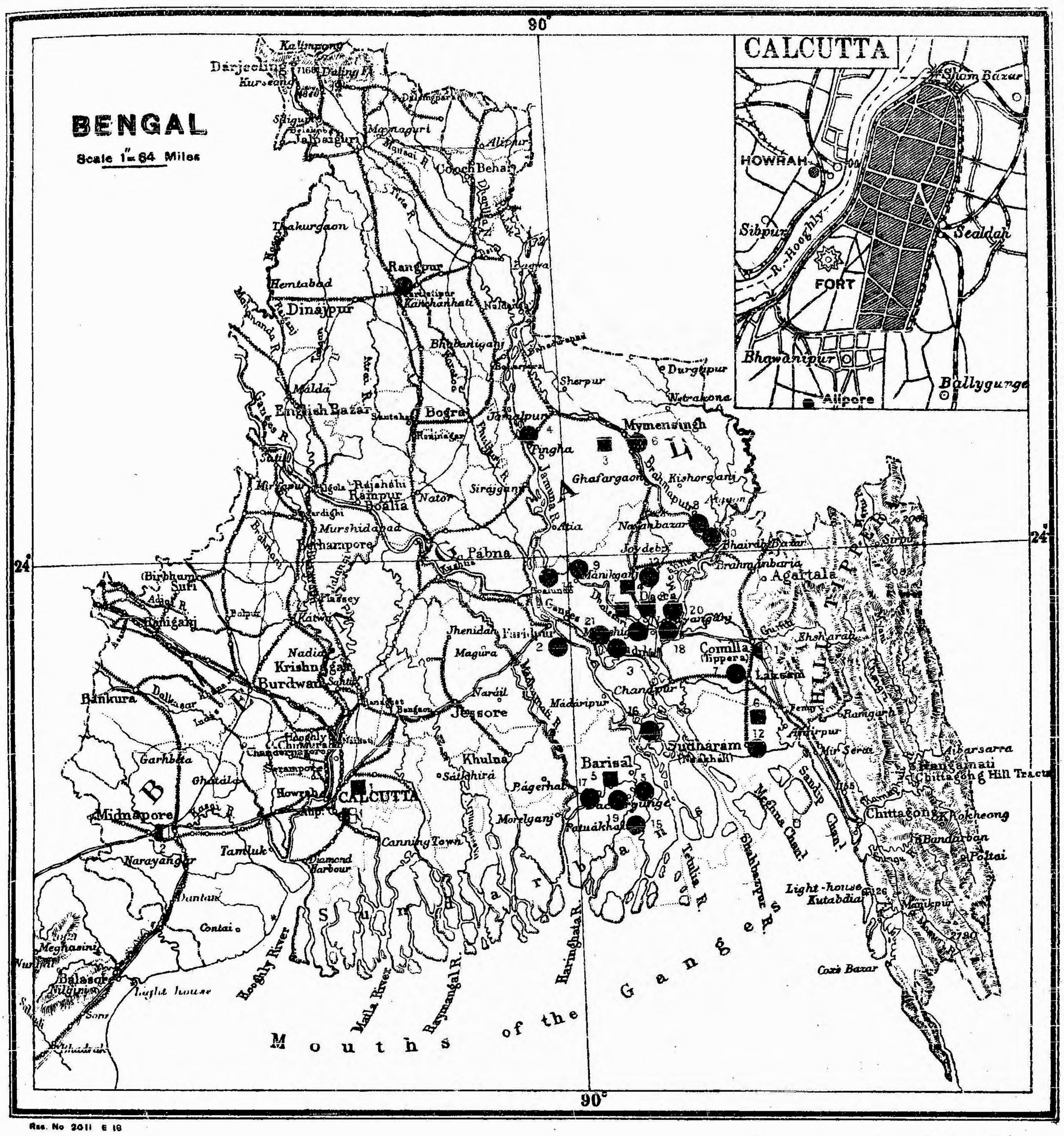
53. In this year was passed the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act (Act X of 1911). By this Act, if brought into operation by a notification by the Government, considerable powers for controlling public meetings were conferred. We understand, however, that recourse has rarely been had to its provisions.

Reunion of the two Bengals.

54. At the end of this year took place the Coronation Durbar, and Eastern and Western Bengal were re-united in one province. The grievance of the partition thus disappeared.

In the Tinnevelly district of the Madras Presidency, Mr. Ashe, the Collector of Tinnevelly, was murdered on the 17th June 1911.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL DURING 1911-12.



Res. No 2011 E 16

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

Murder or wounding with intent to murder..... ■ Other attempts at murder..... ◧

Dakaity or Robbery..... ● Dakaity with murder... ● Other attempted Outrages..... ◐

Murder or wounding with intent to murder..... ■

1 Calcutta
2 Rauthbog (Dacca)
3 Mymensingh Town
4 Sonarang, Dacca
5 Barisal Town
6 Feni (Noakhali)
7 Goalnagar (Dacca)

Other attempts at murder..... ◧

1 Calcutta, Dalhousie Sq.
2 Midnapur Town

Dakaity or Robbery... ●

1 Sonarang (Dacca)
2 Panditchar (Faridpur)
3 Goadia (Lohajang, Dacca)
4 Suakair (Madarganj, Mymensingh)
5 Lakankati (Bakarganj)
6 Charshasa (Mymensingh)
7 Barkanta (Tipperah)
8 Sarachar (Bajitpur, Mymensingh)
9 Singhair (Manikganj, Dacca)
10 Kaliachar (Bajitpur, Mymensingh)
11 Ballagram (Rangpur)
12 Chaulpatti (Noakhali)
13 Balguntewari (Dacca)
14 Ainapur (Gheor, Dacca)
15 Kushangal (Bakarganj)
16 Kakuria (Mehendiganj, Bakarganj)
17 Birangal (Bakarganj)
18 Panam (Narayanganj, Dacca)
19 Protabpur (Kotwali, Bakarganj)
20 Nangalband (Narayanganj, Dacca)
21 Kola (Srinagar, Dacca)

Other attempted Outrages..... ◐

1 Comilla Town

1912.

Revolutionary crime in Eastern Bengal during 1912.

55. The chief interest of the year 1912 centres round the events which led up to the Barisal conspiracy case of the following year.

On April 17th occurred the Kushangal dacoity, the first of a group of "actions" committed by the Dacca Anusilan Samiti in the Bakarganj district, which the prosecution in the Barisal case subsequently cited as the overt acts of the conspiracy charged.

The next of the series occurred two days later at Kakuria and the third after a month's interval at Birangal. Details of these outrages have been related by a self-confessed participant who turned approver. They were of the recognised revolutionary type. In two of them the dacoits carried guns and wore masks, and in two of them inmates of the houses attacked received injuries. The main preoccupation of the anarchists was always to secure fresh arms, and at Kushangal the objective was a Government gun, which was secured; at Kakuria the value of the loot was small, but at Birangal it totalled about Rs. 8,000.

It was not long before the police were on an effective line of investigation. The first statement of the approver Rajani Das was secured in September 1912 with the help of a Barisal non-official gentleman, and information was thereafter secretly collected regarding the gang responsible for the Kushangal-Birangal affairs. Certain of their documents were secured which were of great importance as showing the highly finished and quasi-religious organization of the party; they included oaths to be taken by members, preliminary and final, and a description of the information to be sent up to the society from outlying branches.

The preparation of the conspiracy case was greatly advanced by the events of November 1912. A letter to the son of a Sub-Inspector of Police at Comilla conveyed information which led to the arrest at night of 12 men with dripping clothes in a darkened house surrounded by all the implements of a *bhadralok* dacoity, including 2 revolvers, a ·12 bore gun and a number of masks, as well as a slip of paper containing a list of names and of weapons allotted to their holders, clearly a plan drawn up for an intended dacoity. Ten of these men were convicted of assembling for the purpose of committing dacoity, two more being acquitted by the High Court on appeal. There is abundant information to the effect that the men surprised on this occasion were members of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti assembled for one of their "actions," while the seizure of the paper mentioned gave the clue to further members of the samiti.

Of still greater importance was the discovery on November 28th of a collection of revolutionary stores, arms and documents, in the box of Girindra Mohan Das. Girindra's father, an Indian gentleman who attained the high official position of Additional Magistrate, was the first to call upon his son to open the box and subsequently induced him to disclose what he knew of the workings of the secret society to which he belonged. The arms discovered included a large number of gun and revolver cartridges, powder, shot, bullets and percussion caps, for the possession of which Girindra was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment under the Arms Act, and in addition to these the box was found to contain silver ornaments identified as part of the property stolen in the big Nangalband dacoity a few days before, for receiving which a sentence of 5 years' rigorous imprisonment was imposed; but more important than either was the collection of samiti papers including an account of the society, a list of its members and figures which were clearly accounts of the loot taken in the Bakarganj dacoities (Kushangal-Kakuria-Birangal). The extent of the Dacca society's organization was shown by the "Third quarterly reports," an account of the progress of its branches in the Noakhali district and adjoining areas at the extreme south-east extremity of the Presidency by the member in charge of that area. These papers, which were subsequently put before the courts, contributed a large volume of fresh information regarding the aims and methods of the samiti, and Girindra himself, at the instance of his father, joined Rajani Das as an approver. Thus, by the end of the year, Government had largely

increased their knowledge of the organization and its members and were ready to take active steps against them.

Two murders are known to have been committed by the samiti during the year in furtherance of its aims. The first was the disciplinary murder in June of one of the members, Sarada Chakrabarti, who had offended against the samiti in some way which is not clear. The body was decapitated and thrown into a tank to prevent identification, but information from more than one source has since supplied the name of the victim and made it clear that the samiti were responsible for the crime.

One September 24th a Head Constable named Rati Lal Ray, who had been prominent in the Dacca conspiracy case and was at the time employed on the dangerous task of watching political suspects on the river front at Dacca (the Buckland Bund), was shot dead at seven o clock in the evening in a populous part of the town. The murderers got away and the offer of a reward of Rs. 5,000 failed to induce any of the public to come forward and give evidence. Accounts of the occurrence have been received from several sources, and there is no doubt at all that the murder was planned by the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and intended to remove a dangerous opponent as well as to deter other police officers from acting against them.

Two further dacoities were committed by the Dacca Anusilan Samiti during the year which are noticeable on account of the value of the loot secured. At the Panam dacoity (Dacca district) in July cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 20,000 were said to have been taken. The dacoits attacked in military formation and fired indiscriminately at any persons or lights appearing near the scene. They had also taken the precaution of cutting the telegraph wires.

The Nangalband dacoity has been mentioned already in connection with the property recovered from Girindra Mohan Das. The dacoits numbered about 13. Guns and pistols were fired and a crowd of from 100 to 200 villagers were kept at bay by four armed dacoits. The loot was estimated, though perhaps with considerable exaggeration, at Rs. 16,000.

The Dacca party were not alone in the field. A more or less independent group formed at Madaripur, the south-eastern subdivision of Faridpur, an interesting tract among the great rivers where *bhadralok* are numerous and English education widespread, but communication except by water almost impossible for most of the year. Their ideals and methods were similar to those of the Dacca party and they were responsible for three guerilla actions during the year—at Baiguntewari in January, at Ainapur in February, and at Kola in November. They appeared to have thought it safer to operate away from home, and all these outrages took place on the other side of the great Padma river in the Dacca district. The sums looted amounted to about Rs. 11,000. Their methods were terroristic. Armed with firearms, masked and bearing torches, they advanced in a body on the houses selected, made a great uproar, threw down bombs and fired shots to keep off the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and finally lined up before departure to the sound of a bugle. A participant in the Kola affair, where the house attacked was a post-office, subsequently related that the object of the dacoity was to obtain funds for the defence of one of their members who had fallen under suspicion and had been called upon to show cause why he should not be bound over to be of good behaviour.

One more dacoity of the year may be mentioned, the work of still another group with headquarters at Barisal, who were subsequently to cross into Nadia district, Western Bengal, and commit the Shibpur dacoity and murders which proved their downfall. This dacoity occurred at Pratabpur, not far from Barisal itself. The unarmed villagers bravely attacked their armed assailants, who numbered about 25, with iron bars and fishing spears, and two of the dacoits were seen to be carried from the scene by their fellows. Two of the villagers were wounded by pistol shots and four more beaten. The loot taken was valued at about Rs. 7,500.

Bomb at Midnapore.

56. The last occurrence of the year takes us back to Western Bengal and the Midnapore bomb case. On December 13th there was a dangerous attempt to murder Abdur Rahman, the informer in that case. A powerful picric acid bomb of the type manufactured in Chandernagore and distributed

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by revolutionaries in various parts of India was exploded against the wall of the room in which he ordinarily slept, and in which on this particular night his daughter was sleeping. A hole was blown through the wall and it was by good fortune only that no life was lost.

It was in this very month that an attempt was made upon the life of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, a bomb being thrown at him while entering Delhi. The incident will be referred to again when we come to discuss the course of events in the Punjab.

57. A tabular statement for the year is appended.

Tabular statement for the year.

Serial No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
					Rs.		
1	23rd Jany. 1912.	Dacca ...	Baiguntewari ...	Dacoity ...	3.470	.....	
2	21st Feby. 1912.	Do. ...	Ainapur, police-station Gheor.	Do. ...	7,593	.....	
3	17th April 1912.	Bakarganj	Kushangal ...	Do. ...	...	.....	
4	19th April 1912.	Do.	Kakuria, police-station Mehendiganj.	Do. ...	60	.....	
5	23rd May 1912.	Do.	Birangal ...	Do. ...	8,080	.....	
6	June 1912	Noakhali ...	Feni ...	Murder of Sarada Chakrabarti.	...	One man killed.	
7	11th July 1912.	Dacca ...	Panam, police-station Narayanganj.	Dacoity ...	20,000	One man wounded.	
8	15th July 1912.	Bakarganj	Pratabpur, police-station Kotwali.	Do. ...	7,595	Two people wounded.	
9	24th Sept. 1912.	Dacca ...	Goalnagar ...	Murder of Rati Lal Ray.	...	Head Constable killed.	
10	27th Octr. 1912	Tippera ...	Comilla ...	Preparations for dacoity.	...	.....	Ten men sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment each.
11	14th Nov. 1912.	Dacca ...	Nangalband, police-station Narayanganj.	Dacoity ...	16,000	.....	One man sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.
12	18th Nov. 1912.	Do. ...	Kola, police-station Srinagar.	Do. ...	95	.....	.....
13	28th Nov. 1912.	Do. ...	Wari ...	Arms case ...	...	.....	One man sentenced to 1½ years' rigorous imprisonment.
14	13th Dec. 1912.	Midnapore	Midnapore ...	Attempted murder with bomb.	...	.....	.....

1913.

Murder of police officers.

58. During 1913 the revolutionaries continued their activities with increased ferocity. Two police officers were murdered. On the evening of September 29th Head Constable Haripada Deb was shot dead by three young Bengalis on the edge of the lake in College Square, Calcutta, a spot where the well-to-do people of that part of the town congregate to take the air in the cool of the evening. The Head Constable was assassinated in the middle of the throng, his assailants disappeared into the crowd, no arrest was made and no evidence was forthcoming. The murdered officer had succeeded in getting into touch with a revolutionary section and it is clear that they had seen through him and decided to put him out of the way.

On the following evening a picric acid bomb was thrown into the house of Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri in Mymensingh town at the other end of the Presidency. He was instantly killed. The Inspector had been a prominent worker against the Dacca Samiti at the time of the Dacca conspiracy case, and there is no doubt that the samiti brought about his death.

Bombs.

59. An attempt had been made in March to assassinate Mr. Gordon of the Indian Civil Service by the same means. Armed with a bomb, the would-be murderer was making his way into Mr. Gordon's garden at Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet, in Assam, when the bomb exploded and killed him. Two loaded revolvers were also found on the person of the dead man, whose identity was not established till some time afterwards. Mr. Gordon had offended the revolutionaries by the action he had taken to suppress the immoralities of a local religious community.

The two cases referred to above were not the only instances of the use of bombs during the year. Attempts were made at two police-stations, at Raniganj in April and at Bhadreswar, bordering on French Chandernagore, in December. In the latter case the bomb, which was of the deadly picric acid type, was thrown into a room where two officers were working and they must infallibly have lost their lives if the bomb had not, for some reason, failed to explode.

The object of these outrages, for which the revolutionaries were certainly responsible, seems to have been sheer desire to murder, for the officers whose lives were attempted were not employed in detecting revolutionary crime.

In December yet another attempt was made to bomb Abdur Rahman of the Midnapore conspiracy case while he was walking in a religious procession. The missile failed to explode, but on examination it proved to be another of the picric acid bombs.

Dacoities and outrages.

60. The revolutionaries were kept in funds for the year by a series of ten successful dacoities. All of these had the characteristic features of *bhadralok* dacoities, and in all of them the dacoits carried firearms, making effective resistance impossible. The value of the loot reported to have been taken in this way during the year amounted to about Rs. 61,000. By this time the members of the "Violence Department," as the revolutionaries who engaged in dacoities styled themselves, had reached an almost complete disregard of human life. At Bharakair, in Dacca district, they fired a volley into a crowd of villagers who had been brought to the scene by their bombs and battle-shouts.

A similar dacoity was committed at Dhuldia, in the adjoining district of Mymensingh, on the same night, and the promiscuous firing of the dacoits caused the death of one villager and wounded three others.

At Kedarpur, an isolated spot on the borders of these two districts, a servant of the owner of the house, who asked the dacoits on their arrival who they were, was immediately shot down in cold blood, while in the volleys with which the dacoits covered their retreat five villagers were wounded.

It is unnecessary to describe all the dacoities of the year in detail, since in all respects they conformed to what had by this time become a recognised

type of crime. Others not already mentioned will be found in the following statement of the year's outrages :—

Serial No.	Date.	District	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
					Rs.		
1	4th Feb. 1913.	Dacca ...	Bharakair, police-station Tangibari.	Dacoity ...	3,400	.....	One youth sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.
2	Ditto ...	Mymensingh	Dhuldia, police-station Katiadi.	Dacoity with murder.	9,046	One man killed and three wounded.	
3	27th March 1913.	Sylhet. Assam.	Maulvi Bazar ...	Attempted murder.	...	.....	One of the culprits killed.
4	3rd April 1913.	Faridpur ...	Gopalpur, police-station Madaripur	Dacoity ...	6,945	One man wounded.	
5	April 1913	Burdwan ...	Raniganj ...	Bomb thrown ...	...	.....	
6	29th May 1913.	Faridpur ...	Kawakuri, police-station Madaripur.	Dacoity ...	5,130	.....	
7	28th June 1913.	Dacca ...	Kamrangir Char, police-station Rupganj.	Do. ...	2,250	.....	
8	16th Aug. 1913.	Mymensingh	Kedarpur, police-station Nagarpur.	Dacoity with murder.	19,800	One man killed and five wounded.	
9	29th Sept. 1913.	Calcutta ...	College Square	Murder of Haripada Deb.	...	Head Constable killed.	
10	30th Sept. 1913.	Mymensingh	Mymensingh ...	Murder of Bankim Chaudhuri.	...	Inspector killed.	
11	7th Nov. 1913.	24-Parganas	Chatrabaria ...	Dacoity ...	868	.....	
12	24th Nov. 1913.	Mymensingh	Sarachar, police-station Bajitpur.	Do. ...	4,390	.....	
13	3rd Dec. 1913.	Tippera ...	Kharampur, police-station Brahmanbaria.	Do. ...	6,000	.....	
14	9th Dec. 1913.	Midnapore	Midnapore ...	Attempted murder with bomb.	...	.....	
15	19th Dec. 1913.	Tippera ...	Paschimsingh, police-station Kotwali.	Dacoity ...	3,100	One man wounded.	
16	30th Dec. 1913.	Hooghly ...	Bhadreswar ...	Bomb thrown ...	...	.....	

The Barisal conspiracy and Raja Bazar bomb cases.

61. The year was an important one in the Courts. In the Barisal conspiracy case 26 members of the Dacca Samiti were put on their trial, and 12 of these pleaded guilty to the charge of conspiring to wage war against the King-Emperor. Sentences of imprisonment and transportation varying from 2 to 12 years were imposed, and for a time the samiti was considerably weakened.

The events of the year showed that the revolutionaries were obtaining a supply of bombs. In November a raid on a house in the heart of Calcutta brought to light one of the sources. A room was discovered containing both revolutionary literature and cigarette tins, the latter in the process of being manufactured into bombs. The men found in this room were put on their

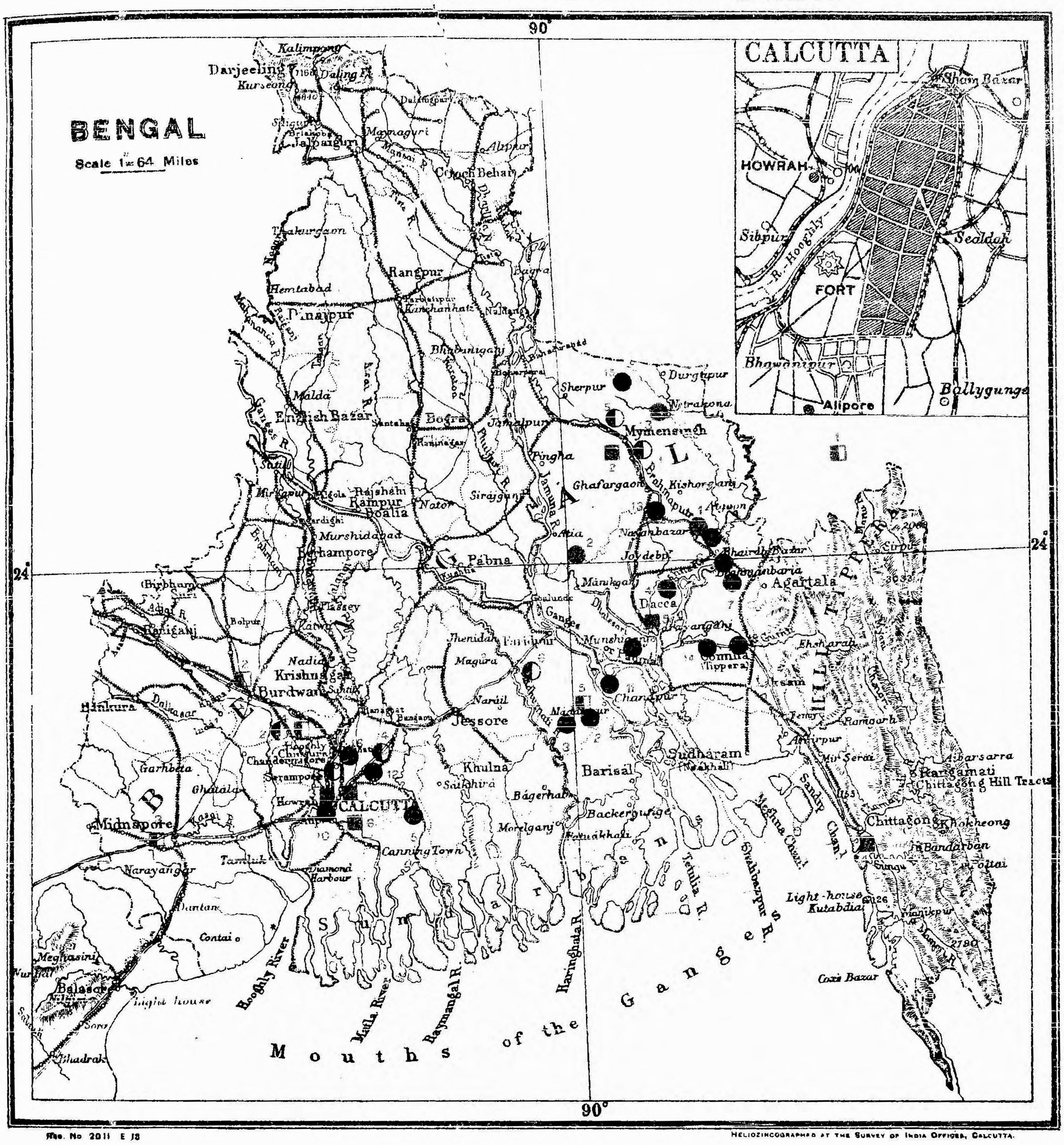
trial for infringing the Explosives Act and for conspiring to commit crime, and, while only one of them* was eventually convicted under these charges, it was held by the High Court that the tins were undoubtedly intended to be used as bombs and that their purpose was to endanger life. This trial showed the manner in which the revolutionaries were secretly manufacturing bombs of a very dangerous type from simple materials and without the aid of elaborate apparatus.

Outrages elsewhere.

62. On the 17th May of this year a bomb exploded on the road at Lahore, killing a chaprasi. It had been placed there by a Bengali. Earlier in the year there had been a brutal murder in Bihar and Orissa, committed in order to perpetrate a political dacoity.

* Amrita Lal Hazra, *alias* Sasanka Mohan. He was sentenced to transportation for 15 years.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL DURING 1913-14.



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HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

Murder or wounding with intent to murder ■ Other attempts at murder ◧

Dakaity or Robbery ● Dakaity with Murder ◉ Other attempted Outrages ◐

Murder or wounding with intent to murder ■

1 Calcutta, College Sq.
2 Mymensingh Town
3 Calcutta, Chitpur Road
4 Chittagong Town
5 Dacca Town
6 Calcutta, Musalman-para Lane

Other attempts at murder ◧

1 Moulvi Bazar (Sylhet)
2 Raniganj (Burdwan)
3 Midnapur Town
4 Bhadreswar (Hooghly)
5 Madaripur (Faridpur)

Dakaity or Robbery ●

1 Bharakair (Tangibari, Dacca)
2 Gopalpur (Madaripur, Faridpur)
3 Kawakuri (Madaripur, Faridpur)
4 Kamrangir Char (Rupganj, Dacca)
5 Chatrabaria (24-Parganas)
6 Sarachar (Bajitpur, Mymensingh)
7 Kharampur (Brahmanbaria, Tipperah)
8 Paschimsingh (Kotwali, Tipperah)
9 Gossainpur (Nabinagar, Tipperah)
10 Calcutta
11 Madaripur
12 Mamurabad (Deganga, 24-Parganas)
13 Ukrasal (Katiadi, Mymensingh)
14 Radhanagar (Homna, Tipperah)
15 Darakpur (Fulpur, Mymensingh)
16 Areadah (24-Parganas)

Dakaity with Murder ◉

1 Dhuldia (Katiadi, Mymensingh)
2 Kedarpur (Nagarpur, Mymensingh)
3 Beiati (Netrakona, Mymensingh)

Other attempted Outrages ◐

1 Challachar (Mymensingh)
2 Baidyabati (Hooghly)
3 Baranagar (24-Parganas)
4 Alambazar (24-Parganas)
5 Matia (Mymensingh)
6 Mochna (Muksudpur, Faridpur)

1914.

63. For the year 1914 the chronicle of events relating to revolutionary activities may be divided into three groups, those of Eastern Bengal, those disclosed in Hooghly and the 24-Parganas in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, and those in Calcutta city itself. The following is a statement of occurrences in Eastern Bengal :— **Outrages in Eastern Bengal during 1914.**

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
Jany. 1914	Mymensingh	Charliarchar ...	Attempted dacoity.	.....	.....	
8th May 1914	Tippera ...	Gosainpur, police-station Nabinagar.	Dacoity ...	5,500	One man wounded.	
19th June 1914.	Chittagong	Chittagong town ...	Murder of Satyendra Sen.	.....	One man killed.	
19th July 1914.	Dacca ...	Dacca town ...	Murder of Ram Das.	.....	Ditto.	
28th Aug 1914.	Mymensingh	Betati, police-station Netrakona.	Dacoity with murder.	17,700	One man killed and one man wounded.	
1st Oct. and 28th Dec. 1914.	Faridpur ...	Madaripur ...	Extortion cases	300	.....	
13th Nov. 1914.	Mymensingh	Ukrasal, police-station Katiadi.	Dacoity ...	4,800	.....	
19th Nov. 1914.	Faridpur ...	Madaripur ...	Bomb outrage ...	.....	.....	
Dec. 1914 ...	Mymensingh	Usti	Attempted dacoity.	.....	.....	
18th Dec. 1914,	Tippera ...	Radhanagar, police-station Homna.	Dacoity ...	4,900	.....	
23rd Dec. 1914.	Mymensingh	Darakpur, police-station Fulpur.	Do. ...	23,000	One man stabbed.	
25th Dec. 1914.	Tippera ...	Mochna, police-station Muksudpur.	Attempted dacoity.	.....	.....	

The activities of the revolutionaries in this part of the province were chiefly confined to dacoities, but there was a case of extortion for the purpose of bringing in money for the party, and there were two cases of deliberate murder. The murder in Chittagong was effected in the public street, the victim was one who was suspected of giving information to an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department. A person who narrowly escaped murder and was in company of the victim, had been a witness in the Dacca conspiracy case. **Murders.**

The murder in Dacca City was the murder of an informer who was working against the revolutionaries under the direction of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji, who was himself murdered in the year 1916 in broad daylight in Calcutta.

Outrages near Calcutta.

64. The activities of the revolutionaries in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta are shown in the following list :—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
Feb. 1914 ...	Hooghly ...	Baidyabati ...	Attempted dacoity.	.....	.....	
Aug. 1914 ...	24-Parganas	Baranagar ...	Ditto ...	.....	.....	
7th Nov. 1914	Ditto ...	Mamurabad, police-station Deganga.	Dacoity ...	1,700	.....	
Nov. 1914 ...	Ditto ...	Alambazar ...	Attempted dacoity.	.....	.....	
Dec. 1914 ...	Ditto ...	Areadah ...	Dacoity ...	510	.....	

All the above were cases of dacoity, but they present no very special features, except that in the dacoity at Mamurabad on the 7th November, two Mauser pistols were used by the revolutionaries which were stolen from Rodda & Co., together with 48 other pistols of the same description and a large amount of ammunition, on the 26th of August in the same year.

Theft of Mauser pistols from Rodda & Co.

65. The theft of pistols from Rodda & Co., a firm of gunmakers in Calcutta, was an event of the greatest importance in the development of revolutionary crime in Bengal. On Wednesday, the 26th of August 1914, the clerk of Rodda & Co., whose duty it was to clear imports of arms and ammunition at the Custom office, had cleared 202 cases of arms and ammunition, but had brought only 192 cases to his employer's warehouse in Vansittart Row. He had then left, saying that he was going to bring the remainder. He never returned, and after three days the case was reported to the police. The 10 missing cases contained 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of Mauser ammunition for the same, the pistols were of large size, ·300 bore, and each pistol bore a number of which Rodda & Co. had a record. The pistols were so constructed and packed that by attaching to the butt the box containing the pistols, a weapon was produced which could be fired from the shoulder in the same way as a rifle. The authorities have reliable information to show that 44 of these pistols were almost at once distributed to 9 different revolutionary groups in Bengal, and it is certain that the pistols so distributed were used in 54 cases of dacoity or murder or attempts at dacoity and murder subsequent to August 1914. It may indeed safely be said that few, if any, revolutionary outrages have taken place in Bengal since August 1914, in which Mauser pistols stolen from Rodda & Co. have not been used. Owing to the activity of the police 31 of the stolen pistols have been recovered in various parts of Bengal.

Murder and attempted murder of police officers.

66. Of the other revolutionary outrages in Calcutta, the first in order of date in this year was the Chitpur Road murder, in which Inspector Nripendra Ghosh of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Calcutta Police, who had been employed in investigations connected with political crime for some years, was attacked by young men armed with pistols while alighting from a tram car at the junction of three crowded streets in Calcutta and killed. The murder was witnessed by members of the police force who were standing close by, and a young man who was running away was at once pursued. He was armed with a 5-chambered revolver, which, when he was captured, was found to have discharged cartridges in two chambers. One of the pursuers had been fired on and killed. The man arrested was twice tried at the High Court sessions, but the majority of the jury in each case brought in a verdict of " not guilty."

Another notable outrage in Calcutta in this year was an attempt on the 25th November to murder Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji, already mentioned, by throwing two bombs, one into his house and one outside it. The Deputy Superintendent escaped, but the explosion killed a Head Constable and wounded two constables and a relative of Basanta Chatarji. From information now available it appears to us to be clear that this was the work of the Dacca Samiti, and that the bombs thrown had been procured from Chandernagore.

The only other event to be noted in Calcutta in this year is the attempt of certain anarchists to resist arrest in a public place known as Greer Park. One of the persons arrested was wanted as a suspect in the Chittagong murder case above referred to, which had taken place in June of that year.

Events which preceded the passing of the Defence of India Act.

67. The autumn of this year and the early months of 1915 brought serious occurrences in different parts of India. In the Punjab from September onwards large numbers of disaffected Sikhs arrived from America. Dacoities and murders took place with alarming frequency and a military outbreak planned for February 1915 was only detected and prevented at the last moment. It is certain that revolutionaries in Eastern Bengal were aware of its imminence.

The Defence of India Act was passed in March, under which rules were made authorizing the arrest and internment of dangerous persons. Trial by Special Tribunals without appeal was introduced. During this same winter there were dangerous intrigues in Burma, a conspiracy of Bengali origin was hatching at Benares, and an attempt was made under Bengali management to found a revolutionary society in the Central Provinces. All these incidents will be more fully dealt with in their proper place.

1915.

Robberies and murders in Calcutta during 1915.

68. The year 1915 was remarkable in Calcutta for a number of outrages committed by the revolutionaries. They are set out in chronological order in the following statement :—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
12th Feby. 1915.	Calcutta ...	Garden Reach ...	Dacoity ...	18,900	.....	One man sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.
22nd Feby. 1915.	Do. ...	Beliaghata ...	Dacoity with murder.	22,000	Taxi driver killed.	
24th Feby. 1915.	Do. ...	Pathuriaghata Street	Murder of Nirod Haldar.	.....	One man killed.	
28th Feby. 1915.	Do. ...	Cornwallis Street ...	Murder ...	.....	Inspector S. Mukharji killed and his orderly wounded.	
June 1915 ...	Do. ...	.....	Attempt to rob Marwari.	.....	.....	
21st Oct. 1915.	Do. ...	Masjidbari Street ...	Murder ...	.....	Sub-Inspector Girindra Banarji killed and Sub-Inspector Upen Chatarji wounded.	
17th Nov. 1915.	Do. ...	Cornwallis Street ...	Dacoity ...	800	.....	
30th Nov. 1915.	Do. ...	Serpentine Lane ...	Murder ...	.....	One constable and another person killed.	
2nd Dec. 1915.	Do. ...	Corporation Street ...	Dacoity ...	25,000	.....	One man sentenced to 13 years' rigorous imprisonment, one man to two years and one man to one year.
14th Dec. 1915.	Do. ...	Seth Bagan Lane ...	Do. ...	6,100	.....	
27th Dec. 1915.	Do. ...	Chaulpatti Road ...	Robbery ...	750	One person wounded.	

Taxi-cab dacoities and murders.

69. Among these outrages were four dacoities committed with the help of automobile taxi-cabs, a new feature in revolutionary crime. They commenced with the Garden Reach dacoity on the 12th of February. It was committed by dacoits working under the direction of the notable leaders, Jatin Mukharji and Bepin Ganguli. It was carefully planned so as to intercept the servant of Bird & Co., carrying a weekly sum of Rs. 20,000 from the Chartered Bank in Calcutta to Bird & Co.'s mills at Garden Reach, a little way down the Hooghly. The dacoits succeeded in getting Rs. 18,000 and escaping with it to Calcutta, where it was handed over to a person known as the " financial minister."

The Garden Reach dacoity was followed in a week by another serious dacoity at Beliaghata in Calcutta, where the dacoits, with the help of a

taxi-cab and acting under the direction of Jatin Mukharji, succeeded in extorting from the cashier of a rice merchant Rs. 20,000 in cash and currency notes. Shortly after the outrage the dead body of a taxi-cab driver was discovered, the driver having presumably been shot and thrown out of the carriage for disobedience to orders.

Two days later occurred the murder of Nirod Haldar in Pathuriaghata Street. There is ample evidence of a convincing nature that he was murdered because he unexpectedly came into a room where Jatin Mukharji with other anarchists was seated and recognised Jatin and addressed him by name.

Four days later, in Cornwallis Street in Calcutta, Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukharji, while on duty with an orderly supervising arrangements in connection with a ceremony at the Calcutta University at which the Viceroy was to attend, noticed an absconding anarchist in the street and approached to arrest him, when he was fired at by the anarchist and four others. The Inspector was killed and the orderly wounded. There is very good reason for believing that the murder of this officer was planned by Jatin Mukharji.

Jatin Mukharji.

70. At this point it seems desirable to follow Jatin Mukharji's further history. Information was received towards the end of March that Jatin had gone to Balasore, where the Mahanadi from the west discharges into the Bay of Bengal. In or about September, in consequence of information received in connection with what will hereafter be described as the German plot, certain officers of the Criminal Investigation Department in Calcutta went to Balasore to search the premises of a firm doing business under the name of the "Universal Emporium." In consequence of an arrest which was made there, searches took place among the hills in the neighbouring Mohurbhanj State, and eventually five Bengalis were discovered in a patch of jungle. They had killed one villager and wounded another and subsequently fired upon an attacking party which was led by the Magistrate of Balasore. The result of this affray was that a well-known revolutionary, Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri—whom the Sub-Inspector murdered in Cornwallis Street had tried to arrest on the 28th February—was found to be killed, while Jatin Mukharji and another revolutionary were found wounded. Jatin died of his wounds a few days later. Two other youths were also captured.

Intensified crime in Calcutta.

71. From the 21st of October to the end of the year no fortnight passed in Calcutta without some anarchist crime committed by the revolutionaries. On two days there were murders and on two days taxi-cab dacoities. The murder of the 21st of October was committed by a young man who had undoubtedly been deputed to murder Inspector Satish Chandra Banarji. At about 10-30 P.M. this Inspector with three Sub-Inspectors was seated in a room in Masjidbari Street on the ground-floor, when a young man appeared at the open door and began firing at the occupants with a pistol. They rushed into the courtyard and fled up some stairs followed by their assailant, who was joined by two or three others, who also began firing pistols. One of the Sub-Inspectors was killed and another was wounded in the arms and legs, but Satish Banarji escaped.

The other murder occurred on the 30th of November, when a constable guarding a house, No. 77, Serpentine Lane, which had been searched the previous night in connection with the arrest of certain revolutionaries, was attacked by two youths armed with pistols, who fired at him and at once disappeared. In their retreat they fired at a cook who happened to be on the spot. Both the constable and the cook died of their wounds. Empty mauser cartridges were found upon the scene.

All the four dacoities in Calcutta during this closing period of the year occurred within five weeks and were effected by bands of five or six Bengali youths armed with pistols before 10 o'clock at night.

The robbery at Chaulpatti Road on the 27th of December was of a particularly daring nature. Two professional bookmakers had just returned from the races to their house when two Bengali youths carrying Mauser pistols entered and demanded the handbag of the bookmakers which contained about Rs. 750. An altercation ensued, in course of which one of the bookmakers was shot in the stomach and the youths decamped with the bag.

Outside crimes committed by Calcutta revolutionaries.

72. Revolutionaries in Calcutta were also responsible in this year for outrages in the surrounding districts. The following are the bare particulars :—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
6th April 1915.	24-Parganas	Areadah, police-station Baranagar.	Dacoity ...	500	.....	
30th April 1915.	Nadia ...	Pragpur, police-station Daulatpur.	Do. ...	2,700	One dacoit killed	Three men sentenced to 17 years' transportation and one man to 8 years.
2nd August 1915.	24-Parganas	Agarpara ...	Do. ...	.....	.....	One man sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment.
25th August 1915.	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Murder of Murari Mitra.	.....	One man killed	
30th September 1915.	Nadia ...	Shibpur, police-station Kotwali.	Dacoity with murder.	20,700	One constable and three other persons killed and 11 wounded.	Eight men transported for life and one for 10 years.

The group led by Bepin Ganguli committed the dacoities on the 6th of April at Areadah, and on the 2nd August at Agarpara, both in the district of the 24-Parganas. In the second of these cases an attack was made upon a bill-collector who brought back from Calcutta every Monday money collected for his master. An alarm was raised, and in the pursuit which ensued Bepin Ganguli was captured with a revolver.

During the police investigation which followed, a Bengali, who was giving the police material assistance in the investigation was shot dead at the door of his house by some Bengali youths. Several shots were fired and empty Mauser cartridges were left on the ground. The murderers were unsuccessfully pursued, and in their flight they fired and wounded a constable.

The most notable dacoities, however, in the districts, which were planned and carried out from Calcutta, were two committed in the Nadia district at Pragpur and Shibpur, about 100 miles from the capital. They presented certain remarkable features.

In the Pragpur dacoity Mauser pistols and a large quantity of ammunition and safe-breaking implements were sent from Calcutta and all details planned there. After the dacoity had taken place the plans for returning to Calcutta miscarried. Much of the journey had to be done by boat and the dacoits were attacked while on the river bank by a crowd of villagers under a Police Inspector. In the confusion which followed the dacoits shot one of their own party; they then sank their boat, threw the corpse into the river and escaped.

The Shibpur dacoity was the work of a different gang, which had left Barisal for Calcutta in 1912. The victim at Shibpur was a wealthy moneylender who lived near the Jhalangi river, 9 miles from a railway station. His house was attacked by more than 20 dacoits carrying electric torches and armed with pistols, including Mausers. In this case the dacoits were pursued by the villagers on both banks of the river. In their flight the dacoits murdered a police constable. Nine of the dacoits were arrested, tried and transported, a severe blow to this group.

Outrages in Eastern Bengal.

73. Dacoities of a similar nature to those of Pragpur and Shibpur occurred in Eastern Bengal, where the country gives an opportunity for means of approach by water. On the 14th of August the house of a well-to-do zamindar at Haripur was looted in the presence of many villagers, who were

intimidated by the threatening attitude of the dacoits. The dacoits were armed with Mauser pistols and revolvers. They escaped in a boat with Rs. 18,000 worth of property. The durwan of the zamindar was shot dead and three villagers were seriously wounded.

On the 7th of September the bazar at Chandrakona, in the Mymensingh district, was attacked by dacoits, who looted five shops and carried off Rs. 21,000 worth of property and opened fire on the villagers, wounding five of them seriously. Here, again, the approach and the retreat were effected in boats.

Another serious dacoity occurred in Eastern Bengal on the 29th of December, when the shop of a rich cultivator at Kartola in the Tippera district was raided, Rs. 15,000 was stolen and two persons were killed. The dacoits were armed with Mausers and intimidated a large crowd of Muhammadans who had assembled at the place of the outrage.

The outrages committed or attempted in Eastern Bengal in 1915, including the three dacoities just mentioned, were as follows:—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
1st Jan. 1915	Dacca ...	Bikrampur ...	Attempted dacoity	.....	.....	Seven men bound down.
January 1915	Mymensingh	Satinakola, police-station Kishorganj.	Ditto ...	.....	.....	
20th Jany. 1915.	Faridpur ...	Kalamridha police-station Bhanga.	Ditto ...	.....	.....	
22nd Jany. 1915.	Tippera ...	Baghmara, police-station Lakhimpur.	Dacoity ...	4,170	.....	
15th Feby. 1915.	Faridpur ...	Madaripur ...	Attempted extortion.	.....	.....	
3rd March 1915.	Tippera ...	Comilla town ...	Murder of Head Master.	.....	One man killed and 3 wounded.	
11th April 1915.	Do. ...	Balda	Dacoity ...	4,000	Two persons wounded.	
25th May 1915.	Do. ...	Aurail, police-station Sarail.	.....	4,250	.....	
5th June 1915.	Bakarganj ...	Gazipura ...	Dacoity ...	15,000	.....	
30th June and 10th July 1915.	Faridpur ...	Bajitpur, police-station Rajair.	Bomb thrown and theft.	.....	.....	
14th Aug. 1915.	Tippera ...	Haripur, police-station Nasirnagar.	Dacoity with murder.	18,000	One man killed and 3 wounded.	
7th Sept. 1915.	Mymensingh	Chandrakona, police-station Nalitabari.	Dacoity ...	21,000	Five persons wounded, one villager killed and another wounded.	
26th Nov. 1915	Ditto ...	Rasalpur, police-station Gafargaon.	Dacoity with murder.	460	One man killed.	
19th Dec. 1915.	Ditto ...	Sasherdighi, police-station Bajitpur.	Murder of Dhirendra Biswas.	.....	Ditto.	
22nd Dec. 1915.	Ditto ...	Kaliachapra, police-station Katiadi.	Dacoity ...	850	.....	
29th Dec. 1915.	Tippera ...	Kartala, police-station Chandina.	Dacoity with murder.	15,000	Two persons killed.	

Projected dacoity.

The dacoity which was planned to take place at Bikrampur on the 1st of January was arranged by Bepin Ganguli, the Calcutta leader. The arrival of suspicious youths at Dacca from Calcutta had aroused the police, who traced them out and shadowed them. They were found to be in possession of various articles usually associated with *bhadralok* dacoity, and seven of them were bound over before a Magistrate to be of good behaviour.

The dacoity attempted at Kalamridha on the 22nd of January only failed because the dacoits were unable to open a chest containing the loot. They numbered 10 or 12 and were armed with pistols. Eventually villagers approached, and the dacoits fled, leaving some empty Mauser cartridge cases behind them.

On the 22nd of January a dacoity occurred at Baghmara, when Rs. 4,000 were looted. The dacoits were armed with Mausers. They intimidated a crowd of villagers by firing shots and succeeded in escaping with their loot.

On the 15th of February a case of extortion occurred, when revolutionaries tried to force one Debendra Chakrabarti to join their gang and pay them Rs. 2,000. This attempt resulted in the arrest of several persons, two of whom were bound over to be of good behaviour.

Notable murders.

74. It remains to mention three murders which occurred in Eastern Bengal this year. On the 3rd of March Babu Sarat Kumar Basu, the Head Master of the Zilla School at Comilla, was shot dead while walking with his servant. The servant was wounded in the stomach. A Muhammadan who pursued the murderers received two shots in the chest and a woman was accidentally struck by a bullet from one of the pistols. Five empty Mauser pistol cartridges were found upon the scene. The Head Master's servant eventually died. The victim of this murder had come into antagonism with political parties in Bengal in 1908 and shortly before his murder had had occasion to report to the District Magistrate about two students concerned in the distribution of seditious pamphlets. None but political reasons can be assigned for this murder.

On the 19th October, a singularly brutal murder occurred in Mymensingh town. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Jatindra Mohan Ghosh, was sitting facing the door of his house with his little child upon his knee, when four or five youths came to his door and fired at him, killing both him and the child. Empty Mauser cartridge cases were found upon the spot. There is reason to believe that the cause of this murder was a rumour that the murdered man had come to Mymensingh to direct a conspiracy case.

On the 19th of December one Dhirendra Biswas was murdered at Sasherdighi in Mymensingh. He had been a member of a revolutionary gang known as the Bajitpur gang and his life was known to be in danger as he was acting at the time as a police informer. One of the first murders occurring in 1916, viz., that of Shashi Chakrabarti, appears to have resulted from the same causes.

Arms found at Dacca.

75. On the 18th of November, in consequence of information received from a revolutionary, certain houses in Dacca were searched. Anukul Chakrabarti, leader of the Dacca party, Barisal, and other revolutionaries were found and dealt with under section 109 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In another building a Mauser pistol of Rodda & Co.'s consignment and an automatic pistol with a quantity of ammunition were found.

Outrages in Northern Bengal.

76. Long though the chronicle of outrages in 1915 has been, there still remain three more crimes which it is necessary for us to refer to. These occurred in the north of Bengal, a part of the province heretofore comparatively free from revolutionary crime.

On the 23rd of January 1915, a band of 20 or 25 young men broke into a house in Kurul in the Rangpur district and took away a large quantity of loot, estimated by the owner of the house at Rs. 50,000. They were armed undoubtedly with Mauser pistols, for empty Mauser cartridges were recovered on the spot. Their identity was, as usual, concealed by masks.

On the 11th of February two young men, inhabitants of Khulna and Faridpur, were arrested in Calcutta on suspicion of complicity in the dacoity.

On the 16th of February the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, the District Superintendent of Police and Rai Sahib Nanda Kumar Basu, Additional Superintendent of Police in Rangpur, were all at this time engaged in the enquiry into the dacoity. Four Bengali youths came and enquired for the Rai Sahib. Two of them entered his house, and as soon as the Rai Sahib appeared fired three or four shots at him. He escaped into another room unhurt. His servant received a bullet in the leg and his orderly, who was standing outside, on trying to stop the culprits whilst they

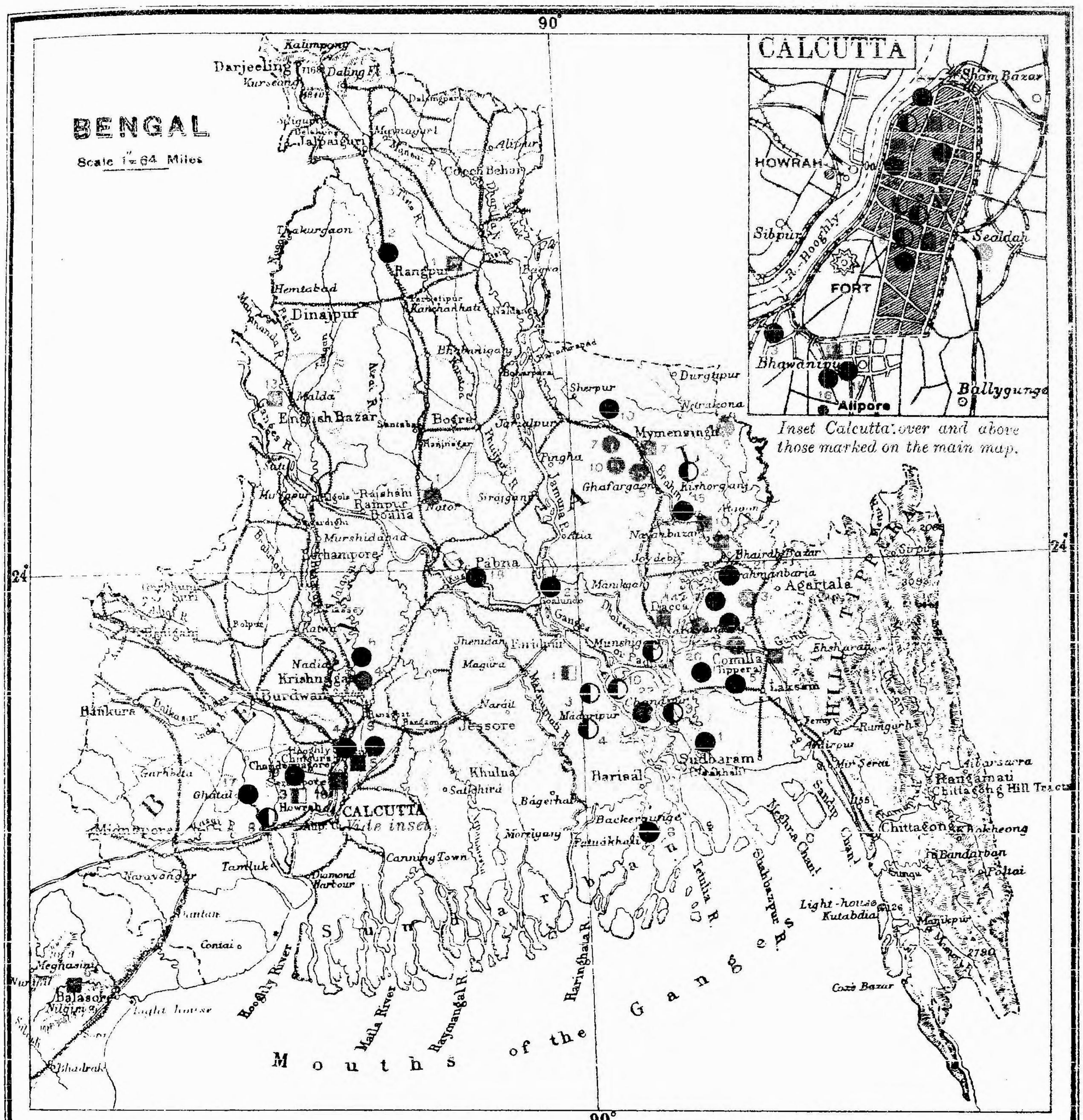
were escaping, received two shots which mortally wounded him and he shortly afterwards died. Four empty Mauser cartridges were found on the scene. There seems to be no doubt that the murder of the Rai Sahib was attempted because it was believed that he was responsible for the repressive measures taken in connection with the Kurul dacoity.

Four days later at Dharail, Nator, in the Rajshahi district, a band of 30 or 40 Bengali youths, disguised with red masks, looted the house of a money-lender and carried away property worth Rs. 25,000. They shot a durwan dead and wounded two other men. Some of the firearms used were evidently Mausers, for empty Mauser cartridges were found on the scene.

It is known that Nator was the place of residence of one of the revolutionaries entrusted with some of the Mauser ammunition stolen from Rodda & Co., and information has been received from which it appears to be certain that the dacoity was planned in Calcutta by members of the Dacca Samiti.

As was mentioned at the end of the chronicle for 1914, there were dangerous developments in the Punjab at the beginning of 1915. During this year there was also in progress a plot to which the Bengali revolutionaries were party for landing arms of German origin on the coasts of or adjacent to the province. A special chapter will give the details of this.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL DURING 1915-16.



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Murder or wounding with intent to murder. . . . . ■ Other attempts at murder. . . . . ◧

Dakaity or Robbery. . . . ● Dakaity with Murder. . . ● Other attempted Outrages. . . . . ◐

Murder or wounding with intent to murder. . . . ■

1 Rangpur Town
2 Calcutta, Pathuriaghata Street
3 Calcutta, Cornwallis Street
4 Comilla Town
5 Agarpara (24-Parganas)
6 Balasore, Orissa
7 Mymensingh Town
8 Calcutta, Musjidbari Street
9 Calcutta, Serpentine Lane
10 Sasherdighi (Bajitpur, Mymensingh)
11 Calcutta, College Square
12 Bajitpur, Mymensingh
13 Malda Town
14 Dacca Town
15 Calcutta, Bhawanipur
16 Dum Dum (24-Parganas)

Other attempts at murder. . . . . ◧

1 Bajitpur (Rajoir, Faridpur)
2 Calcutta
3 Salkea, Howrah

Dakaity or Robbery. . . . ●

1 Bagmara (Comilla, Tipperah)
2 Kurul (Laimanirhat, Rangpur)
3 Calcutta, Garden Reach
4 Areadah (Baranagar, 24-Parganas)
5 Balda, Tipperah
6 Pragpur (Daulatpur, Nadia)
7 Aurail (Sarail, Tipperah)
8 Gazipura (Bakarganj)
9 Agarpara (24-Parganas)
10 Chandrakona (Nalitabari, Mymensingh)
11 Calcutta, Kansaripara Road
12 Calcutta, Cornwallis Street
13 Calcutta, Corporation Street
14 Calcutta, Seth Bagan Lane
15 Kaliachapra (Katiadi, Mymensingh)
16 Calcutta, Chaulpatti Road
17 Salkea, Golabari, Howrah
18 Kadimpur (Sara, Pabna)
19 Daffarpur (Domjur, Howrah)
20 Gandora (Muradnagar, Tipperah)
21 Ntahghar (Nabinagar, Tipperah)
22 Dhanakati (Gosairhat, Faridpur)
33 Calcutta (Gopinath Ray's Lane)
24 Shahapadua (Chandia, Tipperah)
25 Ramdianali (Gheor, Dacca)

Dakaity with Murder. . . ●

1 Dharail (Nator, Rajshahi)
2 Calcutta, Belliaghata
3 Haripur (Nasirnagar, Tipperah)
4 Sibpur (Kotwali, Nadia)
5 Rasulpur, Gaffargaon, Mymensingh)
6 Kartola (Chandina, Tipperah)
7 Sultanpur (Mymensingh)
8 Laliteswar (Debidwar, Tipperah)
9 Sahildeo (Barhatta, Mymensingh)
10 Parail (Kotwali, Mymensingh)

Other attempted Outrages. . . . . ◐

1 Bikrampur (Dacca)
2 Satinokola (Kishoreganj, Mymensingh)
3 Kalamridha (Bhanga, Faridpur)
4 Madaripur
5 Calcutta
6 Calcutta, (Kalitola)
7 Calcutta, Upper Chitpur Road
8 Janai, Howrah
9 Chandpur (Tipperah)
10 Bhadda (Palong, Faridpur)

1916.

Dacoities in and around Calcutta in 1916.

77. In the beginning of 1916, Pulin Mukharji, Atul Ghosh and their associates of the Western Bengal party were active in Calcutta. On the 17th of January, they carried out a successful dacoity in Howrah, realising loot of the value of Rs. 6,000, and two dacoities were planned in Howrah in that month by the same group, which fortunately failed.

Another group, composed of conspirators coming from Eastern Bengal districts, planned dacoities in January and February in Kalitala and Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. These failed. On the 2nd of February, certain members of the Baranagore party, another branch of the conspiracy, attempted another dacoity at Janai, in the Howrah district, which also failed. On the 3rd of March, they successfully raided the house of a resident of Dafarpur, in the Howrah district. Mausers were used and Rs. 2,000 worth of loot was carried off. This, however, was the last effort of that gang, for, on the night of the 3rd March, the police made raids upon the houses of suspects and a large number of members of the Barisal and Baranagore group were arrested. They were eventually interned under the Defence of India Act.

There was no other dacoity in Calcutta or its neighbourhood in this year, except a dacoity in Gopi Roy's Lane on the 26th of June, when Rs. 11,500 were carried off. The victim of this outrage received the following letter in Bengali, sealed with the seal* of the revolutionaries and dated the 14th *Ashar* (28th June), thanking him for Rs. 9,891-1-5, which it was promised would be repaid with interest.

"No. 2250.

BANDE MATARAM.

BENGAL BRANCH OF INDEPENDENT
KINGDOM OF UNITED INDIA.

Most respectfully and humbly we beg to say:—

GENTLEMEN,

Six honorary officers of our Calcutta Finance Department have taken a loan of Rs. 9,891-1-5 from you, and have deposited the amount in the office noted above on your account to fulfil our great aim. The sum has been entered in our cash book on your name at 5 per cent. per annum.

By the grace of God if we be successful we will pay the whole amount with the interest at one time.

The kind treatment accorded to our officers can only be expected from great men like you. We believe that our officers have also behaved with you in the like manner as far as possible.

Under our orders they did not lay their hands on the pledged ornaments, but at the time of counting your deposit, we have got one locket and a *maduly*. On enquiry made by our spies, we have come to know that these two articles are also pledged things. The meeting held in the night of 13th *Ashar* decided their return to you. It is noted, for your information, that these two articles will be sent to you within a fortnight. We warn you that if this is brought to the notice of the selfish police officers they will surely misappropriate them.

Gentlemen! If you go against us by deeds, words or any other means, or hand over any one to the police on groundless suspicion, then we will not be able to keep our former promise; and we will not leave any one in your family to enjoy your enormous wealth.

It is perhaps not unknown to you that all the police officers have stood in the way of our righteous cause. The Government of our United India have never hesitated to inflict adequate punishment on them and the foreign British Government could not save them despite the utmost precautions. Therefore we remind you again not to do anything to compel us to besmear the Motherland with the blood of our countrymen.

A sound man like you may perhaps understand that to liberate the country from the yoke of the foreigners requires self-sacrifice, benevolence and sympathy of our countrymen. If the rich men of the country feeling the weight of our work subscribe monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly to establish the rules and regulations of the *Sanatan Dharma* (ancient religion) in India then we would not have to trouble you in this way. If you do not accept our proposal then we shall be compelled to collect money in a like manner.

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* See page 74.

Gentlemen! will you decline to spend something for us who initiated with *Matri Mantra* (worthy of Mother) determined to perform this *Mahajajna* (great work) to liberate the country from the foreign yoke with the new vigour of Khatriya.

The improvement and power of Japan are due to the self-sacrifice and benevolence of the rich men of the country. Pray to God that He for the achievement of His great work may give strength to the heart and a right mind to our countrymen.

(Sd.) J. BALAMANTA.

Finance Secretary to the Bengal

Branch of Independent Kingdom of United India."

CALCUTTA.

14th Ashar 1323 B.S.

This was the work of the Western Bengal party, of which Atul Ghosh and Pulin Mukharji were leading members. Three of the persons concerned, including Pulin Mukharji himself, were caught in July and August and interned.

The activity of the police in searching for Atul Ghosh after this dacoity led directly to an affray on the 4th of August in the Howrah district. Information had been received that Atul Ghosh was harbouring certain members of his party in a house in Domepara Lane at Salkia. The house was raided and a young man, an absconder from justice, charged with possession of T. N. T. under the Explosives Act, was arrested. Another man caught escaping into the jungle tried to shoot a Head Constable with a Mauser pistol belonging to the consignment stolen from Rodda & Co.

A few days later a body supposed to be that of a relation of Atul Ghosh, who was believed to be giving information to the police about Atul, was found in a mutilated condition in a trunk in a railway carriage.

Murders and attempted murders in Calcutta.

78. The campaign of murder in Calcutta in this year opened with the murder of Sub-Inspector Madhusudan Bhattacharji at 10 A.M. on the 16th of January 1916 in College Square, Calcutta, just opposite the Medical College. Many people were passing in the street at the time. He was shot by two assassins armed with a Mauser pistol and a Webley revolver, who, after killing their victim, ran away, firing shots to scare pursuers. Three empty Mauser cartridge cases were found upon the spot and a loaded chamber of a ·450 revolver. Five persons were arrested in consequence of the investigation; they are all now interned under the Defence of India Act. One of these persons who was arrested in possession of a Mauser pistol was the leader in Calcutta of the Barisal gang which had migrated to Calcutta in 1912. The statements of various persons concerned in the murder leave no doubt as to the group responsible for it.

In June the members of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti in Calcutta were busy with schemes for murder. It has been established to our satisfaction that three persons were deputed to murder Sub-Inspector Jogendra Gupta about the beginning of June because the Sub-Inspector was learning too much about the members of the samiti. On two occasions attempts were made to waylay him, the conspirators being armed with revolvers and a Mauser pistol. On each occasion, however, they were disappointed as their proposed victim did not appear.

On the 30th of June the persons deputed to murder the Sub-Inspector were concerned actively with other members of the gang in the murder of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji* before sunset in Calcutta in the region of Bhowanipore. The murder was very carefully planned and was completely successful, but it led to extensive searches and valuable discoveries which went far to put an end to the activity of the Dacca Anusilan in Calcutta.

The information available regarding this crime, which results from the collation of various statements made by persons concerned in it, shows that five men, armed with two Mausers and two revolvers and led by the chief of the Violence Department, carried out their attack on their victim under the orders of three organizers who, in accordance with the rules of the society, withdrew themselves before the actual commission of the crime, in order that the society might not be crippled by their arrest. These organizers

* See paragraph 170.

were, however, arrested within a few months of the crime: two of them are now State prisoners; the other escaped in December 1916, but was re-arrested in January 1918 in an armed conflict with the police. All the actual assassins were arrested; four are now State prisoners. The fifth man escaped from custody but has been recently re-arrested.

Vigorous action under the Defence of India Act.

79. There was no more crime in Calcutta during the year owing to the vigorous action of Government in exercising their powers under Regulation III of 1818 and under the Defence of India Act for the arrest and detention of political offenders.

Crime in Eastern Bengal.

80. In this year there were many dacoities and attempted dacoities in Eastern Bengal. They are shown in the following statement in chronological order:—

Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Convictions in Court.
				Rs.		
15th Jany. 1916.	Mymensingh	Sultanpur ...	Dacoity with murder.	69	One man killed.	
19th Jany. 1916.	Ditto ...	Bajitpur ...	Murder of Shashi Chakrabarti.	.....	Ditto.	
6th March 1916.	Tippera ...	Gandora, police-station Muradnagar.	Dacoity ...	14,690	One man wounded	One youth sentenced to 4 years' rigorous imprisonment.
30th April 1916.	Do. ...	Nathghar, police-station Nabinagar.	Do. ...	17,500	.....	
9th June 1916.	Faridpur ...	Dhanakati. police-station Gosairhat.	Do. ...	43,000	.....	
2nd Sept. 1916.	Tippera ...	Shahapadua, police-station Chandina.	Do. ...	3,370	.....	
11th Sept. 1916.	Do. ...	Laliteswar, police-station Debidwar.	Dacoity with murder.	530	Five villagers killed and five wounded; one dacoit killed.	
Sept. 1916 ...	Do. ...	Chandpur ...	Attempted dacoity	.....	.....	
Do. ...	Faridpur ...	Bhadda, police-station Palang.	Ditto ...	.....	.....	
30th Sept. 1916.	Dacca ...	Ramdianali, police-station Gheor.	Dacoity ...	655*	.....	Seven men sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment each.
17th Oct. 1916.	Mymensingh	Sahildeo, police-station Barhatta.	Dacoity with murder.	80,000	One man killed and six wounded.	
7th Nov. 1916.	Ditto ...	Parail, police-station Kotwali	Ditto ...	3,000	One person killed and three wounded.	

* Recovered.

The first notable dacoity was that at Sultanpur, in Mymensingh, when 20 youths armed with pistols and a ·12 bore gun raided the house of a Hindu and killed one of the occupants. There is reason to believe that the organizer was not only a revolutionary, but also a member of an influential family in the Mymensingh district who was concerned in the Rajendrapur train robbery of 1909.

The next important dacoity was that at Gandora, when Rs. 14,000 worth of loot was taken from the house of the father-in-law of one of the dacoits: the dacoits were armed with Mausers and one of them was tried and

sentenced for cutting telegraph wires and infringing the provisions of the Arms Act.

The Nathghar dacoity in the Tippera district is noteworthy not only on account of the amount of loot (Rs. 17,500), but also because a note-book fell into the hands of the police which contained accounts of the disposal of the loot. Six young revolutionaries have made confessions of their complicity.

The Dhanakati dacoity of the 9th June was chiefly noteworthy for the amount of loot which was carried off in the shape of *hundis*. The value of the property taken is said to have been Rs. 43,000, but very little of it was available for the dacoits' use.

The dacoity at Laliteswar, in the Tippera district, was a very serious affair. Five villagers were killed and five were wounded, and one of the dacoits who was killed proved to be Prabodh Bhattacharji, who had been interned in July 1916 under the Defence of India Act and had absconded.

In September, a well-authenticated case of attempted dacoity occurred at Palang, in the Faridpur district, which was organized from Calcutta and for which arms and other articles were sent out from Calcutta. The Calcutta organizers subsequently arranged the dacoity which took place at Sahildeo, in Mymensingh, when Rs. 80,000 worth of property was carried off and the owner, an old Muhammadan, was shot dead. In this dacoity Mausers were used which had been sent down from Calcutta for the Palang dacoity.

The Ramdianali dacoity in the Dacca district on the 30th September was the work of students from Faridpur. Most of them belonged to the Ishan Institute, a school of which Nibaran Pal, a member of the Dacca Anusilan, was the master. Seven of those who participated in this dacoity were convicted and sentenced, including the five students of the Ishan Institution.

All the three last-mentioned dacoities were boat dacoities, effected by gangs coming by river.

The last dacoity of the year, viz., that at Dharail, in Mymensingh, was the work of 25 or 30 youths, who had among them a Mauser pistol and a ·12 bore gun. In their attack upon the house the son of the owner was killed by a pistol shot. There is reason to believe that the dacoits belonged to one of the Western Bengal parties who were much disappointed that the loot was not more valuable.

One dacoity by revolutionaries took place in the Pabna district in this year. On the 27th of February 1916, 14 or 15 youths, armed with pistols and daggers, looted two houses at Kadimpur in Sara in that district. From information subsequently received there is reason to believe that they belonged to a Calcutta gang.

Five further murders.

81. In Bengal in this year there were other murders, two of informers, one of a Head Master, who by his action had rendered himself obnoxious to the revolutionaries, and two of constables in Dacca city who were searching for well-known revolutionaries who had absconded from justice and were believed to be in the city. One of the constables received five pistol bullets and the other two received eight; they were entirely unarmed at the time.

1917.

Revolutionary activities in 1917.

82. On the 5th January 1917, a plot was formed, which nearly succeeded, to murder Gyan Bhaumik, who had been associating with the revolutionaries and was thought to be giving information to the police. Amrita Sarkar sent word from the jail in which he was confined that Gyan was the cause of his arrest. A house was taken in a secluded part of Calcutta to which Gyan was decoyed to be murdered. He, however, suspected a plot, and as soon as he got to the house made an excuse that he wanted a glass of lemonade and took refuge in the Oriental Seminary, where he reached the Head Master's room. Chandra Kumar followed him there with a revolver, but Gyan got to the telephone and communicated with the police, and Chandra Kumar then left. This has all been independently narrated by the participants, and the incident at the school is of course unquestionably established.

In January 1917, Rebati Nag, a revolutionary, was murdered by his comrades at Serajganj, but this was on a charge of immorality.

On the night of the 15th April 1917, a dacoity of the familiar revolutionary type was committed in the house of two wealthy brothers at Jamnagar in the district of Rajshahi. The dacoits were about 20 in number, wore masks and haversacks and carried firearms and crowbars. A large amount of money and gold ornaments were stolen. The telegraph wires had been cut. On the 22nd of November 1916 (five months before) on the search of the house of a revolutionary arrested at Masterpara, Rajshahi, there had been found the map of a house and premises in great detail. When the Jamnagar dacoity was committed, it was found that the house looted was that so minutely delineated in the map. The dacoity had obviously been planned many months before. In July 1917 two youths were arrested after a chase at Dacca station. One had arrived by train and handed the other a parcel. The parcel was found to contain gold ornaments looted at the Jamnagar dacoity. The man who had handed the parcel was carrying one of the Mauser pistols stolen from Messrs. Rodda and some cartridges. He tried to use the pistol but the cartridge misfired.

Four other dacoities were committed in 1917, which may briefly be dismissed as follows:—

(1) 25th February 1917, at Paikarchar, Dacca district; loot alleged to amount to Rs. 1,200. The dacoits spoke English, wore masks, carried revolvers and daggers. A Mauser cartridge was found.

(2) 20th June 1917, at Rakhalbruz, Rangpur district; loot put at Rs. 29,400 in cash and Rs. 1,686 in ornaments. An old man aged 80 was dragged from his bed, his fingers were cut off with an axe and he was stabbed with fatal results. His son, who attacked the dacoits with a spear, was killed on the spot. The dacoits were masked and nine spent Mauser cartridges were found.

(3) 27th October 1917, at Abdullapur, Dacca district; loot put at Rs. 24,850 in property and Rs. 8,000 in cash. Dacoits numbered 25 or 30 armed men with muffled faces. The dacoits departed at the sound of a bugle. The telegraph wires had been cut and nine spent Mauser cartridges were found.

(4) 3rd November 1917, at Majhiara, Tippera district; loot obtained put at Rs. 33,000 in cash and ornaments from two houses. The dacoits numbered about 15 and wore masks and haversacks. One of the proprietors was shot through both legs, another was bound. The keys of both were taken from them. A loaded Mauser cartridge, besides two spent and one misfired, were left behind.

The Armenian Street dacoity.

83. Another dacoity in 1917 remains to be speciall mentioned. It was committed in a goldsmith's shop at No. 32, Armenian Street, Bara Bazar, Calcutta, at about 9 P.M. on the 7th May. Two young Bengalis entered the

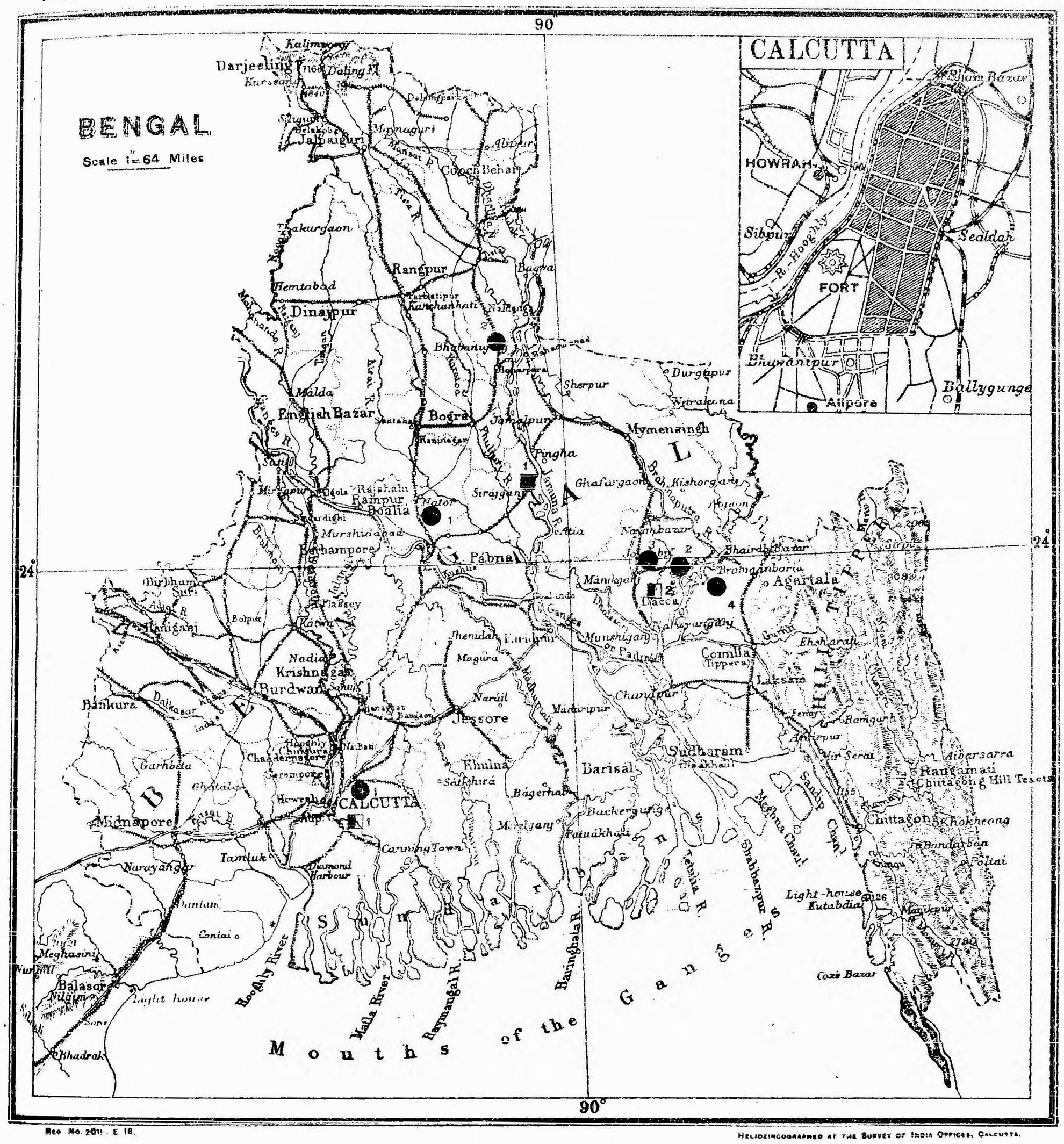
shop and asked to see jewellery. Then four young Bengalis entered the shop and began firing wildly with pistols. Two brothers of the owner who were in the shop fell mortally wounded. There were also in the shop an assistant and a servant, who were both wounded, two women, one of whom escaped and the other hid under a bench, and a Muhammadan who escaped. The dacoits decamped with jewellery to the value of Rs. 5,459, and some of them drove away in a taxi-cab that they had in waiting. One of the dacoits was, however, badly wounded in the abdomen and had to be helped into the cab. His comrades took him from the cab at a lonely place and shot him dead. The dead body, on being found, was identified as that of one Surendra Kushiari, known already to the police by the evidence of documents found in revolutionary quarters as a member of a gang who had been school-fellows at Daulatpur College, Khulna, and had moved up together with one of their teachers to the Metropolitan College, Calcutta. Some of these were arrested and freely described the occurrence. They stated that two other of the dacoits, whom they named, had received wounds, one in the hand, the other in the back. These two have been since arrested, one as recently as the sittings of this Committee, with the marks of the wounds as described.

Tabular statement for the year.

84. It will be observed that the dacoities of 1917, though few in number, are marked by two characteristics, their extreme brutality and the wealth of the houses chosen for the robbery. A chronological outline for the year follows :—

No.	Date.	District.	Village and police-station.	Incident.	Loot.	Casualties.	Remarks.
					Rs.		
1	5th Jany. 1917.	Calcutta ...	Garanhata ...	Attempted murder of Gyan Bhaumik.	...	.....	
2	January 1917	Pabna ...	Sirajganj ...	Murder of Rebati Nag.	...	One man killed.	
3	24th Feby. 1917.	Dacca ...	Paikarchar, police-station Narsinghdi.	Dacoity ...	1,200	.....	
4	15th April 1917.	Rajshahi ...	Jamnagar, police-station Bagitpara.	Do. ...	26,567	.....	Two youths sentenced to 1 year's and 2 years' rigorous imprisonment. Also two youths to 4 years' and and 5 years' rigorous imprisonment under section 411, Indian Penal Code.
5	7th May 1917.	Calcutta ...	Armenian Street	Dacoity with murder.	5,459	Two persons killed and two wounded ; one dacoit killed.	
6	20th June 1917.	Rangpur ...	Rakhalbruz, police-station Gobindaganj.	Ditto ...	31,086	Two persons killed.	
7	23rd July 1917.	Dacca ...	Dacca town ...	Attempted murder	...	.....	One person sentenced to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment.
8	27th Oct. 1917.	Dacca ...	Abdullapur, police-station Tangibari.	Dacoity ...	24,830	.....	
9	3rd Nov. 1917.	Tippera ...	Majhiara, police-station Rasulabad.	Do. ...	33,900	.....	

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BENGAL, JANUARY 1917 TO END OF FEBRUARY 1918.



Murder or wounding with intent to murder ■ Other attempts at murder ◧

Dakaity or Robbery ● Dakaity with Murder ● Other attempted outrages ◐

Murder or wounding with intent to murder ■	Other attempts at murder ◧	Dakaity or Robbery ●	Dakaity with Murder ●
1 Serajganj (Pabna)	1 Calcutta 2 Dacca Town	1 Jamnagar (Bagatipara, Rajshahi) 2 Paikarchar (Narsingdi, Dacca) 3 Abdullapur (Tangibari, Dacca) 4 Majhiara (Rasulabad, Tipperah)	1 Calcutta, Armenian Street 2 Rakhal Buruj (Gobindganj, Rangpur)

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HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

SUMMARY.

85. The tale of the outrages from 1906 to 1917 has now been told. It has been set forth with a view of giving a correct impression of their nature and volume without digressing into the consideration of questions, material from other points of view, suggested by the different incidents. These will be dealt with in due course. Before, however, leaving this aspect of the case it is very relevant to inquire how far the activities of the conspirators, as contemplated, were restricted in attainment by difficulty in procuring arms of precision. Before August 1914 their supply was drawn chiefly from the French settlement of Chandernagore. The theft from Messrs. Rodda in August 1914 gave them 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition and in addition a few pistols and guns have been obtained by isolated thefts and by illicit transfer from licensees. **Revolutionary arms supply.**

86. As regards Chandernagore a special officer was in 1907 deputed to make an investigation there. He reported as follows :— **Chandernagore.**

"In 1906 only two guns and six revolvers were imported by natives in Chandernagore, whilst in the first half of 1907, 34 registered parcels, believed to contain revolvers, were received from St. Etienne, the Government Arms Factory in France. Twenty-two of these parcels were addressed to one Kishori Mohan Shampui, of which 16 were taken delivery of by the addressee; the remaining six not being claimed by him, apparently owing to the proposed introduction of the Arms Act in French Chandernagore, were returned to the makers by the following mail. Later on another consignment of similar parcels arrived, also consigned to Kishori Mohan. The special officer examined the contents of 19 of these 34 parcels and found that they all contained revolvers. Kishori Mohan was at that time a pleader's clerk in Chandernagore. . . . Kishori Mohan was summoned by the Administrateur in 1907 and questioned as to why he had imported so many revolvers, and what had become of them. He at first denied all knowledge of the revolvers, maintaining that the parcels consigned to him contained watches, etc., but when confronted with the Collector, who had opened several of the parcels, he eventually admitted having imported 15 for his friends, but gave no names. Our further inquiries in this connection show that four of these revolvers were sold to Barin Ghosh and Abinash Bhattacharji, of the Maniktala Garden, through Ban Bihari Mandal, a mutual friend of Barin and Abinash, who were at that time frequent visitors to Chandernagore."

There is other information to the same effect, but the above is sufficient.

In 1907, His Excellency the Governor of Pondicherry submitted to his Council an Arms Bill, which he recommended in a memorandum, of which the following are the opening words :—

"GENTLEMEN,

The regrettable incidents which have accompanied the last legislative elections, and the anti-European movement which is going on around us in British territory—tendencies which have, to some extent, been revealed at Chandernagore—render it incumbent upon us at the present time to regulate the import, the holding, the sale, and carrying of arms and ammunition in our colonies. . . ."

It is understood that this Act, though passed by the Council, was disapproved by the Home Government.

In 1909 a Local Regulation (Ordinaire) was introduced in Chandernagore requiring possessors of firearms to produce them before the authorities and obtain licenses, but how far this has been effectual in preventing arms passing through Chandernagore into Bengal, is uncertain. That arms were in fact obtained from Chandernagore is disclosed by many statements. * * * * * An inspection of the weapons recovered by the police, which have been collected and shown to us, makes it clear that though the revolutionaries acquired a fair number, apart from the theft from Messrs. Rodda, the latter was the most effective supply they ever obtained. The other pistols, though there are among them some good weapons, were of a mixed character and must have led to difficulties in the matter of ammunition. Indeed in numerous cases unsuitable ammunition was found to be employed in pistols and not a few misfires resulted.

87. Taking the whole supply together, the revolutionaries only obtained arms enough to provide for isolated outrages, and we shall show in due course that they were sent about from place to place. In some instances, however, **Conclusions regarding supply of arms.**

there was considerable jealousy between different groups with regard to their distribution and there is evidence that the groups were not above planning the theft of pistols from one another. If the supply had been sufficient to give every gang an ample and separate supply, we think that the conspiracies might have produced, especially in the event of a rising in some other parts of India such as was planned for February 1915, a calamity of a terrible character in Bengal.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORGANIZATION AND INTER-CONNECTION OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETIES IN BENGAL.

Vows imposed by Dacca Anusilan Samiti.

88. The foundation of revolutionary societies in 1906 has already been adverted to in the second chapter of this report. It is now necessary to examine the organization and inter-connection of these societies, not only as they originally existed but in the forms in which they reveal themselves during the next 10 years.

In November 1908 the premises of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti at the Bhuterbari, Dacca, were searched and the following documents were found :—

I.—A letter or circular signed by Pulin Behari Das, undated, in the following terms :—

"Owing to the gradual increase in the branches and number of the Anusilan Samiti, it has become particularly necessary, having regard to the place where, the time when, and the person or persons concerned for their supervision, inspection and protection to make some good arrangements for the present by dividing the whole of Bengal into divisions and subdivisions and forming Central Samitis with a few small Samitis, Pargana Samitis with a few Central Samitis, Mahakuma Samitis with a few Pargana Samitis, and District Samitis with a few Mahakuma Samitis and by placing the right person in charge of the right place and the right mission, in order to carry out in a thorough manner the entire work in an orderly way being bound by the tie of union. So the detailed opinion and new proposals of the entire body of the inhabitants of the country on this point are cordially invited. Everyone will please oblige by letting me know soon as much as he can the advantages and disadvantages to anyone of there being a Central Samiti at a certain place and the fit men with their whereabouts for the carrying out of these works."

II.—The forms of four vows, viz :—

(*a*) The initial vow.
(*b*) The final vow.
(*c*) The first special vow.
(*d*) The second special vow.

The full text of these vows is printed in Appendix B 6 (i). They require the observance of many estimable rules, but they disclose a remarkable system for the progressive enthralment of the initiated, as the following extracts will show :—

A.—The initial vow (*Adya Pratijna*)—

"1. (*a*) I will never separate myself from this samiti.

* * * * * *

5. (*a*) I will always be under the rules of the samiti.
(*b*) I will carry out the orders of the authorities without saying a word.
(*c*) I will never conceal anything from the leader and will never speak anything but the truth to him."

B.—The final vow (*Antya Pratijna*)—

"1. I will not divulge any internal matters whatsoever of the samiti to anyone, nor will I ever discuss those matters unnecessarily.

* * * * * *

3. I will never move from one place to another without informing the Parichalak (leader). I will not keep the Parichalak uninformed of the place and the circumstances I may be in at any time. I will instantly inform the Parichalak should the existence of any sort of conspiracy against the samiti come to my knowledge and, under his orders, will try to remedy it.

4. I will instantly come back in obedience to the Parichalak's command, no matter in what circumstances I may happen to be at the time.

* * * * * *

6. I will never be at liberty to teach any of those subjects with respect to which I may receive instructions in this samiti, being bound by oath, to any one save those persons who are bound by oath as regards these subjects."

C.—The first special vow (*Pratham Bisesh Pratijna*)—

"*Om Bande Mataram.*

In the name of God, mother, father, preceptor, leader and Almighty, I make this vow that—

(1) I will not go away leaving this circle until its object (until the object of the samiti) is fulfilled. I will not be bound by the tie of affection for father, mother, brother, sister, hearth and home, etc., and I will, without putting forward any excuse, perform all the work of the circle under orders of the leader. I will do all work in a steady and serious manner, giving up loquacity and fickleness.

* * * * * *

(3) If I fail to keep this vow, may the curse of Brahmins, of father and mother, and of the great patriots of every country speedily reduce me to ashes."

D.—The second special vow (*Dvitiya Bisesh Pratijna*)—

"*Om Bande Mataram.*

1. In the presence of God, fire, mother, preceptor and the leader (making them witnesses) I swear that I will do all the work of the circle for the development of the samiti, staking my life and everything that I possess. I will carry out all commands and will act in opposition to those who act in opposition to the aforesaid circle, and do injury to them to the utmost of my power.

2. I swear that I will never discuss the inner secrets with anybody, and that I will not tell them to my relations and friends or unnecessarily ask anything about them even from those included in the circle."

* * * * * *

If I fail to keep this vow or act in opposition to it, may the curse of Brahmins, of the mother and of the great patriots of every country speedily destroy me."

The method of taking the vows has been described by Priya Nath Acharji, a witness in the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case, whose evidence was accepted by the Court :—

"Before the Durga Puja vacation on the Mahalaya day, Ramesh, myself and several others of the Dacca Samiti were formally initiated at Ramna Siddheswati Kalibari by Pulin Das. There were 10 or 12 of us. We took *Adya*, *Antya* and the special vows before. There was no priest present and the ceremony took place at 8 A.M. before the goddess Kali. Pulin Das performed *jajna* before the goddess and other *puja*. The vows, which were printed, were read out by each of us and we signified our readiness to be bound thereby. The special vow was taken by each of us specially before the goddess with a sword and *Gita* on the head and kneeling on the left knee. This is called the *Pratyalirha* position and is supposed to represent a lion about to spring on his prey."

The statement of a boy recruited at Comilla in 1914 thus describes his initiation :—

"* * On the Kali Puja day of that year I was summoned from my home by Purna, and under his instructions myself and the following men did fast for the whole day * * * After nightfall Purna took all four of us to the cremation ground. There Purna had arranged for the image of Kali and at the feet of the image he had placed two revolvers. We were all of us made to touch the image and take a vow to remain faithful to the Samiti. On this occasion we received our Samiti names."

* * * * * *

This system of initiation seems to have been kept up at least till the beginning of 1916, for a manuscript vow has been found signed by the person taking it and dated the 14th February 1916. It is stated to have continued later and it may be still in use, but this is the latest piece of documentary evidence on the subject.

Rules for members.

89. There were also found at the search in November 1908 two sets of rules to be observed by members. A perusal of them reveals the social conditions under which it was hoped to get the initiated to live together.

One set is directed rather to the private life of the member. Rule 1 requires that every member should take all the vows, while rule 8 lays down that money and commodities obtained by members must be brought into the common stock.

The other set deals mainly with the domestic economy of the society. The two sets to some extent overlap.

Another document found was the Duties of Secretaries (" Sampadakganer Kartabya "). Perhaps the main interest of this document is that it shows that the members were expected to be largely boys. Rule 6 requires that (among other particulars) the name of the guardian of a candidate for admission should be taken, as also his school and class, and by rule 7 a list is to be kept showing the residence (in the current year) and the school and class of each member. Rules 23 and 24 provide for the case of members under 12 years of age. Rules 21 and 22 distinguish as regards instruction in *lathi*-play between those who have taken all the vows and those who have only taken the *Adya* vows. It is only the former who are to be instructed in all branches. In this connection it must be mentioned that many books on *lathi*-play were found. Some of the *lathi*-play described was clearly sword exercise, and some of the books had transcribed in them a high-flown and somewhat bloodthirsty " Invocation to the Sword."

Yet another document found at the same place was the " Paridarshak " (The Visitor). It is a paper for the guidance of the inspectors of the organization. It is headed with an injunction that it is to be read five times with attention. It indicates the lines upon which the organization is to be recommended to the inhabitants of the place where a new samiti is to be established, how it should be explained to them that without vows only an undisciplined body would be created, that without hard and fast rules a powerful body or military organization never has been and never can be created and that unquestioning obedience to leaders is essential. It lays stress on the necessity of multiplying the societies, pointing out that the greater the number of different branch samitis and different centres for play, the greater opportunity will there be for collecting men. Finally, it gives the reasons why Musalmans are to be excluded. " The document taken as a whole," said Mr. Justice Mukharji, " clearly indicates that systematic effort was to be made to have a network of samitis throughout the length and breadth of the land."

There were also found forms of " Parwanas " or certificates accrediting inspectors, and also forms of village notes for the collection of statistics as to the population, resources and topography of the village.

At the same time and place there were also discovered seditious literature and works of a military nature.

Russian revolutionary methods studied.

90. On the 2nd September 1909, in connection with investigations as to the Nangla dacoity, a search was made at No. 15, Jorabagan Street, Calcutta, when among other things two documents were found, viz., " General Principles " and an exposition of Russian revolutionary methods. Both are lengthy documents. A brief summary of each may be given here.

The opening passage of " General Principles " is as follows :—

" GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The history of the Russian revolutionary movement shows that those who organize the masses for a revolutionary outbreak ought to keep in mind the following principles :—

I.—A solid organization of all revolutionary elements of the country, allowing the concentration of all forces of the party where they are most necessary.

II.—A strict division of different branches or departments, *i.e.*, persons working in one department ought not even to know that which is done in any other, and in no case should one control the direction of two branches.

III.—A severe discipline, especially in certain branches (military and terroristic), even of complete self-sacrificing members.

IV.—A strict keeping of secrecy, *i.e.*, every member may only know what he ought to know, and talk about business matters with companions who ought to bear such matters, and not with them who are not fit to bear.

V.—A skilful use of conspiring means, *i.e.*, paroles, ciphers and so on.

VI.—A gradual developing of the action, *i.e.*, the party ought not at the beginning to grasp all branches but to work gradually; for instance—(1) organization of a nucleus recruited among educated people. (2) spreading ideas among the masses through the nucleus. (3) organization of technical means (military and terroristic), (4) agitation, and (5) rebellion."

These five heads are then elaborated *seriatim*.

Under head II (" Division of branches ") it is noted that the work of a revolutionary party is (*a*) general, (*b*) special. The general work is organization, propaganda, agitation. The special includes seven kinds of work, each of which are more particularly described in detail. Of these, the second (" Military ") includes " chemistry (preparing of explosives and other matters for the rebellion)," the third (" Finances ") includes " imposing taxes on rich people (with the aid of the terroristic department)." One of the functions of the seventh (terroristic) department is " to organize flying terroristic departments (for unimportant acts, chiefly for aiding the financial department)."

Under head III (" Discipline ") it is laid down that " serious infractions," including " refusal of a member of the terroristic or military organization to execute a superior's orders are punished by death."

The document then outlines the organization to be aimed at. This is to be Central and Local.

Local organization is separately sketched under the headings of " Provincial Organization," " District Committees," " Town Committees," " Rural Organizations " and " Members. "

The other document namely, the exposition of Russian revolutionary methods, describes for an Indian reader the revolution which it says had been going on for 50 years in Russia. The functions of the terroristic department of the Russian revolutionaries are set forth. It is to be observed that it is " to commit dacoities " as well as assassinations.

A similar document was found at some engineering works in Madras.

District organization.

91. On the 27th February 1913, two documents were found on the person of Ramesh Acharji, a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. They probably had already been in existence for some time. The two documents are, respectively, the " District Organization Scheme " and the " Rules for members." They embody the elaboration in detail of the requirements (so far as concerns these two matters) of the document " General Principles."

The District Organization Scheme contains 35 paragraphs, the last with 16 sub-paragraphs. We quote here some of the most important of the paragraphs. Others providing especially for propaganda among students are noticed hereafter in connection with that special subject.

" DISTRICT ORGANIZATION.

1. All the work of a subordinate centre shall be conducted under the orders of the person in charge of it. He shall read the organization scheme five times before entering the arena.

2. The person in charge of a subordinate centre shall, again, divide his district into various parts according to the (territorial) divisions of the Government. An intelligent and warm-hearted man shall be vested with the charge of each such subdivision.

* * * * * *

25. If, in any district, another party have arms, and if harm is found to be done to the country by them, then, with the permission of the headquarters, such arms should be anyhow secured. This work should be done very cautiously so that they may know nothing of it.

26. Without an autograph letter of the head organizer or organizer in charge, no district organizer shall give arms to anybody.

* * * * * *

31. * * Without the permission of the superior officer no one shall send directly any letter to any place.

* * * * * *

34. * * Those who have arms or confidential papers in their custody shall not take part in any "violent work" or "organization" or ordinary affray, that is to say, shall not take part in any work, or go to any place in which they run any risk.

35. The district organizer shall submit to the headquarters quarterly reports under the following headings:—"

* * * * * *

The headings mentioned in paragraph 35 were, as already stated, 16 in number. The information called for includes particulars as to members and other inhabitants of the district, educational and other establishments, topography and communications and accounts and receipts of expenditure. One copy of a quarterly report has been found, as well as many other documents, revealing the collection and tabulation of this class of information. They will be dealt with in due course.

The other document (Rules for Membership)' found on Ramesh Acharji contains 22 paragraphs. Three may be quoted here—

"14. Before sending any correspondence relating to any matter connected with the organization to any place, a member shall give it to the head and he shall arrange to have it sent to its destination.

* * * * * *

17. Each shall look upon this as a military organization, and any violation of its rules shall involve punishment in proportion.

18. Every member shall have the idea present in his mind that he is bringing about a revolution with a view to the establishment of righteousness, and not for enjoyment. He shall see that he does not fall back from this ideal."

* * * * * *

With reference to rule 14, it may be explained that numerous persons have been found acting as "post-boxes" for leaders, and sometimes in a series one behind the other, the postal addressee delivering to another "post-box" and being ignorant of the real addressee.

Another set of Samiti Rules was found buried in 1916 along with Mauser cartridges, printing type and seditious leaflets. They are short. There is a space at the end of the document for the signature of the member signifying his assent. The last rule provides "capital punishment for being treacherous."

Amulya Sarkar's pamphlet.

92. In September 1916 a pamphlet was found at the house of Amulya Sarkar in Pabna dealing with revolutionary organization. It is very lengthy and not well arranged. It can hardly be classed as an official working document of any particular body. Much of it deals in great and in some respects almost ludicrous detail with the regulation of daily life. Some passages are, however, instructive.

Amulya Sarkar, an organizer, was in touch with North Bengal, and as such is mentioned in a list belonging to the Dacca Anusilan Samiti found in Calcutta at the search in Raja Bazar in 1913.

In discussing the scope and province of the League the author writes as follows:—

"* * Political independence is not possible without the expulsion of the greedy and selfish foreigners from the country. They cannot be driven out without the subversion of the established Government by means of arms and munitions required for a national rising. Men and money are the two important requisites for a national rising. The whole thing in a nutshell is that the confederacy should vigorously work together men, money and arms, and to organize these people into a sacred military band for the future struggle. Therefore organization is the chief thing to which the confederacy must pay supreme attention."

Under the heading "Leader: His duties and responsibilities" it is laid down that "the leader should have relation or keep communication with other organizations in the same locality or elsewhere. He should know the methods of work of other organizations." Under Rules and Regulations for recruitment, stress is laid on the necessity for gradual initiation. It is fair to add that the draughtsman of this scheme apparently did not favour dacoity, for rules 10 and 11 under "Finance" are as follows:—

"10. Money collection is prohibited by violent methods.

11. The chief source of income will be public subscription and subscriptions of the members of the league."

On the other hand he would have information collected of a kind which could only be required for purposes of massacre, *e.g.*, " churches—when and how many persons attend the church services."

A large portion of this pamphlet is devoted to a tabulated syllabus of literature to be studied. The principle followed is that the member is to be instructed first in general subjects and lastly in sedition.

Other documents.

93. In 1917 a document entitled " Establishment " was found in Bihar and Orissa. It contains guidance for any person who should be selected to start an establishment at a new place. He should set up house with a college or school student and the organization is then to be spread through the boys and through them throughout the division and down to the village.

In 1918 an " Organization Scheme " was found in the house of Harihar Mukharji, where a revolver and 221 copies of the last of the seditious leaflets (namely, that referring to Mr. Montagu's visit) were also found. The scheme provided for the training of students under the district organizer. They were to be of two classes, " sacrificing " and " sympathising." There were to be three stages in their education, " primary," " secondary " and " senior." A staff of " four sacrificing legal men," to act as messengers, should be kept at every centre and sub-centre. Calcutta was exhaustively dealt with. Members were to gain admission to institutions, of which 11 were named, and also to found businesses. The city was divided into 14 " principalities " for the purposes of this work. These were described with metes and bounds.

The above-mentioned documents reveal something of the sort of organization which appears to have been on the minds of the leaders of these samitis from time to time. The next thing is to inquire how far such schemes were actually worked to.

In November 1912 certain documents were found in the box of a boy named Girindra Mohan Das, of Dacca. The father of this boy was a gentleman of the highest character, and it was through his action that the documents were discovered. No doubt they were placed in the boy's custody because the premises were beyond suspicion. The first of these documents was a " Quarterly Report," obviously of the kind called for by rule 35 of the District Organization Scheme already mentioned or a similar scheme. It deals with five villages, Durgapur, Feni, Amirabad (really Nababpur), Belonia, Saroatoli. These places are situated in the Chittagong and Noakhali districts and in the independent State of Hill Tippera.

The report deals with the local characteristics and its inhabitants, with special reference to the schools and the disposition of the teachers and scholars. At the end, under the heading " Notes on organization," there is a list of 13 names, and at this point there is a portion of the document torn off. At the end there is a table showing certain names under " Organization " and " Violence." " Violence " covers four sub-heads, viz.,—(*i*) Arms repairing and handling; (*ii*) Actions; (*iii*) Coining; (*iv*) Farming. The explanation of " farming " is this. Several of these societies had stations in remote districts called " farms," where training took place and shooting was practised. In the report under notice reference was made to one of these farms at Belonia in Independent Tippera, one of the five places with which the report deals.

Another document found at the same place is a list of seven names with country addresses and 14 names and addresses under the heading " Town School."

Another document is an account of receipts and payments from *Agrahayan* 1318 B.S. (*i.e.*, November 1911) to 12th *Ashwin* 1319 B.S. (*i.e.*, 28th September 1912). Among the receipts is Rs. 400 for the sale of gold, obviously the proceeds of a dacoity; and among the expenditure are items for an " Act,"

the expenses of a defence and " for making coin." A note indicates certain property unrealised, including a finger ring, a watch and some rupees of an issue no longer current.

Other documents have been found either on persons arrested or by means of searches. No other example of a quarterly report has come to light, but there are further records of the disposition of spoils and numerous lists of names and addresses and notes as to the custody of arms and implements. There are also letters passing between revolutionaries dealing with these subjects.

94. Such were the methods. We may recur briefly to the ideals. **Books.** It will be remembered that in 1905 was published the pamphlet *Bhawani Mandir*, which set out the aims and objects of the revolutionaries. It was remarkable in more ways than one and cleverly associated the religious and political aspects of the question from the point of view of so-called Indian Nationalism. We find the glorification of Kali under the names of Sakti and Bhawani (two of her numerous names) and the preaching of the gospel of force and strength as the necessary condition of political freedom. The success of Japan is attributed to the strength drawn from religion, and the necessity for Indians to worship Sakti (or Bhawani manifested as the Mother of Strength) is insisted upon if success is desired. The *Bhawani Mandir* advocated the building of a temple to Bhawani in a spot " far from the contamination of modern cities and as yet little trodden by man, in a high and pure air steeped in calm and energy." A new order of political devotees was to be instituted, but it was optional for the members to become *sanyasis* (ascetics). Most of them were to be *brahmacharis* (or unmarried people) who would return to the *grihastha asram* when the allotted work was finished. What the allotted work was, though not specified, is clear. It was the liberation of India from the foreign yoke. The combination of the religious, political and social views is clearly brought out in the rules already mentioned by which the new order was to be governed. Generally speaking, a new organization of political *sanyasis* was to be started, who were to prepare the way for revolutionary work. It is significant that at this stage there is no reference to violence or crime. The central idea as to a given religious order is taken from the well-known novel *Ananda Math* of Bankim Chandra. It is an historical novel having for its setting the *sanyasi* rebellion in 1774, when armed bands of *sanyasis* came into conflict with the East India Company and were suppressed after a temporary career of success.

The revolutionary societies in Bengal infected the principles and rules advocated in the *Bhawani Mandir* with the Russian ideas of revolutionary violence. While a great deal is said in the *Bhawani Mandir* about the religious aspect, the Russian rules are matter of fact. The samitis and associations formed later than 1908 gradually dropped the religious ideas underlying the *Bhawani Mandir* pamphlet (with the exception of the formalities of oaths and vows) and developed the terroristic side with its necessary accompaniments of dacoity and murder.

The logical development of the movement required that anarchists should receive military training and the *Bartaman Rananiti* (or the Modern Art of War) was published in October 1907 by Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji, who was a member of the Maniktala gang and was convicted and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment in the Maniktala conspiracy case. The book extols war as necessary for the building up of Indian nationality, and after the usual diatribe against the English, who are alleged to have disarmed Indians in order to oppress them with greater facility, proceeds to discuss various military details. Connected with this work is the manual for making bombs, which was studied by the revolutionaries. Copies were found in Bengal (at the search in Maniktala Garden, Calcutta), in the Bombay Presidency (at the search of Savarkar's house in Nasik) and in Bhai Parmanand's house at Lahore. An interesting collection of books was seized at various searches, and the list given in the catalogue of the Criminal

Museum at Calcutta affords interesting reading. Amongst the books are *Nitro Explosives* by Sanford, the *Swordsman* by Alfred Hutton, a *Handbook of Modern Explosives* by Eissler, *Modern Weapons and Modern War* by J. S. Bloch, *Mukti Kon Pathe, Field Exercises, Rifle Exercises, Manual of Military Engineering, Infantry Training, Cavalry Drill, Machine-Gun Training, Quick Training for War*, and other military works.

Co-operation of groups.

95. We may now take up again the general review of the movement which is carried down to a certain point in the chapter headed " The beginnings of a revolutionary movement in Bengal." We interrupted it in order to introduce a summary of the crime committed and some account of the internal organizations of the associations which were found. We thought it convenient that these matters should be before the reader before going further. So far we have drawn attention to the scheme of organization affected by the revolutionaries, the ideas they cultivated, and the crimes they committed, without defining the bodies with which they were associated. Bengal became full of such associations, separate in their membership but acting in common through their leaders. It may be true to say that there was not one conspiracy in the sense that the individual of one group or party could not be held legally responsible for the acts of another group, and it was on this ground that the Howrah conspiracy case launched in 1910 broke down. We may go further and say that there is evidence that particular outrages were not always approved of as matter of policy by groups other than that which committed them. But that there was one movement, promoting one general policy of outrage and intimidation and working very largely in concert is, we think, perfectly clear. We have heard it suggested that the later outrages were the work of isolated gangs of youths who had abandoned themselves to a life of crime. It may be that this aspect of the matter presents itself to those who merely see the outrages mentioned from day to day in the newspapers. When, however, we study the statements made by the persons arrested, too closely interwoven to be invented, anticipating their own corroboration by way of subsequent discoveries and strikingly connected in important matters by documents, we are driven to take quite another view. It is true that the relations between the various parties were not formal, and elaborate documents (though we have drawn attention to some fairly ambitious schemes of recent date) were not either necessary or possible for use in practical working under the conditions which the activity of the police imposed. For instance, the more recent lists and notes which have come to light, though sometimes of considerable length and detail, were mostly kept in cipher, and arrangements as to arms and in connection with dacoities and other outrages so far as committed to writing had to be made in obscurely-worded letters passing between individuals. Each organization had, however, its own District Organizer in each district to which it extended. When one was arrested another was appointed * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

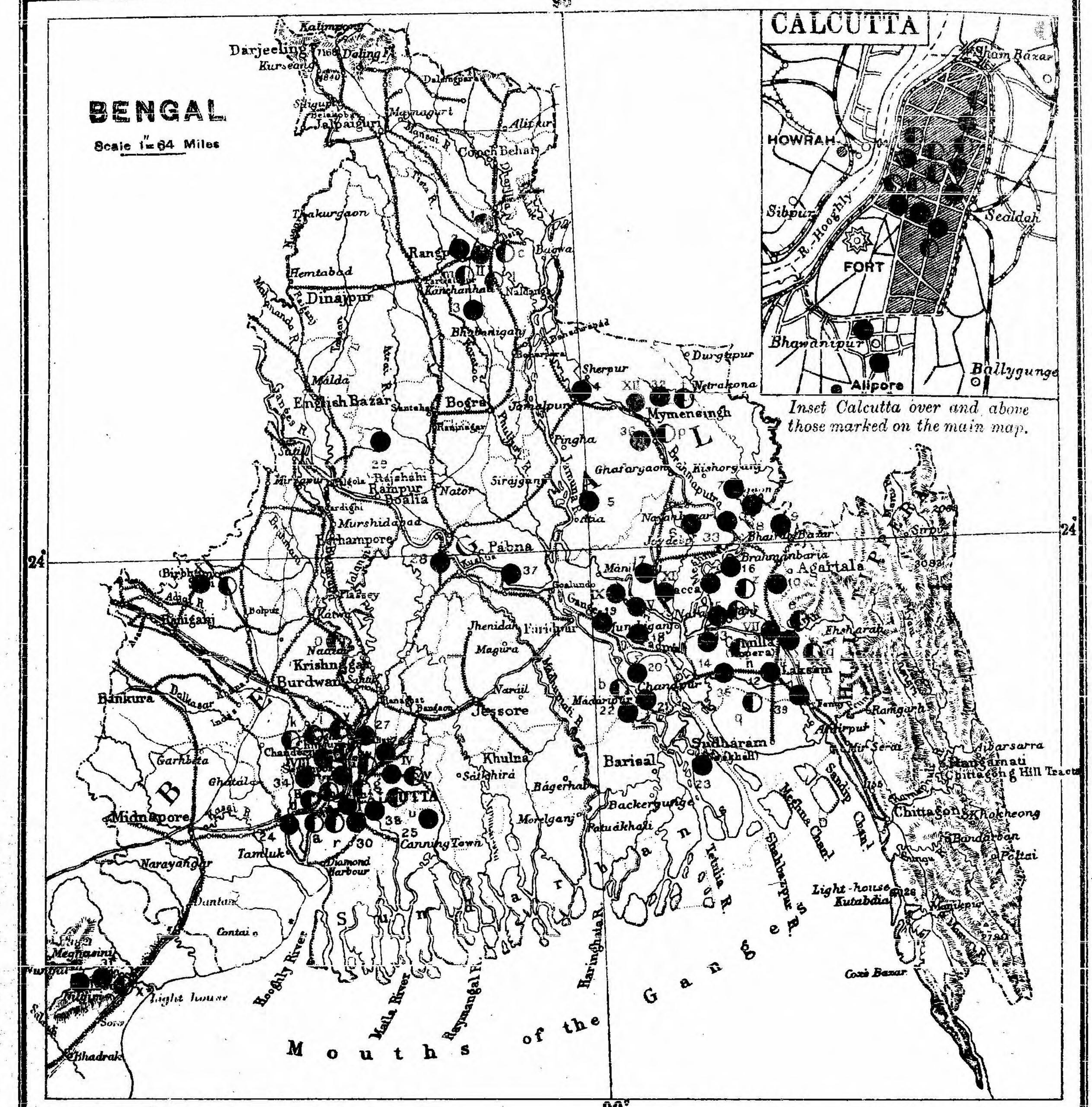
* * * * * * * the parties communicated through their leaders and helped each other. * *

* * * when reduced in strength, they entered into proposals for amalgamation.

The most striking co-operation is revealed in 1914-15, when an outbreak in the Punjab and the landing of German arms in Bengal were, as we shall show more particularly hereafter, in prospect. At this point we have the cogent piece of evidence supplied by the distribution of the Mauser pistols and ammunition stolen from Messrs. Rodda in August 1914. It is to be noted that the pistols so stolen were all numbered, so that they can be identified. Further, the Mauser pistol ejects the spent cartridge automatically and thus for every discharge a cartridge case was bound to be left on the ground, though of course it was not necessarily

BENGAL

Scale 1" = 64 Miles



Inset Calcutta over and above those marked on the main map.

Reg. No. 2011. E 16.

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

Recoveries of Ammunition apart from Outrages.....

Recoveries of Pistols.....

Outrages in which Mauser Ammunition Recovered.....

Outrages in which there is other evidence to show that Mausers were used.....

● ... Recoveries of Pistols

I—176311 on 23-II-15
176465 25-II-15
176540 30-XI-15
176550
176485 29-I-16
II {176524, 176568} on 1-VI-15
III {176464, 176492, 176542} on 9-X-15
IV {176490, 176616} on 17-X-15
V—176432 on 18-XI-15
VI—176466 on 5-VIII-16
VII—175625 on 19-X-16
VIII {176434, 176439, 176502, 176620} on 1-XII-16
IX {176442, 176553, 176570} on 14-XI-16
X {176404, 176433, 176498, 176562, 176565, 176624, 175622} on 8-I-17
XI—176437 on 23-VII-17
XII—176440 on 10-IX-17

◐ ... Recoveries of Ammun.

a	1040	on	28-IX-14
	960	,,	6-X-14
	21200	,,	11-X-14
	10	,,	24-II-15
	40	,,	29-I-16
	48	,,	-V-16
	19	,,	10-IX-16
	8	,,	18-XII-16
	40	,,	29-V-17
	20	,,	18-VIII-17
b	19	,,	28-III-15
c	51	,,	1-VI-15
d	926	,,	12-IX-15
e	3	,,	7-III-16
f	491	,,	7-IV-16
g	130	,,	10-IV-16
h	28	,,	27-IX-16
i	241	,,	1-XII-16
j	1127	,,	8-I-17
k	15	,,	-II-17
l	50	,,	2-X-17
m	159	,,	3-V-17
n	18	,,	28-VII-17
o	99	,,	19-VIII-17
p	59	,,	10-IX-17
q	7	,,	17-IX-17

● ... Outrages in which Mauser Ammunition has been Recovered.

1 Kurul Dakaity
2 Rangpur Attempted Murder
3. Rakhalbaruz Dakaity
4 Sahildeo Dakaity
5 Parail Dakaity
6 Kaliachapra Dakaity
7 Murder, Sashi Chakravarti
8 Aurail Dakaity
9 Haripur Dakaity
10 Balda Dakaity
11 Murder, Head Master
12 Laliteswar Dakaity
13 Extortion Case
14 Bagmara Dakaity
15 Gandora Dakaity
16 Rasulabad Dakaity
17 Bairagitola Murders
18 Abdullapur Dakaity
19 Palkacha Dakaity
20 Madaripur Bomb Outrage
21 Kalamridha Dakaity
22 Dhanakati Dakaity
23 Gazipura Dakaity
24 Daffarpur Dakaity
25 Mamudabad Dakaity
26 Areadal Dakaity
27 Agarpara Murder
28 Pragpur Dakaity
29 Dharail Dakaity
30 Calcutta, Musalmanpara Outrage, Murder of Madhusudan Bhattacharji
Bhawanipur Murder
Armenian Street Dakaity
31 Balasore Affray
32 Murder of Jotindra Ghosh
33 Murder of Dhirendra Biswas
34 Dompara attempted Murder
35 Majaria Dakaity
36 Rasulpur Dakaity
37 Sibpur Dakaity
38 Beliaghatta Dakaity
Masjedbari Murder
Serpentine Lane Murder
Chaulpatti Road Dakaity
39 Kartala Dakaity

◐ ... Other Outrages

z Sahapadua Dakaity
y Agarpara Dakaity
x Jajpur Dakaity
w Garden Reach Dakaity
v Sett Bagan Dakaity
u Gopinath Ray Lane Dakaity
t Chandrakona Dakaity
s Cornwallis Street Dakaity
r Corporation Street Dakaity
q Nathghar Dakaity

found. Again, so far as is known, the revolutionaries only had one Mauser pistol other than those of Messrs. Rodda. The circumstances under which they obtained this are known and the pistol was recovered. Under these circumstances, as 50 pistols were stolen from Messrs. Rodda, there is a strong presumption that when spent Mauser cartridges were picked up on the scene of an outrage they had been fired from one of Messrs. Rodda's pistols. The distribution of these pistols can best be seen by a study of the tables and map annexed, which show the places where and the occasions upon which Rodda's pistols and Mauser cartridges, used or unused, were recovered. * * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

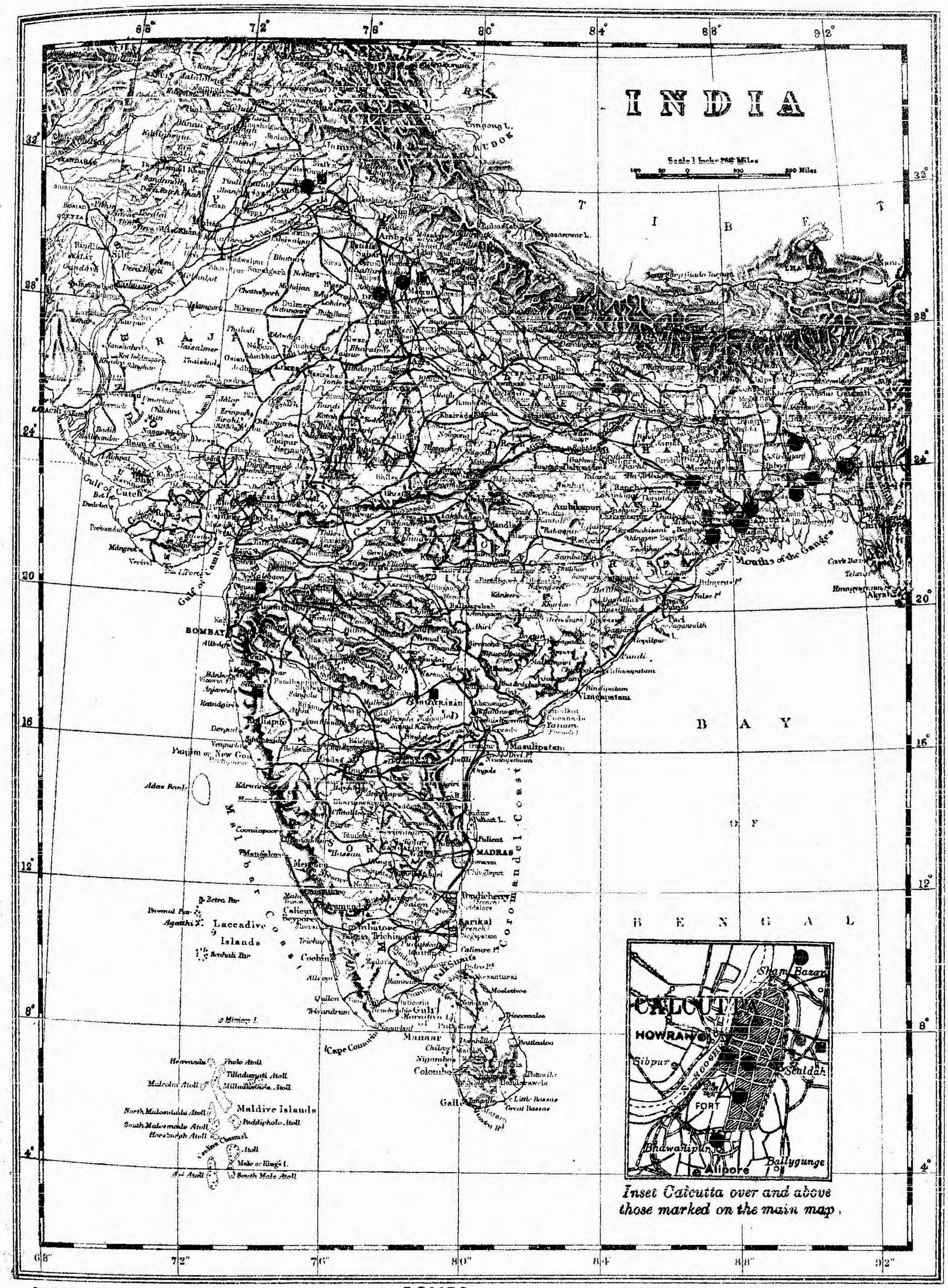
The persons in whose possession the Mausers were found must also be noted. These include members of the Madaripur party, Jatin Mukharji of Western Bengal, members of the group headed by Satish Chakrabartti in Western Bengal, of the Chandernagore group, of Bepin Ganguli's party, and of the Mymensingh, Barisal, North Bengal and Dacca parties. That arms were interchanged between the several groups is shown by various statements * * * * * Whether or not the particular transactions mentioned are correctly detailed, it can hardly be imagined that the system to which they point can have been separately imagined by the several deponents.

The custody in which arms were deposited for the moment is found named in cipher lists which came to light in the various searches. For instance, upon the search at No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, on the 8th October 1916, a cipher list was found stating that certain arms were at Comilla and that there was a Mauser at Rajshahi. Now the house of the District Organizer at Comilla had been searched in July 1916 and his ciphers showed the names of individuals to whom he in turn had entrusted arms. The latter list showed that the Comilla District Organizer dealt with more arms than the Pathuriaghata Street document noted as in his care. The two documents may not refer to the same date; or the Comilla branch may have received arms from other sources as well as from Pathuriaghata Street. As regards the Mauser noted in the Pathuriaghata Street list as being at Rajshahi, it is interesting to observe that according to the statement of one of the persons in custody two weapons were obtained from Rajshahi for the murder of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji in June 1916. The above is sufficient as an illustration. The system could be further exemplified.

There is further indication of the co-operation of the various groups in 1915 in the circumstance that in the Balasore affray Jatin Mukharji, the leader of a party in Western Bengal, was killed along with Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri, of Madaripur, in the company of two other Madaripur men, who were hanged. In respect of the Corporation Street dacoity, a Western Bengal man and a man of the Mymensingh party were convicted together, and Western Bengal party men were also convicted with a man of the Dacca party in respect of the actual theft of Messrs. Rodda's arms. The documents relating to the plot in connection with the German arms, hereafter mentioned, notably a list in a note-book found on one Abani Nath Mukharji at Singapore, contain the names of members belonging to different groups.

Co-operation between the groups is also shown by a study of their bombs.

Three types of bombs were used in the outrages which have been described. The book bomb sent to Mr. Kingsford was of course of special construction. The first type was a round bomb in use in 1908. This was in evidence in the Alipore conspiracy case. Moulds for making the case were found in the Maniktala searches, and such vessels as the copper globes of ball cocks, brass globes belonging to bedsteads or metal lamp reservoirs were being used as cases. The explosive was picric acid, of which a bottle was also found. It was no doubt a bomb of this kind which caused the death of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy. As already mentioned, a cyclostyled copy of a bomb manual was found in these searches. The same manual in a typewritten



Reg. No. 2011 E 18.

BOMBS.

HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICE S, CALCUTTA.

● OF THE RAJABAZAR TYPE.

Calcutta.—(1) 296/1, Circular Road, Bomb Factory.
(2) Musalmanpara Lane, Bomb Outrage.
(3) Dalhousie Square, Bomb Outrage.
(4) Gopal Bera, Bombs found.
(5) Bombs found buried in Shiekh Samir's Garden.
(6) Bombs Produced by Source No. 16.
Bhadreshwar.—Bomb Outrage at Thana.
Madaripur.—Bomb Outrage against Secretary of School.
Naraingani.—Bomb found
Mymensingh.—Bomb Outrage Murder of Inspector Bankim Chaudhuri.
Maulvi Bazar. - Bomb Outrage Attempt on Mr. Gordon.
Raniganj.—Bomb Outrage at Thana.
Midnapur.—Bomb Outrage Attempt on Abdur Rahim.
Delhi.—Bomb Outrage Attempt on the Viceroy.
Meerut.—Pingley caught with Bombs in cavalry Lines.
Lahore.—Bomb Outrage Attempts on Mr. Gordon.

● OTHER TYPES.

Calcutta.—(1) Maniktala Garden. (2) Grey Street. (3) Dixon's Lane, Nogendra Chakravarti
E. B. S. RY.—Cocoanut bombs.
Chandernagore.—Attempt on Mayor. Naraingarh.—Attempt on Lieut.-Governor.
Munshiganj.—Lalit Chaudhuri Bombs, found.
Muzafferpur.—(1) Murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy. (2) The Book bombs.
Ahmedabad.—Attempted murder.
Lahore.—Bombs found—(1) Muchi Gate. (2) Wachhowali. (3) Lahore Fort. (4) Lahore Gardens. (5) Shalimar Gardens.
Amritsar.—Canal bank. Chabba.—Bombs used in dacoity. Ludhiana city.—Bomb explosion. Sanawal.—Bombs used in dacoity. Mansuram.—Bombs used in dacoity. Patiala.—Bombs found. Nabha State, Bombs found.

■ BOMB MANUALS.

Calcutta.—(1) Maniktala Garden (2) 15, Jorabagan.
Nasik.—Satara — Hyderabad — Meerut — Lahore

form was discovered hidden in the eaves of the house of Ganesh Savarkar at Nasik in the Bombay Presidency in March 1909. The same formula was found in Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1910 and at Satara in the Bombay Presidency in 1911. Secondly, there were the comparatively harmless cocoanut bombs, such as were thrown into trains on several occasions as already narrated. The third type of bomb which supplanted the spherical bomb was used in all the later outrages throughout Bengal and also in other provinces. This bomb (a specimen of which we have inspected) was of a cylindrical form filled with high explosive and with jute needles and pieces of iron. Outside was a layer of jute needles (which in thickness rather suggest nails than needles) bound round with wire. These were to inflict wounds. The explosive was picric acid. The materials for such bombs were very easy to procure and to assemble, and all of them, except the explosive, were found in the search at Raja Bazar in November 1913. In the trial which followed it was found by the Court that bombs of this particular type had been used in Calcutta, Lahore, Delhi, Sylhet, Mymensingh and Midnapore. They have also been found since in the garden-house of Shek Samir at Khardah, near Calcutta, on the 10th April 1916 (two bombs), in the house of Gopal Bera at Mullick's Lane, Calcutta, on the 4th April, 1917 (four bombs), and at Sonarkanda, Narayanganj, Dacca, on the 10th July 1917 (one bomb).

These bombs were also prepared at Chandernagore. There are five statements to that effect, and we see no reason to doubt that they are correct in this respect. * * * * * *

Size of the organizations.

96. It must not be supposed that the various organizations were necessarily small. The Dacca Anusilan Samiti and the bodies which we call the West Bengal and Northern Bengal parties were widely extended and overlapped each other's territory. The Dacca Samiti was throughout the whole period the most powerful of these associations. The existence of this body alone, even if there had been no other, would have constituted a public danger. It was originally founded in Dacca by Pulin Behari Das, ostensibly as a society for physical and religious culture. It took advantage of the bitterness which animated the *swadeshi* movement and altruistic spirit (admirable so long as unperverted) shown by the bands of National Volunteers, who at that period used to hold themselves ready to assist at fires, floods and similar calamities. It penetrated the schools. The National School, Dacca, where Pulin and Bhupesh Chandra Ray were teachers, was one of the chief training and recruiting grounds of the Samiti. The Sonarang National School, founded by Makhan Lal Sen, who succeeded Pulin as leader of the Dacca Anusilan when Pulin was deported, exercised a most sinister influence over the students and was responsible for several crimes detailed in the section dealing with outrages. In the Barisal supplementary case the High Court held that there was no doubt that a number of dacoities put forward as overt acts in the conspiracy case were engineered and carried out from the Sonarang School.

For the first two years of its existence the Samiti flourished openly. When at the end of 1908 it was declared an illegal association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of that year and Pulin Behari Das and others were deported, it removed its headquarters to Calcutta, where it found an able leader in Makhan Sen. In after years it spread itself over all Bengal and extended its operations to other provinces. While its organization was most compact in Mymensingh and Dacca, it was active from Dinajpur in the north-west to Chittagong in the south-east and from Cooch Behar on the north-east to Midnapore on the south-west. Outside Bengal we find its members working in Assam, Bihar, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and at Poona.

We will now give some illustration of the way in which the revolutionaries worked together, by sketching certain episodes in the investigations concerning them. Besides indicating the habits of the conspirators, we learn, by taking the subject from this point of view, something of the methods by which they were found out. We have had to suppress names and details

in places in order to avoid the revelation of the identity of informers and other analogous information.

Ramifications.

97. In October a confessing revolutionary in custody pointed out No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, as the resort of conspirators. The house was searched and among other documents found were cipher lists of names and addresses in seven districts of Bengal and also outside the province. There were also lists of depositories of arms and bombs.

All the addresses in Bengal were searched and the results have been investigated by us. In all but one or two cases these results were of more or less importance, but we only take one as an illustration.

One of the addresses at Faridpur was—

" N. N. Chatarji,
Hemanta K. Mukharji, pleader."

Hemanta was Chatarji's uncle, with whom he lived.

Another address was—

" Prabodhendu Mohan Ray,
32, Sonarpura,
Benares."

A letter was intercepted written to this man from Bijnore in the Punjab. The writer was traced as Prabhu Dayal Mehta, resident of Rohani, Punjab. This man was arrested and in his possession was a book with nine addresses in the Punjab and also a suspicious letter of the 12th December 1916 from Jabalpur, giving the address of a student at Jabalpur to whom Prabhu should write. This led to enquiries at Jabalpur and the police were led to believe there was a branch of the Dacca Samiti there, of which, among others, one Sailendra Nath Ghosh was a leading member. He was arrested and his letters intercepted. One came to him from Vinayak Rao Kapile from Calcutta. On the back in cipher was the name of * * * * * * * * * Calcutta.

* * was arrested there and in his possession were cipher lists like those at No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, containing, among others, the name of N. N. Chatarji, of Faridpur, with whose name this story started. Thus by following up a Benares address given in the lists at No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, one is led from Benares to the Punjab, from the Punjab to Jabalpur in the Central Provinces, from Jabalpur back to Calcutta, and there a new list is found containing a name at Faridpur found independently in the list at No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, from which we started.

This, however, did not exhaust the discoveries made through the enquiry being directed, through the long circuit just described, to * * * * Among the other names in his list was that of Purna Chandra Bhattacharji, Unnakali Tol, Berhampore, " post-box " for Jiban Thakurta *alias* Lengru *alias* Thibaut, one of the depositories of the arms mentioned in the ciphers at No. 39, Pathuriaghata Street, as being at Rajshahi. He was mentioned in these ciphers as " Thib."

Further, as the result of the interception of letters suggested by materials found in the possession of * * * and the shadowing of persons named therein, the police on 13th March 1917 arrested Indu Bhusan Chakrabarti *alias* Sri Kanta. His residence was at No. 81-3, Dharmahata Street, Calcutta. Search there resulted in the arrest of three well-known revolutionaries, among them Jiban Thakurta *alias* Lengru or Thibaut, the custodian of arms at Rajshahi, already mentioned. In addition to these arrests, further ciphers were found, lists of proscribed books, maps of Chittagong showing the internment camps at Kutubdia and Maheshkhal and other documents. From this, again, another investigation starts. Indeed, new investigations branch off at each point of the history. We have only followed one main channel and one branch.

We will give another illustration.

In 1916, in connection with the investigation of a certain outrage, a man was arrested, who stated, among other things, that revolutionaries whom he named met at a certain college hostel and he described the room. It was searched and some letters unintelligible at the time were found.

Some months afterwards an arrest was made of a member of the West Bengal party, suspected of harbouring absconding leaders in a plot to land German arms. In his pocket a letter was found describing (by an obscure reference to the nature of the business carried on) a certain place in Chandernagore and giving the name (A) of the father of a revolutionary (unnamed) as living there.

Some five years before this a person arrested in connection with an outrage of that date had stated that a revolutionary whom he named lived at Chandernagore and that his father's name was A. The place indicated by the letter above mentioned as the residence of A now (in 1916) was searched and there was found, with Mauser pistols and further documents, the other portion of the correspondence, of which the letters independently found and at first unintelligible as above mentioned formed a part. Putting all these letters and others found at the same time together, a further number of Mauser pistols and a large quantity of ammunition were recovered at another address. Further, the documents so found gave the police a name which enabled them to identify the body of a dacoit murdered by his fellows in the Armenian Street dacoity* and so led to the unravelling of that striking crime, as elsewhere mentioned.† Following up the same clues, a search was made of the rooms of a member of the teaching staff at a college. Influential protest was made upon this, but the occupant fled to the United States disguised as a Muhammadan stoker, a disguise which the nature of his duties at sea prevented his retaining long. In America he met a German and a Bengali and sent back, closely concealed, a note * * * * * * referring to revolutionary prospects in the United States. A watch * * * * * * * * led to the arrest of a participant in the Armenian Street dacoity, armed with a loaded revolver, which he attempted to use. Other documents were found on him.

The above is the barest sketch of one portion of a long chain of investigation which is really endless. We have not described it from its beginning. We have not reached its end. We have neglected its collateral issues. We examined it in much more detail than it is possible to set forth, and have conducted other similar investigations. We think what we have said has, however, some illustrative value.

Revolutionary leaflets.

98. We now turn to another subject, namely, the leaflet literature of the revolutionaries. * In many cases, some of which have been noted in the course of the narrative, these documents have been discovered in great numbers at searches where revolutionaries have been arrested and organization documents and arms (including Mauser pistols from Messrs. Rodda's consignment) recovered. Besides this, there are a great number of references in the statements of various deponents to the distribution of these leaflets. We do not print these, because we think there can be no real doubt that these documents were the propaganda of the various bodies, the members of which perpetrated the outrages and are now so largely in custody. The connection between this leaflet literature and the outrages has over and over again been accepted and dwelt upon by the courts. * * * * * * * these leaflets embody a propaganda of bloodthirsty fanaticism directed against the Europeans and all who assist them. The last of these documents, namely, that published in December 1917 in view of Mr. Montagu's visit, is specially important, for it shows that the attitude of utter irreconcilability is maintained up to the present moment. The last three paragraphs are as follows :—

"What then must we do. Our duty is plain. We have no concern in Mr. Montagu's coming or going. He is coming in peace, he may depart in peace for ought we know or care.

But first and last spread terror. Make this unholy Government impossible. Hide like invisible shadows of doom and rain death upon the alien bureaucracy. Remember

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* See paragraph 83.
† See paragraph 170.

your brothers who are perishing in Jails and rotting in swamps. Remember those who have died or have gone mad. Remember, watch and work.

We ask you once more brothers in the name of God and Country and all, young or old, rich or poor, Hindus and Mahomedans, Buddhists and Christians, and join this War of Indian Independence and pour forth your blood and treasure. Hark, the Mother calls and shows the way—*NANYA PANTHA VIDYATE ANYA* (The only way and no other).

By order of the Executive.
INDIAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE."

Some facts about a leaflet.

99. As the expression of these views, at the moment and in the connection in question, is obviously a matter of grave importance, we will show who were connected with the issue of this leaflet and follow through the evidence on the subject. It will be seen that the document takes the form of a proclamation "By order of the Executive, Indian Revolutionary Committee." In January 1918 one Kuntal Chakrabarti was arrested and in his possession, along with pistol cartridges, were found copies of this leaflet, and on the same evening another person was arrested with further copies, a revolver and a letter from Kuntal referring to the printing of it. The letter, though unsigned, is clearly Kuntal's, because it refers to his use of certain medicines of which he was found in possession. The passage in the letter is as follows:—"Seeing your delay I was compelled to get the paper printed. I was advised by every one that if it was at all necessary to print it, it should be printed before Montagu's arrival in Calcutta. I consulted Haren Da and Gunti in this matter and Haren Da himself met all expenses."

This was the letter referred to on page 21 of this report which contained the lament that all the revolutionaries were now taken by the police owing to the successive revelations made by those arrested. Therefore we have the fact that this pamphlet was printed by a man whose fellow-workers were in the hands of the police as revolutionaries. Haren Da and Gunti, who are not in their hands, are "wanted," the one for murder and dacoity, the other as a leader in the German plot to be hereafter mentioned.* But the matter does not stop there.

Kuntal Chakrabarti had also been mentioned in four confessions as implicated in the Gopi Mohan Roy Lane dacoity in July 1916.† It will be remembered that after that dacoity the victim received a receipt impressed with a seal. That seal contained a scroll bearing the words "United India" and a motto in Sanskrit the translation of which is "The Mother and the Motherland are more glorious than Heaven."

The seal by which this impression was made was found at the house in Chandernagore traced by the multifarious indications already referred to. From that seal (which we have seen) the impression appended hereto was taken.



Now in the same box with the seal were two letters referring to Kuntal Chakrabarti. The seal, having been seized, could not be used for the leaflet. This, it will be seen by referring to it, purported to be issued by the "Indian Revolutionary Committee" and there was no seal. It is, however, not a very risky inference to draw, especially having regard to the four confessions, that Kuntal Chakrabarti, the author or publisher of the leaflet, was connected with the dacoity and the seal and with the resort at Chandernagore where Mauser pistols were found and from which so many other connections radiate. At any rate, what is the most important point, the author of the leaflet was the fellow-worker of a numerous band already in custody as revolutionaries and of others wanted as such.

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* See Chapter VII.
† See paragraph 77.

CHAPTER VI.

REVOLUTIONARY RECRUITING FROM BENGAL SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

Accessibility of Bengal schools and colleges to revolutionary influences.

100. Abundant evidence has compelled us to the conclusion that the secondary English schools, and in a less degree the colleges, of Bengal have been regarded by the revolutionaries as their most fruitful recruiting centres. Dispersed as these schools are far and wide throughout the Province, sometimes clustering in a town, sometimes isolated in the far-away villages of the eastern water-country, they form natural objects for attack; and, as is apparent from the reports of the Department of Public Instruction, they have been attacked for years with no small degree of success. In these reports the Director has from time to time noticed such matters as the circulation of seditious leaflets, the number of students implicated in conspiracy cases and the apathy of parents and guardians. But perhaps his most instructive passages are the following, in which he sets out the whole situation in regard to secondary English schools. "The number of these schools," he wrote, "is rapidly increasing, and the cry is for more and more. It is a demand for tickets in a lottery, the prizes of which are posts in Government service and employment in certain professions. The *bhadralok* have nothing to look to but these posts, while those who desire to rise from a lower social or economic station have their eyes on the same goal. The middle classes in Bengal are generally poor, and the increased stress of competition and the tendency for the average earnings of certain careers to decrease—a tendency which is bound to follow on the increased demand to enter them, coupled with the rise in the cost of living and the inevitable raising in the standard of comfort—all these features continue to make the struggle to exist in these classes keener. Hence the need to raise educational standards, to make school life a greater influence for good and the course of instruction more thorough and more comprehensive—a need which becomes more and more imperative as life in India becomes more complicated, and more exacting—is confronted by a determined though perfectly natural opposition to the raising of fees. . . . Probably the worst feature of the situation is the low wages and the complete absence of prospects which are the fate of teachers in secondary schools. . . . It is easy to blame the parents for blindness to their sons' true good, but the Matriculation examination is the thing that seems to matter, so that if his boy passes the annual promotion examinations and is duly presented at that examination at the earliest possible date, the average parent has no criticism to offer. This is perfectly natural, but the future of Bengal depends to a not inconsiderable extent on the work done in its secondary schools, and more is required of these institutions than an ability to pass a certain proportion of boys through the Calcutta University Matriculation examination. . . . The present condition of secondary schools is undoubtedly prejudicing the development of the Presidency and is by no means a negligible feature in the existing state of general disturbance. It is customary to trace the genesis of much sedition and crime to the back streets and lanes of Calcutta and Dacca, where the organizers of anarchic conspiracies seek their agents from among University students. This view is correct as far as it goes, but it is in the high schools, with their under-paid and discontented teachers, their crowded, dark and ill-ventilated class rooms, and their soul-destroying process of unceasing cram, that the seeds of discontent and fanaticism are sown."*

Methods of attack—Newspapers and leaflets.

101. We have seen that the first Bengal revolutionaries, "fully realising that the boy and son of the present day is the prospective man and father of the future, aimed at securing the ultimate liberation and complete independence

* Annual report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for the year 1915-16.

of the Bengali ' nation ' through the readily aroused and easily misdirected ardour and enthusiasm of youth."* It is obvious that their efforts to secure recruits must have been facilitated by the unfortunate enlistment of students and schoolboys in picketing operations. And when the influences of the boycott ferment were supplemented by the perusal of such newspapers as the *Jugantar*, the impressions on many a youthful mind must have resembled those exemplified by the following letter, which was filed as an exhibit in the Alipore case.

"*Mirasi, 7th September 1907.*

SIR,—From your advertisement, articles and your bold writings, I understand that he alone who has the subversion of the *Feringhi* Government at heart, should by all means read the *Jugantar*. I, a schoolboy, living in a hilly country, don't feel any oppression of the *Feringhi*, and I give way before people for want of information. I am, therefore, in need of *Jugantar*, for it acquaints us to a great extent with the desire of driving away the *Feringhis* and also makes us alive to wrongs. I am extremely in straitened circumstances, hardly able to procure one meal a day; nevertheless my desire for newspaper reading is extremely strong. Hence I approach you as a beggar. Ah! do not disappoint such an eager hope of mine. I shall pay the price when I shall have the means. I hope you will favour me by enlisting me as a subscriber. Further, please don't fail to send a sample copy.

Submitted by Sri Debendra Chandra Bhattacharji, P.O. Machihadi, Mirasi, Sylhet."

Moreover, the teaching implanted by newspapers was widened and emphasised by the circulation of numbers of leaflets containing such passages as those which we have quoted elsewhere in this report, passages instinct with racial hatred of the most virulent form conceivable.

Such is the literature which has for years been circulating among the English-teaching schools and colleges of Bengal.

Organization for recruiting from schools and colleges.

102. But they have been persistently attacked by more direct methods. On the person of Ramesh Chandra Acharji, the principal convict in the Barisal conspiracy case, was found a District Organization Scheme which contained the following provisions :—

"The district organizer shall first make himself acquainted with the number of Entrance and Middle English schools or colleges in his centre. He shall influence at least one boy in each class of the school or college, and through him will disseminate the idea to the whole class. He shall have connection with a higher class student under a teacher or professor of the school or college. This higher class student will have connection with the monitors of other classes. . . . If a district organizer wishes to place a man in a school or in any post, he shall inform the headquarters centre of the following particulars regarding such man :—caste, and age, qualification, what pay he will draw in such post, or the amount of fee to be paid if he is put in a school as a student, particulars of such place and whether the man to whom he will be subordinate is our man—Will there be any special facility for our work if he be put there. The chief of the centre shall make arrangements to disseminate the 'idea' more among the students of the entrance schools and colleges, as unmarried youths are receptacles of work, energy and self-sacrifice.

When a boy is recruited the following information concerning him shall be submitted to the headquarters centre. . . . As long as no orders are received from the headquarters centre the district organizer will make all necessary arrangements for his education."

The organization scheme provided that district organizers should be given " assistants " and should submit quarterly reports.

Illustrations of its working.

103. When the box of Girindra Mohan Das, approver in the supplementary Barisal conspiracy case, was searched at Dacca some " quarterly reports " were found therein, and were filed as exhibits in the subsequent conspiracy trial. They contained the following passages :—

"*Durgapur.*—This place is situated in the Chittagong district in pargana Nazampur. It will not be an exaggeration to say that in this pargana this is the only place inhabited by gentlemen. It is here that I live. It is hoped that some work may be done here. . . . Here is a great want of educated men, there are only 2 or 3 such men in this village. Owing to the existence of the local High English School, it is gradually improving. . . . Most of the teachers of the school are religious minded, consequently most of the boys are religious minded. The idea is not much in evidence among them. But the Head Master and Hemendra Mukhuti have it. Both are favourable to our work, particularly the latter. Two other teachers also know all about it

* See judgment of Mr. Justice Carnduff, Alipore conspiracy case.

But they are not favourably disposed and are extremely criticising and inquisitive. On the other hand, their inquisitiveness does not yield any good fruit. Of the students a student of the second class has become our initiated member. . . . There is one sitting every week on Sundays. The sitting takes place in my room at the Boarding. The *Gita*, the works of Vivekananda, or the *Kathamrita* are read and there is also *kirtan* (religious songs). . . . It is necessary that religious zeal and patriotism should flourish side by side. But even the faintest gleam of the latter is not visible. Hemendra Babu speaks a little about these things in his class. But very few of them can catch or comprehend what he says. Most of them have got no 'tenacity of purpose.'

Feni.—This place is situated 20 miles north of Durgapur. Though it is a small town yet many educated men live here. There is a high class English school. . . . The situation here is unusually advantageous. The work is daily becoming more hopeful. There have been five men since my arrival. . . . It would have been very fine if a teacher could have been established here. I asked for a teacher but you could not give one. Suren Babu also asked for one when he was here. It would have been very fine if you could have given one. The boys would have received much encouragement. At present the entire burden is on the first boy of the 'first class' here. The principal thing to consider is what arrangement should be made after he has left this place after having passed his examination. . . . The members are all energetic. At present there has not been much obstacle from local men.

Amirabad.—Of this place it is reported that 'There is no one fit to guide.' Consequently it would be well if a 'second Master' could be appointed to the local M(iddle) E(nglish) school. The qualification of being 'Entrance plucked' is enough. If you can give such a man after the *Puja* holidays, I will appoint him."

There are reports of two other places. Of one it is written "two and one more boys have been (secured) there." In the other there is an entrance school where "our Sriman Satish Chakrabarti is reading in the 'first class.'"

The above quotations show the methods of recruitment from schools devised and practised by the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. These are further illustrated by the following incidents. We have noted that the passages from "quarterly reports" which we have reproduced have been taken from documents found in the possession of Girindra Mohan Das, approver in the Barisál supplementary conspiracy trial. In the course of this trial the approver, aged only twenty, once a youth of great promise and the son of a much-respected servant of Government, gave evidence to the following effect. He had become a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti while a pupil at the Dacca Collegiate School. He had been enlisted in the following manner.

A class-mate had introduced him to some persons by the river bank. He used to go and meet them there in some gardens and was given revolutionary literature to read. "The conversation at the gardens," said the witness, "related to religion and politics. The conversation about politics was that a revolution would be brought about, that the British would be expelled from India, and that India would be made independent. . . We went to the temple of Kali at Swamibagh. We sat in the verandah of the temple. The door of the temple was closed, but as the door is made of iron bars, the image could be seen. Pratul Ganguli produced two pieces of paper from his pocket. He gave me these and told me to read them. One of them was a set of vows, and the vows were printed. I took the vows by reading them aloud while facing the image. I remember that the first of the vows was that I should never separate myself from the samiti." The witness also said that he could not at first make a statement as he was afraid of being shot.

Exhibit 215 in the same trial was a letter intercepted under the Magistrate's order. Some passages ran as follows: "Crowned with victory, on Wednesday next you should remain at Station, Vivekananda's book in hand. You should act as I have written to you before. The schools and colleges will soon be closed. You should so arrange that those to whom letters are addressed to Barisal from Dacca and elsewhere do not go home during the vacation, and you must not leave Barisal for any other place during any sort of vacation. . . . When the schools and colleges are closed, you should keep him who is going in the lodgings of some one among you. It would not do to have any fear. If one falls into danger in God's work, God himself will save one.—(Sd.) Makhan Nag."

Exhibit 15 in the same case, addressed to the same person, runs: "Inform me if Krishna Lal Babu will do for Bhola College. There is no one fit for the girls' school here."

The Krishna Lal Saha herein mentioned was later arrested with a stolen revolver and important revolutionary ciphers and correspondence.

Another approver in the same trial stated: "Pulin told both of us that we could do no good to the country by studying, and that we had better take up appointments at the Sonarang National School and that we could do the work of the samiti from there." The witness went on to describe how he became a master in this school; how all the masters and some of the boys were members of the Dacca Samiti; how a party from this school, in conjunction with a party from Calcutta, planned an armed robbery and brought back "money, clothes, and a small child's gold bangle" as well as Rs. 900 in cash. "These things were brought to the school hostel. Some of the money was kept for the expenses of the hostel, and the rest was sent to Dacca. Another dacoity was carried out from this school. The proceeds were "many gold and silver ornaments," and so on. At last the witness was convicted of assaulting a Government postman and suffered a month's imprisonment. On release he became a master in a middle English school and "tried to preach the idea among the schoolboys and to secure recruits in the village." But the boys at this school were too young to appreciate this kind of instruction and he relinquished his post and became a private tutor, all the time closely maintaining his connection with the Dacca Samiti. Subsequently he became a master in a high (English) school in an important district, and at the same time worked as a district organizer for the samiti. This career in the high school came to an end after his quarters had been searched by the police. He stated that the loot taken in the various dacoities which he had described was "spent in organization, purchase of arms and defending cases."

Both these approvers were sons of men in good positions and had themselves been well educated. Their evidence was believed by the Judge before whom it was given. Like other statements which we have seen, it testifies in a striking manner to the perversion of youths that went on under the cloak of education. When once initiated into a samiti the victims were bound by solemn vows never to separate from it. The very first condition of joining was an irrevocable promise. This was administered even to young boys.

Results.

104. We have perused many statements which attest the methods and results of the organized campaign of corruption that has so long been waged. One of the most interesting of these documents was written out last year by an educated *détenu* who is now interned in his village under the provisions of the Defence Act. We have obtained his permission to publish the following passages:—

"From the very beginning I had no faith in the success of this secret movement. I know full well that anarchism has never been attended with good results. It may be asked then why I joined it. My long association with X, coupled with my love and affection for him for various helps rendered to me in my struggling days as a student, induced me to comply with his request for help. . . .

As regards the recruitment of young students as members of the secret society it is done in the following way. The word 'Liberty' has a charm which appeals peculiarly to young sentimental minds. Study of such books as the lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Washington, etc., makes impressions upon young minds. Designing persons give out the idea of a widespread organization and tempt young men to join it as the best way of serving the country. The new recruits are kept quite in the dark as to the magnitude of the work they are to do and are enticed into swallowing the tempting bait. They are in the beginning utilised as messengers and minor workers for carrying out news and information. Generally they are drawn into the actual work, and when once they have been thoroughly initiated into it, it becomes impossible for them to give up the connection with the secret organization. I have known from my personal experience that brothers do not trust one another, pupils regard their teachers as so many cowards and look upon their parents as persons of the old school. There are certain other modes of enticement besides—minor incidents, such as insults or affronts offered by a European to a native, published in the newspaper, are made much of and impressed upon young minds."

Nine years ago the Judge who tried the first Bengal conspiracy case observed: "Those responsible for this conspiracy did their work well. They realised that their best chance was to get hold of the youth of the country and inflame them by appealing to their sense of religion and their sense of chivalry, and to this end they have prostituted the teaching of their sacred books and

represented that under English rule the chastity of their mothers and sisters is not safe. . . . The danger of a conspiracy like this lies not so much in its prospect of success as in its fruition. When once the poison has entered the system, it is impossible to say where it will break out or how far-reaching will be its effects."

Ample evidence before us establishes the accuracy of this prediction. The fruition of the conspiracy has been tragic indeed. We will not dwell further on the dreary record of the Sonarang National School, which was rather an association organized for robbery and murder than a place of education. Nor need we tell the tale of the Madaripur High English School, of which two ex-pupils have been hanged, one committed murder and was afterwards killed fighting the police, others have been imprisoned and others bound over under the Criminal Procedure Code to be of good behaviour. But these are extreme instances of what has been going on in many places, especially in places affected by the ramifications of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. We have noticed also the recent murders of two head-masters for trying to do their duty,* and the following evidence shows how wide-reaching is the campaign against impressionable youth.

Latest efforts.

105. It will be remembered that one Amrita Lal Hazra was sentenced to fifteen years' transportation in connection with the Raja Bazar bomb case.† When his house in Calcutta was searched, a list of sixteen names was found in cipher, among which was the name of a certain Amulya Nath Sarkar. Further information was received regarding Amulya Nath Sarkar; and under the provisions of the Defence of India Act, this man's house at Pabna, on the south-west border of the old province of Eastern Bengal, was searched in September 1916. An interesting pamphlet was found therein which deals with the organization of an " Indian Liberating League " for " the expulsion of the greedy and selfish foreigners from the country. They cannot be driven out without the subversion of the established Government by means of arms and munitions required for a national rising." Among the various sections of organization with which this pamphlet deals is " Different processes and places of recruiting."

The pamphlet groups under this heading the following :—

"1. *Process.*—By public oration, by press publications, and by individual coaching.

2. *Places.*—Schools and colleges, places of public amusement, theatres, etc., in ceremonies where relatives are assembled and so on, through philanthropic work.

Classes of recruits—according to their place in life—

1st class —boys before they reach maturity :
2nd class—youths before their marriage :
3rd class—married young men :
4th class—aged and worldly men.

Next : classes according to their activity and utility—

1st class—boys who are prosecuting their studies :
2nd class—young men who will venture anything, even at the risk of their lives :
3rd class—those who will help with money only :
4th class—those who have genuine sympathy only.

These classes should be grouped under respective circles."

Later on the pamphlet runs—

" *Different processes of recruiting*—

(1) Through schoolmasters and Professors of colleges; through the drill and gymnastic masters.

* * * * * *

(5) Through students' messes and hostels both private and public.
(6) Through meritorious students and company with young boys, behaving with them as younger brothers, helping them when needed with material help."

Again we find that when last year a certain Jogendra Bhattacharji of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti was arrested at Bhagalpur in Bihar last year,

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* See paragraphs 74 and 81.
† See paragraph 61.

a document was found among his papers which discloses an elaborate scheme for the perversion of whole neighbourhoods through organizations of students and schoolboys.

Summary.

106. We have marshalled in this chapter only the most prominent parts of the testimony which has convinced us that the revolutionary associations have spared no pains to secure recruits from schools and colleges. By elaborate endeavour and astutely devised methods they have achieved a degree of success which, unless strongly countered by combined official and non-official effort, must gravely prejudice the future of Bengal.

CHAPTER VII.

GERMAN PLOTS.

German interest in indian revolution.

107. Bernhardi in his book " Germany and the Next War," published in October 1911, had indicated the German hope that the Hindu population of Bengal, in which a pronounced revolutionary and nationalist tendency showed itself, might unite with the Muhammadans of India and that the co-operation of these elements might create a very grave danger capable of shaking the foundations of England's high position in the world.

On the 6th of March 1914 the *Berliner Tageblatt* published an article on " England's Indian Trouble," depicting a very gloomy situation in India and representing that secret societies flourished and spread and were helped from outside. In California especially, it was said there appeared to be an organized enterprise for the purpose of providing India with arms and explosives.

Plot of Hardayal and German agents.

108. According to the case disclosed by the prosecution in a State trial which opened in San Francisco on the 22nd of November 1917 Hardayal* had planned a campaign in America prior to 1911 with German agents and Indian revolutionaries in Europe and in pursuance of the scheme founded the *Ghadr* Revolutionary Party in California, spreading throughout California, Oregon and Washington the German doctrine that the Fatherland would strike England.

German use of Indian nationalists.

109. In September 1914 a young Tamil named Chempakaraman Pillai, President of a body in Zurich called the International Pro-India Committee, applied to the German Consul in Zurich to obtain permission for him to publish anti-British literature in Germany. In October 1914 he left Zurich to work under the German Foreign Office in Berlin. He established there the " Indian National Party " attached to the German General Staff. It included among its members Hardayal, the founder of the *Ghadr*, Taraknath Das, Barkatulla, Chandra K. Chakrabarti and Heramba Lal Gupta (two of the accused in the German-Indian conspiracy trial in San Francisco).

The Germans appear to have employed the members of the Indian party at first chiefly in the production of anti-British literature, which was as far as possible disseminated in all regions where it might be expected to do injury to Great Britain.

At a later stage they were engaged in other duties. Barkatulla was detailed to direct a campaign to win Indian prisoners of war captured by the Germans from the British ranks from their allegiance. Pillai was at one time trusted with a Berlin Foreign Office code, which he made over in Amsterdam in 1915 to an agent who was leaving for Bangkok *via* America to start a printing plant and publish war news to be smuggled over the Siamese-Burmese frontier. Heramba Lal Gupta was for a time Indian agent of Germany in America and arranged with Boehm, of whom more will be said, that he should go to Siam and train men for an attack on Burma. Gupta was succeeded as German agent in America by Chakrabarti under the following letter of the Berlin Foreign Office :—

" Berlin, February 4th, 1916.

THE GERMAN EMBASSY, WASH.

In future all Indian affairs are to be exclusively handled by the Committee to be formed by Dr. Chakravarty. Birendra Sarkar and Heramba Lal Gupta, which latter person has meantime been expelled from Japan, thus cease to be independent representatives of the Indian Independence Committee existing here.

(Sd.) ZIMMERMAN."

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* A Hindu ex-student of the Punjab University. See paragraph 130.

German schemes against India.

110. The German General Staff had definite schemes aimed directly against India. It is with such schemes, in so far as they depended on co-operation with the non-Muhammadan population of India, that this chapter is chiefly concerned.

The scheme which depended on Moslem disaffection was directed against the North-Western Frontier, but the other schemes, which relied upon co-operation with the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco and the Bengali revolutionaries, centred in Bangkok and Batavia. The Bangkok scheme depended chiefly on returned Sikhs of the *Ghadr* party, the Batavian scheme upon the Bengalis. Both the schemes were under the general direction of the Consul-General for Germany in Shanghai acting under orders from the German Embassy at Washington.

The German plot in Bengal.

111. In August 1915 the French Police reported that it was generally believed among revolutionary Indians in Europe that a rebellion would break out in India in a short time and that Germany would support the movement with all her power. What ground there was for this belief the following recital of facts will show.

In November 1914 Pingley (a Maratha) and Satyendra Sen (a Bengali) arrived in Calcutta from America by the S.S. *Salamis*. Pingley went up-country to help to organize a rising there.* Satyendra remained in Calcutta at No. 159, Bow Bazar.

Towards the close of 1914 it was reported to the police that the partners in a *swadeshi* cloth-shop named the Sramajibi Samabyaya, viz., Ram Chandra Mazumdar and Amarendra Chatarji, were scheming with Jatindra Mukharji, Atul Ghosh and Narendra Bhattacharji to keep arms on a large scale.

Early in 1915 certain of the Bengal revolutionaries met and decided to organize and put the whole scheme of raising a rebellion in India with the help of Germans upon a proper footing, establishing co-operation between revolutionaries in Siam and other places with Bengal and getting into touch with the Germans, and that funds should be raised by dacoities.

Thereupon the Garden Reach and Beliaghata dacoities were committed on the 12th January and 22nd February which brought in Rs. 40,000. Bholanath Chatarji had already been sent to Bangkok to get in touch with conspirators there. Jitendra Nath Lahiri, who arrived in Bombay from Europe early in March, brought to the Bengal revolutionaries offers of German help and invited them to send an agent to Batavia to co-operate. A meeting was thereupon held, as a result of which Naren Bhattacharji was sent to Batavia to discuss plans with the Germans there. He started in April and adopted the pseudonym of C. Martin. In the same month another Bengali, Abani Mukharji, was sent by the conspirators to Japan, while the leader, Jatin Mukharji, went into hiding at Balasore owing to the police investigations in connection with the Garden Reach and Beliaghata dacoities. In the same month the S.S. *Maverick*, of which more will be told, started on a voyage from San Pedro in California.

On his arrival at Batavia " Martin " was introduced by the German Consul to Theodor Helfferich, who stated that a cargo of arms and ammunition was on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution. "Martin" then urged that the ship should be diverted to Bengal. This was eventually agreed to after reference to the German Consul-General in Shanghai. " Martin " then returned to make arrangements to receive the cargo of the *Maverick*, as the ship was called, at Rai Mangal in the Sundarbans. The cargo was said to consist of 30,000 rifles with 400 rounds of ammunition each and 2 lakhs of rupees. Meanwhile " Martin " had telegraphed to Harry & Sons in Calcutta, a bogus firm kept by a well-known revolutionary, that " business was helpful." In June Harry & Sons wired to " Martin " for money, and then began a series of remittances from Helfferich in Batavia to Harry & Sons in Calcutta between June and August, which aggregated Rs. 43,000, of which the revolutionaries received Rs. 33,000 before the authorities discovered what was going on.

" Martin " returned to India in the middle of June, and the conspirators Jatin Mukharji, Jadu Gopal Mukharji, Narendra Bhattacharji (" Martin "),

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* See paragraphs 121 and 138.

Bholanath Chatarji and Atul Ghosh set about making plans to receive the *Maverick's* cargo and employ it to the best advantage. They decided to divide the arms into three parts, to be sent respectively to—

(1) Hatia, for the Eastern Bengal districts, to be worked by the members of the Barisal party.
(2) Calcutta.
(3) Balasore.

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 Chatarji was sent to Chakradharpur to take charge of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, while Satish Chakrabarti was to go to Ajay and blow up the bridge on the East Indian Railway. Naren Chaudhuri and Phanindra Chakrabarti 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 Bepin 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. The German officers arriving in the *Maverick* were to stay in Eastern Bengal and raise and train armies.

In the meantime, the work of taking delivery of the cargo of the *Maverick* was apparently arranged by Jadu Gopal Mukharji who is said to have placed himself in communication with a zamindar in the vicinity of Rai Mangal, who had promised to provide men, lighters, etc., for the unloading of the vessel. The *Maverick* would arrive at night and would be recognised by a series of lamps hung horizontally. It was hoped that the first distribution of arms would take place by the 1st of July 1915.

There is no doubt that some men, under instructions from Atul Ghosh, actually went down by boat to the neighbourhood of Rai Mangal to help in the unloading of the *Maverick*. They seem to have stayed there for about ten days, but by the end of June the *Maverick* had not arrived, nor had any message been received from Batavia to explain the delay.

While the conspirators were waiting for the *Maverick* a Bengali arrived from Bangkok on the 3rd July with a message from Atmaram, a Punjabi conspirator there, that the German Consul in Siam was sending by boat a consignment of 5,000 rifles and ammunition and 1 lakh of rupees to Rai Mangal. The conspirators thinking this was in substitution of the *Maverick's* cargo induced the Bengali messenger to return to Bangkok *via* Batavia and tell Helfferich not to change the original plan and that other consignments of arms might be landed at Hatia (Sandwip) and Balasore in the Bay of Bengal or Gokarni on the west coast of India, south of Karwar. In July Government learnt of the projected landing of arms at Rai Mangal and took precautions.

On the 7th August the police, on information received, searched the premises of Harry & Sons and effected some arrests.

On the 13th August one of the conspirators sent from Bombay a warning telegram to Helfferich in Java and on the 15th of August Narendra Bhattacharji (" Martin ") and another started for Batavia to discuss matters with Helfferich.

On the 4th of September the Universal Emporium at Balasore, a branch of Harry & Sons, was searched, as also a revolutionary retreat at Kaptipada 20 miles distant, where a map of the Sunderbans was found together with a cutting from a Penang paper about the *Maverick*. Eventually a gang of five Bengalis was " rounded up," and in the fight which ensued Jatin Mukharji, the leader, and Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri, the murderer of Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukharji, were killed.

During this year nothing more was heard from " Martin " by the conspirators and eventually two of them went to Goa to try and telegraph to Batavia. On the 27th December 1915 the following telegram was sent to " Martin " at Batavia from Goa :—" How doing—no news; very anxious. B. Chatterton." This led to inquiries in Goa and two Bengalis were found,

one of whom proved to be Bholanath Chatarji. He committed suicide in the Poona Jail on the 27th January 1916.

Ships chartered by Germany.

112. We will now shortly narrate the story of the *Maverick* and another vessel, the *Henry S.*, both of which started from America for Eastern waters in connection with the German plot, and describe certain other schemes entertained by the Germans.

The S.S. *Maverick* was an old oil tank steamer of the Standard Oil Company, which had been purchased by a German firm, F. Jebsen & Co., of San Francisco. She sailed about the 22nd of April 1915 from San Pedro in California without cargo. She had a crew of 25 officers and men and five so-called Persians, who signed on as waiters. They were all Indians and had been shipped by Von Brincken of the German Consulate at San Francisco and Ram Chandra, the successor of Hardayal on the *Ghadr*. One of them, Hari Singh, a Punjabi, had quantities of *Ghadr* literature in trunks. The *Maverick* went first to San Jose del Cabo in Lower California and obtained clearance for Anjer in Java. They then sailed for the Island of Socorro, 600 miles west of Mexico, to meet a schooner called the *Annie Larsen* which had a cargo of arms and ammunition purchased by a German in New York named Tauscher and shipped at San Diego on the *Annie Larsen*. The master of the *Maverick* had been instructed to stow the rifles in one of the empty oil tanks and flood them with oil and stow the ammunition in another tank, and in case of urgent necessity to sink the ship. The *Annie Larsen* never effected a meeting with the *Maverick* and after some weeks the *Maverick* sailed for Java *via* Honolulu. In Java she was searched by the Dutch authorities and found to be empty. The *Annie Larsen* eventually about the end of June 1915 arrived at Hoquiam in Washington territory where her cargo was seized by the United States authorities. It was claimed by Count Bernsdorf, the German Ambassador at Washington, as belonging to Germany, but the claim was disallowed by the American Government.

Helfferich took care of the crew of the *Maverick* in Batavia and eventually sent them back in her to America, " Martin " being substituted for Hari Singh. Thus " Martin " escaped to America. After his arrival there he was arrested by the American Government.

Another vessel which started in pursuance of a German-Indian plot was the *Henry S.*, a schooner with auxiliary screw. She cleared from Manila for Shanghai with a cargo of arms and ammunition which were discovered by the Customs authorities who made the master unload them before sailing Her destination was then changed to Pontianak. Eventually her motor broke down and she put into a port in the Celebes. She had on board two German-Americans, Wehde and Boehm. The general intention seems to have been that she should go to Bangkok and land some of her arms which were to be concealed in a tunnel at Pakoh on the Siam-Burma frontier while Boehm trained Indians on the frontier for the invasion of Burma. Boehm was arrested in Singapore on his way from Batavia, which he had reached from the Celebes. He had joined the *Henry S.* at Manila under instructions received from Heramba Lal Gupta in Chicago, and was instructed by the German Consul at Manila to see that 500 revolvers were landed at Bangkok and the rest of the consignment of 5,000 sent on to Chittagong. The arms were said to be revolvers with rifle stocks; probably therefore they were Mauser pistols.

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 Kai Mangal was no longer a safe landing-place and suggested 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 addressees in Calcutta : he never delivered his message for he was arrested at Singapore with the money on his person.

At the same time the Bengali who had accompanied " Martin " to Batavia was sent to Shanghai to confer with the German Consul General there and to return in the ship destined for Hatia. He reached Shanghai with some difficulty and was arrested there.

Meanwhile the Calcutta conspirators, after Jatin Mukharji's death, had gone into asylum at Chandernagore. Upon the arrest of the Bengali messenger in Shanghai the last scheme of the Germans for landing arms in the Bay of Bengal appears to have been abandoned.

Wehde, Boehm and Heramba Lal Gupta were tried and convicted in a State trial at Chicago for their share in the German-Indian plots. The San Francisco trial which began in November 1917 resulted in further convictions in connection with these plots, but the details have not yet reached India.

Shanghai arrests.

113. In October 1915 the Shanghai Municipal Police arrested two Chinamen in possession of 129 automatic pistols and 20,830 rounds of ammunition which they had been instructed by a German named Nielsen to take to Calcutta concealed in the centre of bundles of planks. The address to which they were to be delivered was Amarendra Chatarji, Sramajibi Samabyaya, Calcutta. Amarendra was one of the conspirators who absconded to Chandernagore.

The address of Nielsen, namely, 32, Yangtsepoo Road, which was proved in the trial of these Chinamen, appears in a note-book found on the person of Abani, the emissary to Japan mentioned in paragraph 5, when he was arrested at Singapore on his homeward voyage. There is reason to believe that this or a similar plot was hatched in consultation with Rash Behari Basu, who was then living in Nielsen's house, for pistols which Rash Behari wished to send to India were obtained by a Chinaman from the Mai Tah dispensary, 108, Chao Tung Road, which was one of Nielsen's addresses recorded in the note-book. Another revolutionary who lived in the same house was Abinash Ray. He had been concerned in Shanghai in German schemes for sending arms to India and asked Abani to give a message to Mati Lal Ray at Chandernagore saying everything was all right and they must devise some means by which Ray could be got safely into India. Abani's note-book contained the addresses of Mati Lal Ray and several other known revolutionaries of Chandernagore, Calcutta, Dacca and Comilla. Among other addresses was that of Amar Singh, engineer, Pakoh, Siam, the place in which it had been arranged that some of the arms on the *Henry S.* should be concealed. Amar Singh was sentenced to death at Mandalay and hanged.

German schemes ill-informed.

114. Our examination of the German arms schemes suggests that the revolutionaries concerned were far too sanguine and that the Germans with whom they got in touch were very ignorant of the movement of which they attempted to take advantage.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

The Province of Bihar and Orissa.

115. Bengal is separated from the centre of Northern India by the province of Bihar and Orissa. Formerly both provinces were united under a Lieutenant-Governor; but after the partition of 1905, Bihar and Orissa were incorporated with a new province of Western Bengal, and finally they were constituted a separate charge by the King's Proclamation of December the 12th, 1911.

The early history of the revolutionary movement in Bengal from the years 1906 to 1911 includes the narrative of events in Bihar and Orissa but in fact concerned that province little. There are considerable differences of race and language between the inhabitants thereof and those of Bengal, although many Bengali settlers and Hindus of Bengali descent reside in Bihar and Orissa. Intellectually keener, as a rule, than the true natives of the province, these have become prominent in Government services, in offices of all kinds and at the Bar.

Early manifestations of the revolutionary movement.

116. The first revolutionary crimes committed in Bihar were the Muzaffarpur murders. These, as we have shown in Chapter IV, paragraph 37, were committed by two youths deputed by the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti. They resulted from the transfer from Calcutta to Muzaffarpur of a Magistrate obnoxious to the revolutionaries. The subsequent trial of the Alipore conspiracy case disclosed a connection between Deoghar, a place in the Santal Parganas of Bihar, and some of the conspirators. Deoghar is a health resort and a place of pilgrimage. Rajnarayan Basu, who had settled there, was the grandfather of Barindra and Arabinda Ghosh, and Barindra himself had been largely educated in Deoghar. He had belonged to a Deoghar society called the Golden League, the object of which was to forward the boycott and *swadeshi* agitation. A printer of the *Jugantar* was a Bengali from Patna; and members of the revolutionary party have visited or worked on a farm near Deoghar. During the trial of the Alipore conspirators, it appeared that a house at Deoghar, known as Sil's Lodge, had been hired and used for the preparation of bombs and training of associates. Some bomb material was found here as late as 1915. Exhibit No. 777 in the Alipore bomb case was a copy of the newspaper *Bande Mataram,* which bore the name of Prafulla Chaki (one of the Muzaffarpur murderers) and had been found in Sil's Lodge.

After the Muzaffarpur tragedy, however, Bihar had a long respite from political crime; and the next incidents that have claimed our attention were also murders committed by revolutionaries from outside the province. The circumstances of these murders were remarkable, and show clearly the baneful influence exercised by the Bengal propaganda of robbery and homicide on youthful minds, outside Bengal. They also show how, despite professions of religion and patriotism, those bitten with this propaganda could not only ignore all human pity but select as a victim an unoffending person belonging to a calling held in special reverence by Hindus.

The Nimez murders.

117. Moti Chand and Manik Chand, two Hindu youths, belonging to the Jain sect which is peculiarly averse to taking life of any kind, were natives of Sholapur, a district in the Bombay Presidency. They had at first studied at home and in Poona, but afterwards, with two other Maratha Jains, joined the school of a Jain named Arjun Lal Sethi in the State of Jaipur. According to Manik Chand they had read previously and brought with them to Jaipur such books as the *Life of Mazzini*, *The first eight years of Tilak*, cuttings from such newspapers as the *Kal*, the *Bhola* and the *Kesari*: and at the school which they had joined in order to study religion and with

it " secure a general education,"* they and their companions received visits and lectures from one Bishan Datta, a Brahmin and a preacher aged about 40, a native of the Mirzapur district in the United Provinces and a resident of Benares.

Arjun Lal's school was mainly religious, but Bishan Datta's lectures were political. " Besides the excellent sentiment that man should serve his country he inculcated first the duty of attaining *swaraj* (self-government), a boon which he did not define, though *inter alia* he wanted a parliament with Hindu representatives, and secondly, the view that the committing of dacoity was the road to *swaraj*."† To attain *swaraj* dacoities should be taught. They should be committed in order to obtain funds wherewith to procure revolvers and pistols whereby to facilitate robbery by violence. Bishan Datta would gain followers and organize dacoity on a grand scale. He pointed out to the students various examples of political woes under which the country suffered. He spoke on this topic to the students individually or in twos and threes, but never to more than five at a time. He also " praised men like Kanai Lal Datta " (the murderer of the informer Narendra Gosain). On his third visit to Arjun Lal's school he said to Moti Chand, Manik Chand and Jai Chand (another student), " Up to this it has been only theory. It is now time to do something practical," and added, " Are you ready?" His audience well understood him to be asking them to promote *swaraj* by committing a dacoity and consented to his proposal. He proceeded to explain that there was an opportunity for dacoity, and offered, if they were ready, to take them to the place suited for the purpose. The name of this place he did not then disclose. They agreed. Under the guidance of Bishan Datta they left the boarding-house two or three days later, were joined by a certain Joravar Singh, whom they did not know previously, and during an intermediate short stay at far-distant Benares, learnt from Bishan Datta that the victim was to be a Hindu Mohant or abbot who resided in and looked after a small temple in Nimez, in Bihar, and was believed to be wealthy. After a preliminary reconnoitre by two of the associates, Moti Chand, Manik Chand, Jai Chand and Joravar Singh started on the expedition, supplied by Bishan Datta with funds for the journey and with heavy staffs in case of resistance. They carried out their enterprise, murdered the Mohant in the most treacherous and brutal manner, as well as an unfortunate boy who happened to be acting as his servant, but could not find the key of his safe which contained cash and property worth about Rs. 17,000. Consequently they returned to Bishan Datta with nothing but a time-piece and a drinking pot. He informed them that they had been fools and had taken a man's life needlessly.

This abominable crime was perpetrated on the 20th of March 1913; and it was not till a year later that any clue was obtained to its authorship. Then Arjun Lal Sethi, who had left Jaipur and proceeded to Indore to start another school there, fell under the suspicion of the police who were enquiring into the Delhi conspiracy case. He had brought with him from Jaipur a certain Sheo Narayan, among whose belongings objectionable papers were found. On examination Sheo Narayan told the police that, when he was residing at the boarding-house of Arjun Lal's school at Jaipur, there arrived about January 1913 a visitor named Bishan Datta. Subsequently three students of the institution named Moti Chand, Manik Chand, and Jai Chand left the boarding-house together, ostensibly on pilgrimage, and on their return some 25 days later, related, in the presence of himself, Arjun Lal, and some of the other young men, how they had killed a *sadhu* (Hindu ascetic), but had been unable to get any of his money, which it was their object to secure. This disclosure started a prolonged investigation. Moti Chand was convicted and hanged. Bishan Datta was transported for ten years, as it was held that he had not instigated the murder but only the dacoity. The Sessions Judge found that Arjun Lal " must

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* See the judgment of the Sessions Judge of Shahabad in the case King-Emperor *versus* Moti Chand and Bishan Datta.

† We are quoting from the judgment of the Sessions Judge of Shahabad in the case of King-Emperor *versus* Moti Chand and Bishan Datta.

have been aware of the object with which three of his free boarder students took their departure on pilgrimage."

Other incidents.

118. We find that in 1913 Sachindra Sanyal, subsequently prominent in the Benares* conspiracy case, started a branch of his Benares Samiti at Bankipur, the capital of Bihar, with a view apparently to obtain recruits from the college there. One of the successive organizers of this branch was Bankim Chandra Mitra, a Bengali student at the Bihar National College subsequently convicted in the Benares conspiracy case. While still at the college he instilled " love of the country " into the mind of Raghubir Singh, a Bihari student. The manner in which this was done was thus described in Court by a fellow-student: " Bankim Chandra entered the Bihar National College. He formed a society where he used to give instruction in the works of Vivekananda. I was the master. An oath was taken on entering the society, by the name of God and priests, not to divulge the secrets of the society to any outsider. We were told that we should strive against the British Government, that they should be driven out of the country. We must make preparations so as to be in a position to turn them out." Shortly after receiving this instruction, Raghubir Singh assisted in the distribution of *Liberty* leaflets, and subsequently migrating to Allahabad, obtained the post of clerk in the depôt office of the 113th Infantry. While holding that position he was convicted of distributing more *Liberty* pamphlets containing exhortations to rebellion and murder, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. The next signs of revolutionary activity in Bihar were the arrivals at Bhagalpur of first one and then another member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti for the purpose of corrupting the students of that place. The most important of these emissaries was Rebati Nag, since murdered by his fellow-conspirators. The method of argument adopted by this man will best be appreciated by quotations from the statements of students on the subject:—

(*a*) From a statement made by a student of the Tej Narayan Jubilee College, Bhagalpur, on the 29th of March 1917:—

" Rebati frequently talked about the Motherland and told us that we (meaning Biharis) are doing nothing for the sake of the Motherland and exhorted me to emulate the students of Bengal. He frequently told me that there is no strong public opinion in Bihar and there are no political leaders. He always told me that we should always be ready to lay down our lives for the sake of the Mother-Country. He told me that the Bengalis committed dacoities not for personal gain but for the welfare of the country. He always advised me to read the accounts of dacoities, political arrests, outrages and house-searches and to think over the matter. In short, he told me that we Biharis should do the same work as is done by the anarchists in Bengal. He pointed out to me that it is not possible for Bengalis to work in Bihar. They (Bengalis) can only educate and instruct the Biharis. Rebati talked about the above subjects when we were alone. He expressly instructed me not to broach upon the above matters in presence of anybody."

(*b*) We may next quote an extract from a statement made on the 20th of December 1917 by a pupil of the Barari High English School, Bhagalpur:—

" Rebati impressed upon me that the British had ruined us by obstructing the growth of nationalism in India and checking the progress of education and other good causes which go to build up our nationality. Rebati further said that the British were holding a thousand times better appointments than the Indians and were taking away all the wealth of our Motherland. The British, he said, were trying to keep us as a servile nation all throughout our lives. He quoted several instances of Bengal and said how beautifully the members of the revolutionary party were working there and that it was our duty here to raise ourselves in the same level with them and a time would come when we 33 crores of Indians by proper unity would free our Motherland and make her free from the British nation. He went on to

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* See paragraph 121.

show that out of 33 crores only three crores were getting bread and the rest were starving in India.

" Rebati further told me that a Government like the one held by the late Ram Chandra, Dasarathi and Janak of the golden age (*Ramayan* period) with ministers like the saint Biswamitra, should be established in India by the Indians by expelling the British. In short, he said that we ought to have a model Government like the one in the golden age, when there was no famine or sin among the governing body and the people. He quoted several passages from the *Ramayan* to impress me further."

Rebati Nag obtained some recruits and established a retreat for absconders, but was subsequently induced to flee by the arrival of an officer from Bengal to arrest him. Propagandism, however, went on after his departure, and recruits were obtained in several districts. Through the activities of the police, however, and the use of the Defence Act no outrages have occurred in Bihar since the Nimez murders.

The Cuttack district of Orissa was the scene of a brutal dacoity planned and carried out from Calcutta by some revolutionaries on the 20th of September 1914, with the assistance of an Uriya student; and the Balasore district is famous for the fight between the police and the party of Jatindra Nath Mukharji mentioned in our paragraphs 70 and 111. The latter had established a farm or refuge near the Orissa coast and contemplated gun-running.

Conclusions regarding Bihar and Orissa.

119. We find that the province of Bihar and Orissa has been slightly affected by the revolutionary movement, although it has been the scene of two of its worst crimes. This province, however, has been used, and will in all probability continue to be used, both as a seed-bed for propaganda and as a harbour for absconders. Hitherto the character of the general population and the vigilance of the authorities, assisted by the operation of the Defence of India Act, have been able to prevent graver mischief.

CHAPTER IX.

REVOLUTIONARY EFFORTS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

The United Provinces before the Benares conspiracy case.

120. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh are separated from Bengal by Bihar and Orissa, and are geographically the heart of Upper India. They contain the cities of Benares and Allahabad, sacred in the eyes of all Hindus, Agra once the centre of the old Moghul Empire, and Lucknow formerly the capital of a Moslem kingdom. They were the main battle-field of 1857.

The first determined and persistent impulse towards a revolutionary movement in these now peaceful Provinces came from the establishment of the *Swarajya* (self-government) newspaper in Allahabad in November 1907, by a certain Shanti Narain, a native of the United Provinces, who had formerly been sub-editor of a Punjab newspaper and desired to commemorate the release of Lajput Rai and Ajit Singh, the Punjab deportees.* The tone of this paper was hostile to Government from the first and gradually intensified in virulence. Finally Shanti Narain was condemned to a long term of imprisonment for objectionable articles on the Muzaffarpur murders. The *Swarajya*, however, proceeded on its way under eight successive editors, three of whom were prosecuted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for objectionable publications. Seven of these editors came from the Punjab. The paper was only suppressed when the new Indian Press Act of 1910 came into force. Of its offending articles one was a panegyric on Khudiram Basu, the Muzaffarpur murderer, others related to such subjects as "Bomb or Boycott," "Tyrant and oppressor." Notwithstanding the perseverance with which the paper waged war on the Government, it produced no visible effect in the Provinces. The *Karmayogin*, a paper of similar tendencies published late in 1909, also at Allahabad, and suppressed in 1910, was equally ineffective.

In 1908 a certain Hoti Lal Varma, a Jat who had dabbled in Punjab journalism and was then correspondent at Aligarh of the Calcutta paper *Bande Mataram*, edited by Arabinda Ghosh and some associates, distinguished himself by revolutionary propagandism and was sentenced to ten years' transportation. He had travelled in the Far East and in Europe, and had come under pernicious influences. He was found in possession of portions of a bombing manual exactly similar to that compiled by the Calcutta Anusilan Samiti and had endeavoured to preach sedition to the youth of Aligarh, an important educational centre, but had attained no success. His trial attracted no local interest.

The Benares conspiracy case.

121. We now come to the story of the Benares conspiracy case. The famous city of Benares possesses many schools and two important colleges A large proportion of its standing population is Bengali and Bengalis frequently resort there, as do Hindu pilgrims from all parts of India. It was inevitable that sooner or later the poisonous influences potent elsewhere should penetrate in some measure to Benares.

In the year 1908 a young Bengali named Sachindra Nath Sanyal, then studying in the highest class of the Bengalitola High School, together with other youths, started a club called the Anusilan Samiti. The title was borrowed from the then flourishing Dacca Anusilan Samiti. But when that association became the object of criminal proceedings, the Benares Samiti assumed the title of "Young Men's Association." It is remarkable that to this body belonged all but one of the residents of Benares subsequently accused in the conspiracy case, and the one exception was a member of a kindred organisation, the "Students' Union League." The ostensible object of the original samiti was the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of its

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* See paragraph 128.

members, but in the words of the Commissioners who tried the Benares conspiracy case*: "There is no doubt that Sachindra aimed at making the society an instrument for the spread of sedition. As Deb Narayan Mukharji, a former member, has told us, the members used to express themselves vehemently against the action of the Government. According to Bibhuti the society contained an inner circle consisting of those who were fully initiated into its real objects, and the teaching of sedition was mainly effected through a so-called moral class at which the *Bhagavad Gita* was so interpreted as to form a justification even for assassination. At the performance of the annual Kali *puja* the sacrifice of a white pumpkin—a usual accompaniment of the ceremony which has in itself no sinister significance—was made to symbolise the white race for whose expulsion a special prayer was offered." There is evidence that, before the formation of this Anusilan Samiti, Benares had been visited by persons concerned in the Bengal revolutionary movement; and it is certain that Sachindra and his associates, who were then mere boys, and mainly Bengalis, were instigated by one or other of these persons.

The club continued to exist from 1909 to 1913, but not without dissension. First it lost some members who revolted from its political activities and from its hostility to Government. Then it lost its most violent members, including Sachindra himself. These were bitten by a desire to turn theory into practice, talk into action. They formed a new party which wished to work in close concert with the Bengal samitis. According to an approver who gave evidence at the subsequent trial, Sachindra visited Calcutta from time to time, was introduced to Sasanka Mohan Hazra *alias* Amrita Hazra, of Raja Bazar celebrity,† and obtained both funds and bombs. In the autumn of 1913 his associates distributed a number of seditious leaflets among Benares schools and colleges, and disseminated other leaflets by post. According to Bibhuti, the approver, they also used to make excursions into the country and give lectures to villagers. "The subject of the lecture," said this witness, "would be turning out the Europeans or to improve our condition. We openly preached the turning out of the Europeans and improving our condition in that way." Early in 1914 the notorious Rash Behari Basu, of the Delhi and Lahore conspiracy cases, arrived in Benares and practically took charge of the movement. Although a reward had been offered for his arrest, and his photograph had been widely circulated, he succeeded in residing in Benares throughout the greater part of the year 1914, apparently without the knowledge of the police. Benares is a cosmopolitan city, and the various communities tend to lead separate lives in the densely crowded streets of particular quarters. Bengalitola, the Bengali special quarter, is largely self-contained. Thus it is very difficult for up-country police, who do not speak Bengali, to keep in touch with doings and arrivals in that neighbourhood. Rash Behari lived near Bengalitola and generally took outdoor exercise at night. He was visited by various members of the Sachindra gang, and on one occasion gave a demonstration of the use of bombs and revolvers. While he was examining two bomb caps on the night of November the 18th, 1914, they exploded and injured both him and Sachindra. After that, he shifted his residence to a house in Bengalitola. There he was visited by a young Maratha named Vishnu Ganesh Pingley, who belonged to the Poona district of Bombay. Pingley had been in America and had returned to India in November 1914, in the company of some Sikhs of the *Ghadr* party.‡ "He said that four thousand men had come from America for the purpose of rebellion and that there were twenty thousand more there who would come when the rebellion broke out. He said that there were fifteen thousand men at Calcutta who would come when rebellion broke out." Rash Behari had despatched Sachindra to the Punjab to see what could be done there. Sachindra performed his mission informed certain of the *Ghadr* revolutionaries there who

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* See judgment, Benares conspiracy case.

† Evidence of approver Bibhuti. See too paragraph 61. Amrita Hazra was convicted in the Raja Bazar case.

‡ See paragraphs 132–38.

desired instruction in making bombs that this instruction was easily available, and promised Bengali assistance.

In January 1915, Sachindra returned to Benares with Pingley; and after their arrival, Rash Behari, who had again shifted his residence, held in their presence an important meeting of the gang. He announced that a general rebellion was impending, and informed his audience that they must be prepared to die for their country. A schoolmaster named Damodar Sarup was to be leader at Allahabad. Rash Behari himself was going to Lahore with Sachindra and Pingley. Two men were assigned to bring bombs and arms from Bengal, and two others, one a Maratha named Vinayak Rao Kapile,* to convey bombs to the Punjab. Another couple, Bibhuti and Priya Nath, were to seduce the troops at Benares, while a Bengali named Nalini was to do the same at Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. Arrangements were made for executing these plans; Rash Behari and Sachindra departed for Lahore and Delhi, but Sachindra returned directly to take command at Benares. On February the 14th, Mani Lal, afterwards an approver, and Vinayak Rao Kapile, both natives of Western India, left Benares for Lahore with a parcel containing material for eighteen bombs. In order to protect the parcel from accidental contact, as the train was crowded, they travelled intermediate from Lucknow and paid excess fares, both at Lucknow and Moradabad. They had originally taken third class fares. On arrival at Lahore, Mani Lal was informed by Rash Behari that the date for simultaneous armed rebellion would be on the 21st of the month. Intimation of this date was conveyed to Benares; but afterwards it was changed because the Lahore plotters had reason to suspect that one of their number had informed the police. The conspirators, however, left behind at Benares under Sachindra never learnt of the change, and waited on the parade ground on the evening of the 21st expecting a rising. In the meantime, events at Lahore had exploded the conspiracy, and many arrests had been made. Rash Behari and Pingley returned to Benares, but only for some days, and the latter took bombs with him to Meerut, where he was arrested on the 23rd of March in the lines of the 12th Indian Cavalry with a box in his possession containing ten bombs, " sufficient to annihilate half a regiment :" he was afterwards convicted of participation in the Lahore conspiracy and sentenced to death. The bombs which were found in his possession had, according to the approver Bibhuti, been brought to Benares from Calcutta and left in store there. When discovered with Pingley they were in a tin trunk. Five had their caps on, and there were two separate caps with gun-cotton inside.

Rash Behari left the country after a final interview with a few of his Benares disciples at Calcutta, in the course of which he informed them that he was going to " some hills " and would not be back for two years. They were, however, to continue organization and distribution of seditious literature during his absence under the leadership of Sachindra and Nagendra Nath Datta *alias* Girija Babu, of Eastern Bengal, a veteran associate of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti whose name appears in a note-book belonging to Abani Mukharji, a Bengali arrested at Singapore in connection with the Bengal-German gun-running plot.† Sachindra, Girija Babu, and other members of the gang were subsequently arrested and tried by a Court constituted under the Defence of India Act. Several turned approvers; ten were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, and Sachindra Nath Sanyal was transported for life. Evidence given at the trial established charges of various attempts to tamper with troops and distribution of seditious leaflets, as well as the incidents above narrated.

During the police investigation Bibhuti, one of the informers, alleged that he and his accomplices had stopped at the house of one Suresh Babu in Chandernagore. This house was promptly raided; and an armoury of weapons was discovered, a ·450 six-chambered revolver, a tin of cartridges for the same, a breech-loading rifle, a double-barrelled ·500 Express rifle, a double-barrelled gun, seventeen daggers, a number of cartridges, and a packet of gunpowder, several *Swadhin Bharat* and *Liberty* leaflets. The house had not previously come under suspicion. In the possession of Sachindra Nath Sanyal were found copies of the old *Jugantar* and photographs of political murderers. At the very moment of his arrest he was preparing seditious

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* Lately murdered at Lucknow.
† See paragraph 111.

leaflets for the post; and in the house of the accused Bankim Chandra of Patna was discovered a *Life of Mazzini* annotated by Sachindra and bearing his name. " *On page 34 there were underlined sentences, with a pencil note on the margin ' Education through writings.' " The underlined sentences were " Its writings, smuggled into every corner of the land, moved many a young thinker to a passionate resolve that bore fruit in after time." Another underlined sentence was " Here are we," said Jacopo Ruffini to his fellow-conspirators at Genoa, " five very young men, with but limited means, and we are called on to do nothing less than overthrow an established government."

Of the Benares convicts only one belonged by race to the United Provinces. Most were Bengalis and all were Hindus. Reviewing the whole circumstances of the case, it may be said that the associates, receiving their original inspiration from Bengal, gradually became corrupted until, under the direction of Rash Behari, they formed an important link in the chain of a big revolutionary plot which came within an ace of causing widespread bloodshed at a highly critical time.

The case of Harnam Singh.

122. Shortly after the failure of the great *Ghadr* plot, including the Benares conspiracy, Harnam Singh, a Jat Sikh from the Punjab, once a havildar in the 9th Bhopal Infantry, and subsequently " chaudhri " of the regimental bazar, was arrested at Fyzabad in Oudh on a charge of complicity in the plans of the conspirators. It was proved that he had been corrupted by revolutionary pamphlets received from a student of Ludhiana in the Punjab named Sucha Singh, an emissary from Rash Behari; that he had afterwards visited the Punjab, and had distributed leaflets; that he had taken over a revolutionary flag and a copy of the *Ailan-i-Jang* (an appeal to the peoples of India to rise and murder or drive out all the Europeans in the country). This book was found in his house. His operations, however, were ineffective. He was convicted and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

" Jugantar " leaflets.

123. In November 1916 two Bengali youths were convicted by the District Magistrate of Benares of posting up *Jugantar* leaflets of the usual type in the city. One, Narayan Chandra De, was aged only twenty-four, but had already been active in corrupting youth, and had thrown a bomb at a train in Bengal. He had been a master at a Benares school called the Oriental Seminary, and was a teacher by profession. The other was a youth of nineteen, who was already serving a term of imprisonment, having been convicted of coining for political purposes. In this nefarious pastime he had been working under a certain Surnath Bhaduri, a Benares Bengali of notorious antecedents.

Other incidents.

124. These incidents show clearly that so far the revolutionary movement has not taken hold of any section of the people of the United Provinces, but that the position and circumstances of Benares will always render that city a point of peculiar peril. They prove that when contagion permeated, it spread gradually and secretly, through poisoncus literature and teachings, among uncritical and impressionable youths; that within these narrow limits it worked unchecked for years, and finally developed a conspiracy which almost achieved a horrible tragedy. Since judgment was passed on the Benares convicts, *Jugantar* leaflets have been posted up in public places of that city, and Bengal suspects have been arrested there. On three occasions students admitted to colleges in the United Provinces have been found either to have met, or to be in cipher correspondence with, Bengal revolutionaries; and on the night of February the 9th, 1918, Vinayak Rao Kapile, absconder in the Benares conspiracy case, was shot dead in Lucknow, it is believed, by some of his fellow-revolutionaries. He was certainly killed by a Mauser pistol bullet. During the subsequent police investigation a Bengali suspect was arrested in a house in which were discovered two ·450 revolvers and 219 rounds of Mauser pistol ammunition belonging apparently to the stolen Rodda consignment. Formulæ were also found for preparation of the tobacco tin bomb, together with picric acid and gun-cotton. After these discoveries leaflets of the usual type were posted in various towns of the provinces, apparently in order to frighten the authorities. These postings were probably the work of " post-box " youths.

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* Judgment, Benares conspiracy case.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

Nagpur in 1907-08.

125. Two resolutions passed at the Calcutta sessions of the Indian National Congress in December 1906 composed for a short space the differences between Moderates and Extremists. The first of these was "having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that province was and is legitimate." The second ran as follows, that "this Congress is of opinion that the system of government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies should be extended to India; and as steps leading to it, urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out." The proposed reforms were detailed, and at the close of the Congress proceedings, it was announced that the Congress of 1907 would be held at Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, once the seat of a Maratha kingdom.

Throughout 1907, however, there was continual friction between the Moderates and Extremists of Nagpur. The tone of the local Extremist press became more and more hostile to Government, and its influence on schoolboys and students grew more pronounced. A new journal, the *Hindi Kesari*, appeared on the 1st of May with the object of spreading among Hindi-speaking people, as well as among Marathas, the views expressed by Tilak's Marathi *Kesari* published at Poona. In the first nine months of circulation, the issues of the *Hindi Kesari* reached a weekly figure of 3,000, and its articles were considered so pernicious that circulation of the paper among soldiers was prohibited by the military authorities. Another prominent journal of the same character was the *Desha Sevak*, to which we shall refer later on.

But the tactics of the Nagpur Extremists were stoutly opposed by the Moderates, and so sharp was the contention that Surat in the Bombay Presidency was substituted for Nagpur as a place for the December sessions of the Congress. How seriously the latter city had been affected by the Extremist campaign is apparent from the following passages in a letter from the Chief Commissioner to the Inspector-General of Police, dated the 22nd of October 1907:—"I am not satisfied," wrote Mr. Craddock, "with the manner in which the police are dealing with student rowdiness in Nagpur. If things go on as they are going, all our respectable public men will be frightened away from Nagpur. For the future I am determined that rowdiness shall be put down. . . . I have asked the Commissioner to convene a meeting of Principals and Head Masters to discuss the question of enforcing discipline, but the police must catch the rowdy students before we can deal with them properly. Nagpur is being disgraced in the public press by continued incidents of this kind, and they must cease. . . It is time that Nagpur ceased to be a bear-garden of students moved by seditious agitators." Remedial measures were adopted, but things were not improved by a visit from Arabinda Ghosh, of Bengal notoriety, who arrived on the 22nd of December on his way to the Surat Congress and lectured in support of boycott and *swadeshi*. On his way home after the Congress, he halted at Nagpur and lectured again on the same subject. He also vindicated the conduct and policy of Tilak and the Extremists at Surat. Bengalis and Marathas, he said, were children of the same parents and should continue to share each other's sorrow and joy. *Swadeshi* and boycott flourished nowhere as they did in Bengal. No one in India had suffered as bravely for his country as the latter-day Bengalis, for instance the editor of the *Jugantar*.

Under such influences the tone of the Nagpur Extremist press intensified in the bitterest hostility to Government. Soon after the Muzaffarpur bomb outrages, the *Desha Sevak* of the 11th of May 1908 indulged in the following remarkable passages. It stated that among many shameful defects that had crept into the Indian nation through contact with the English was ignorance of bomb-making. Properly speaking, every respectable citizen ought to possess a good knowledge of the use of weapons, the preparation of bombs, etc. " The contact of the English, " it went on, " has rendered the condition of India so pitiful that people are wonderstruck at the most ordinary insignificant deeds. The whole place from Simla to Ceylon is filled with amazement at the taking of two or three lives by young Bengalis by means of a bomb. But the making of a bomb is such an easy matter that none should be surprised at all. It is a natural right of man to use weapons or to make bombs. If human laws prohibit this it is meet for us to submit, but this should not fill us with surprise for bombs. . . If the fact that these bombs were actually prepared at Calcutta is true, then we are greatly delighted. It is best that none should commit crime, but if the people are prompted to do wicked deeds they should be such as would become a man. To rob ornaments by deceit, to forge documents, to take false oaths or to burn people's houses at night are mean and feminine crimes. We think the action of Khudiram Basu in attempting to take the life of Mr. Kingsford is certainly very mean, and none should follow his example. We therefore express our loudest protest against such crimes and the making of bombs at Calcutta for this purpose. True that we should know how to make bombs, but we must ask and get this right from Government. To prepare bombs by breaking the laws is detestable. To murder the bureaucrats is not the way to regenerate the nation and it is not necessary to subvert the British Government for this purpose. To gain complete and unqualified independence, which is the ultimate object of our nation, this is not essential. We feel indignant at our Bengali brethren for not keeping this in mind. We must also congratulate Mr. Kingsford for escaping from Khudiram Basu's aim. Mr. Kingsford's doings as Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, were both outrageous and satanic."*

The *Hindi Kesari* of the 16th of May 1908 observed that, although the present editor of the *Jugantar* was undergoing trial, and in spite of the Maniktala arrests, the *Jugantar* was still appearing. Referring to the bomb conspiracy, the *Jugantar* stated that it was an attempt to become independent. The English are not the King of India. To wage war against dacoits, thieves and rascals could not be called conspiracy.

But in spite of these inflammatory utterances, the Maniktala† trial, the arrest of Tilak, and the firm attitude of the local Government induced sober reflection. Demonstrations which were held on Tilak's birthday, July the 18th, passed off quietly, and were shunned by Muhammadans, although a Mr. Haidar Raza arrived from Delhi and spoke of Tilak as the political *guru* or preceptor of the whole of India. Efforts were made to start riots on the conviction of Tilak; but these were quickly suppressed, and a meeting called to express sympathy with Tilak was prohibited. Some half a dozen persons were convicted of rioting and sentenced to be imprisoned or pay fines; seditious editors of newspapers were prosecuted and punished; and instructions were issued by the local Government for the taking of security under the Criminal Procedure Code from itinerant seditious orators for abstinence from action likely to disturb the public tranquillity. During the later months of 1908 seditious activity confined its energies to the tarring and mutilation of a statue of Queen Victoria. On November the 26th local " acts of violence " were ascribed by a leading Extremist politician in conversation with the Inspector-General of Police as due simply to " wrong individual impulse." He considered the *Jugantar* the only paper " likely to develop such wrong individual impulses." In fact the movement had spent

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* Mr. Kingsford had tried and convicted persons connected with seditious newspapers. He had also sentenced a boy named Sushil to receive fifteen stripes for resisting a police search of the *Bande Mataram* press.

† A Nagpur college student was among the Alipore accused.

its force, and a state of affairs which had once seemed likely to result in revolutionary developments completely subsided.

Incidents of 1915.

126. The Central Provinces did not, so far as we are aware, again come into contact with dangerous movements until in February 1915 Nalini Mohan Mukharji, one of the Benares conspirators, was deputed by Rash Behari to induce the troops at Jabalpur to join the rising planned by the *Ghadr* party for that month. Nalini failed to achieve success and was afterwards tried and convicted in the Benares conspiracy case. Subsequently Nalini Kanta Ghosh of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, who is by reputation connected with various Bengal outrages and has recently been arrested at Gauhati, Assam, in sensational circumstances, was found to have been touring through the Central Provinces; and at the end of 1915 an absconding Benares conspirator, Vinayak Rao Kapile, paid visits to Jabalpur in order to provide a refuge and establish a connection. He formed a knot of seven persons, namely, two students, two masters at a high school, a pleader, a clerk and a tailor. The tailor and one of the students were found to be mere post-boxes, and, though arrested, were discharged. The other five were interned and Vinayak's organization was nipped in the bud. He himself disappeared from the province and has since been murdered.*

The incident is a neat illustration of the way in which a revolutionary from outside sows evil seed in a place free from indigenous disaffection, and also of the way in which, by firm action taken in time, mischief can be arrested.

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* See paragraph 124.

CHAPTER XI.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE PUNJAB.

The troubles of 1907.

127. The North-Western Frontier Province and the Punjab divide India from Afghanistan and Central Asia. The Punjab has for years been by far the most fruitful recruiting ground for the Indian Army and to-day enjoys the same proud pre-eminence. Of its population, 55 per cent. is Muhammadan, 33 per cent. is Hindu, and 11 per cent. is Sikh. But the most martial section is the Sikh, which during the present war, with less than one-hundredth of the population, has supplied about one-sixth of the fighting forces of the Indian Empire. The Punjab, however, has by no means escaped revolutionary contagion, and our brief narrative must commence with the early months of the year 1907 when, as was noted at the time by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, then Lieutenant-Governor, everywhere people were sensible of a change, of a " new air " which was blowing through men's minds, and were waiting to see what would come of it. It will be remembered that at this time the *Jugantar* and similar publications were daily pouring forth their poison among thousands in Bengal, while the Alipore and Dacca conspirators were laying their plans, recruiting their ranks and collecting their weapons. It is not surprising that simultaneously new ideas should be fermenting elsewhere in India.

128. The situation in the Punjab at the end of April 1907 was clearly depicted in a minute by Sir Denzil Ibbetson from which we may quote some passages. His Honour stated that in the east and west of the province the new ideas were confined to the educated classes, and among them, in the main, to the pleaders, clerks and students. " As the centre of the province is approached, however," he wrote, " the feeling in the towns grows stronger, and there are greater signs of activity and unrest. In the cities of Amritsar and Ferozepore there has been an attempt on the part of the Lahore agitators to arouse feelings of disloyalty which has apparently met with considerable success in Ferozepore, though it has not been so successful in Amritsar. In the towns of Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Lyallpur an active anti-English propaganda is being openly and sedulously preached. In Lahore, the capital of the province, the propaganda is virulent and has resulted in a more or less general state of serious unrest." Sir Denzil noted that in this place, on two recent occasions, Europeans had been insulted as such; that rioting had taken place over sentences passed on the proprietor and editor of a newspaper; that the educated extremist agitators were carrying on a campaign by means of public meetings and were pushing a definite anti-English propaganda in the villages of the Chenab Canal Colony and Bari Doab. Among these villages there was dissatisfaction with legislation proposing modifications of Canal Colony tenures and with a projected raising of canal-rates in the Bari Doab. His Honour observed that pains were taken to turn this to the utmost account possible, and to inflame the passions of the Sikhs, that the police were being pilloried as traitors to their fellow-countrymen in connection with the agitation, and were advised to quit the service of Government, while the same invitation was addressed to Indian soldiers. A minor sign of the times was that, when, a couple of weeks before, the menial staff on that portion of the North-Western State Railway which traverses the Chenab Colony went on strike, public meetings were convened to express sympathy with them, and substantial sums of money were subscribed for their support. The Lieutenant-Governor held that some of the leaders looked to driving the British out of the country, or at any rate from power, either by force or by the passive resistance of the people as a whole, and that the method by which they had set themselves to bring the Government machine to a standstill was by endeavouring to stir up a strong feeling of racial hatred. He considered the whole situation " exceedingly dangerous and urgently demanding remedy."

The remedy adopted was the arrest and deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, the Hindu and Sikh leaders of the movement, under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. The proposed Canal Colony legislation too was vetoed by the Government of India; but the suggestion that the root of the trouble was agrarian was not accepted by the Secretary of State, Lord (then Mr.) Morley. Speaking in the House of Commons on June 6th, 1907, he said: "There were twenty-eight meetings known to have been held by the leading agitators in the Punjab between 1st March and 1st May. Of these five only related, even ostensibly, to agricultural grievances: the remaining twenty-three were all purely political."

On the 1st of the following November the Viceroy thus summed up the leading characteristics of the year when the new Bill for preventing seditious meetings was before his Legislative Council: "We cannot afford to forget the events of the early spring, the riots at Lahore and gratuitous insults to Europeans, the Pindi riots, the serious view of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab on the state of his province, the consequent arrest of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, and the promulgation of the Ordinance, and, contemporaneously with all this, a daily story from Eastern Bengal of assault, of looting, of boycotting and general lawlessness, encouraged by agitators, who with an utter disregard for consequences, no matter how terrible, have by public addresses, by seditious newspapers, by seditious leaflets, by itinerant secret agents, lost no opportunity of inflaming the worst passions of racial feeling."

Events of 1909.

129. After the deportations all was quiet for some time; but in 1909 a stream of seditious literature issuing from Lahore necessitated preventive measures. Ajit Singh, whose deportation had only lasted six months, was the principal offender and fled to Persia; but his brother and a certain Lal Chand Falak, recently again prominent in a similar connection, were convicted of exciting disaffection and were sentenced to imprisonment. In the same year a certain Bhai Parmanand, subsequently one of the Lahore conspirators, and sentenced to transportation for life, was prosecuted under the Criminal Procedure Code and bound over to be of good behaviour. A copy of the bomb-manual used by the Alipore conspirators, as well as other documents, including two remarkable letters from Lajpat Rai, had been found in his possession. These letters had been written during the troubles of 1907 to Parmanand, then in England. The first was dated the 28th February 1907, and another was dated the 11th of April following. Both were addressed from Lahore. In the first Lajpat Rai requested the recipient to ask the notorious Krishnavarma* to "employ a little of his money in sending out a number of books containing true ideas on politics to the student community here." He also asked Parmanand to sound Krishnavarma as to the placing "at our disposal of a portion of his gift of Rs. 10,000, for political missionaries."

In the second letter Lajpat Rai wrote: "The people are in sullen mood. Even the agricultural classes have begun to agitate. My only fear is that the bursting out may not be premature." When the case against Parmanand came into Court, Lajpat Rai stated that by the above expression he meant nothing more "than that agriculturists, not being accustomed to a political agitation, might not be able to carry on their agitation peacefully." He was not "at that stage in favour of a political agitation among the agricultural population." He further said that the books which he asked for were of the description mentioned in another letter produced that day and containing a list of standard publications, including "revolutionary, political or historical novels." He added the words: "Till after my return from deportation, I never knew that Shyamaji Krishnavarma had views about political violence or crime as are now expressed by him. After that I had nothing to do with him."

The Delhi conspiracy case.

130. The next outward sign of revolutionary activity was the Delhi bomb outrage of December 1912, when His Excellency Lord Hardinge's life was attempted and one of his attendants was killed. The perpetrator of this outrage was not discovered, and five months later an Indian orderly was

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* See paragraphs 5–7.

murdered by a bomb at Lahore. This led eventually to a remarkable trial and some curious disclosures.

It was shown that a certain Hardayal, once a resident of Delhi and a Hindu student of the Punjab University, had proceeded to England in 1905 to complete his education at Oxford, holding a State scholarship. He had surrendered this scholarship and sacrificed the last instalment of his emoluments therefrom, stating that he disapproved of the English system of education in India. He had returned to India and had in 1908 held a class in Lahore, preaching the bringing to an end of the British Government by a general boycott combined with passive resistance of every kind. Among his pupils were two youths, J. N. Chatarji, a Bengali, and Dina Nath, an up-country Hindu. He left India and has since become notorious as the organizer of the *Ghadr* (Mutiny) party in America. "After his departure Chatarji informed Dina Nath that Amir Chand of Delhi, a schoolmaster, lately employed in the Cambridge Mission High School, would continue his political education. Dina Nath went to Delhi and was received by Amir Chand, but was reclaimed by his father and returned to Lahore. It is noteworthy that Chatarji's father too had ordered him home on discovering that he was staying with Hardayal in the house of Lajpat Rai.

After returning to Lahore Dina Nath kept up connection with Chatarji, and before the latter went to England to become a barrister was introduced by him to the notorious Rash Behari,* a Bengali, then Head Clerk of the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun. Rash Behari further educated Dina Nath as well as two other young Hindus, Abad Behari and Balmokand, and arranged for the dissemination of seditious literature and throwing of bombs, introducing to the society his servant, a young Bengali named Basanta Kumar Biswas. Abad Behari attended the Lahore Central Training College, but lived at Delhi and was an intimate friend of Amir Chand, mentioned above. Amir Chand joined the conspiracy. He was subsequently described by the Sessions Judge of Delhi as "one who spent his life in furthering murderous schemes which he was too timid to carry out himself." It is unnecessary to detail the doings of the conspirators. It was subsequently proved that they disseminated widely among students and others a leaflet extolling the attempt on Lord Hardinge's life in such terms as these: "The *Gita*, the *Vedas* and the *Koran* all enjoin us to kill all the enemies of our Motherland, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. . . . . Leaving other great and small things, the special manifestation of the Divine force at Delhi in December last has proved beyond doubt that the destiny of India is being moulded by God himself." The evidence produced at their trial inspires a strong suspicion that they themselves contrived the Delhi outrage and proves that they distributed other violently inflammatory leaflets received from Calcutta and printed at the press used by the Raja Bazar conspirators.† It was also established that, in pursuance of the plans of the conspirators, Basanta Kumar Biswas had placed a bomb on a road in the Lawrence Gardens at Lahore on the evening of May the 17th, 1913, with the intention of killing or injuring some Europeans. The bomb, however, killed no one but an unfortunate Indian orderly, who ran over it in the dark on his bicycle. Dina Nath turned approver. Amir Chand, Abad Behari, Balmokand and Basanta Kumar Biswas were convicted and hanged, but Rash Behari escaped, to contrive other murderous plots. So far his associates were few and his doings had received no measure of popular support.

Muhammadan estrangement

131. The next period which concerns us is the period which immediately followed the outbreak of the war. So far all the trouble had been Hindu, but the war between Turkey and Italy and the apparent indifference of Great Britain throughout the Balkan War bitterly annoyed some Muhammadans of the Punjab. Certain utterances of British statesmen were interpreted as indicating that Britain favoured a combination against Turkey. Subscriptions were raised for a medical mission and for the Turkish Red Crescent funds; and in the winter of 1912 a certain Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the

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* See paragraph 121.
† See paragraph 61.

Zamindar, a Lahore Muhammadan paper, visited Constantinople to present to the Grand Vizier some of the money collected. In September 1913 it was found necessary to confiscate the security deposited for the good behaviour of this man's journal in consequence of disloyal and inflammatory articles therein published regarding a religious riot at Cawnpore in the neighbouring United Provinces, and early in 1914 Khalil Khalid Bey, the Turkish Consul-General, came to Lahore to present to the Badshahi Mosque a carpet sent by order of the Sultan as a token of gratitude for pecuniary sympathy recently shown to Turkey. The Consul-General was followed a fortnight later by two Turkish doctors of the Red Crescent Society. Through influences of this kind the outbreak of war found a small section of Punjab Muslims out of humour with the British Government. But no fruits of this circumstance were immediately visible, and the most noteworthy Punjab events which followed August 1914 concerned the Sikhs.

At first all went well, and a foolish agitation, which had recently been fomented by a Sikh named Harchand Singh over the straightening of the boundary wall of an old Sikh temple at Delhi, gradually subsided. Then appeared a new and powerful element of disturbance.

Hardayal and the "Ghadr" movement.

132. We have already referred to Hardayal. This man had arrived in San Francisco in 1911, imbued with passionate Anglophobia and determined to inspire with his own spirit as many as possible of his fellow-countrymen. He addressed meetings at various places in the United States, and organized associations sworn to destroy British rule in India. He started a newspaper called the *Ghadr*. With his followers he decided to distribute the *Ghadr* freely in India.* Their press was called the "Jugantar Asram" (the school of the new era). Their paper was printed in more than one Indian language. It was widely distributed among Indians in America and was forwarded to India. It was of a violent anti-British nature, playing on every passion which it could possibly excite, preaching murder and mutiny in every sentence, and urging all Indians to go to India with the express object of committing murder, causing revolution and expelling the British Government by any and every means. It constantly preached the formation of secret associations. It "held up to admiration, and as examples to follow, every seditionist and murderer who sprang into temporary notoriety."* Hardayal and his followers addressed numerous meetings, and at one held at Sacramento on the 31st of December 1913† "portraits of famous seditionists and murderers were displayed on the screen and revolutionary mottoes were exhibited. Finally Hardayal told the audience that Germany was preparing to go to war with England, and that it was time to get ready to go to India for the coming revolution." He was assisted in these operations by various lieutenants, notably by a Hindu named Ram Chandra, who had been editor of two seditious papers in India, and by a Muhammadan named Barkatulla.‡ The speeches which Hardayal delivered attracted attention from the United States authorities; and on the 16th of March 1914, he was arrested with a view to his deportation as an undesirable alien. He was released on bail and absconded to Switzerland, leaving Ram Chandra to manage the "Jugantar Asram" and publish the *Ghadr* newspaper. Hardayal is now believed to be at Berlin. Before he left America he and his associates had created a formidable organization, eager to bring about rebellion and bloodshed in India. Hardayal himself, "while inducing his dupes to go to a certain fate, has carefully kept himself and his leading lieutenants out of danger."†

The doctrines which he preached and circulated had reached the Sikhs and other Indians resident in British Columbia. At a meeting in Vancouver in December 1913 a poem from the *Ghadr* newspaper was read, in which the Hindus were urged to expel the British from India. The main grievance of the Vancouver Indians was the Canadian immigration law under which every intending Asiatic immigrant, with a few particular exceptions, has to satisfy the Canadian authorities that he is in possession of 200 dollars and has travelled by a continuous journey on a through ticket

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* These details are taken from the records of the Lahore conspiracy case.
† See the judgment in the first Lahore conspiracy case.
‡ See paragraph 109.

from his native country to Canada. In 1913 three Sikh delegates visited the Punjab. They had come from America and were members of the *Ghadr* party who had come to reconnoitre the position. Their real purpose was recognised after their departure. They addressed meetings at various towns on the subject of the grievances of Indians in Canada and caused resolutions of protest to be passed in which all communities joined. But the subject was academic to the majorities among their audiences. In September 1914, however, it suddenly acquired a vivid interest.

The Budge-Budge riot.

133. On the 19th of that month occurred the disastrous Budge-Budge riot. The circumstances which led up to and produced this affair exercised some influence on after-events and must therefore be clearly understood.

The central figure in the narrative is a certain Gurdit Singh, a Sikh of the Amritsar district in the Punjab, who had emigrated from India 15 years before, and had for some time carried on business as a contractor in Singapore and the Malay States. There is reason to believe that he returned to this country about 1909. He was certainly absent from Singapore for a space; and when he returned there, going on to Hong Kong, he interested himself in chartering a ship for the conveyance of Punjabis to Canada. Punjabis, and especially Sikhs, frequently seek employment in the Far East, and have for some time been tempted by the higher wages procurable in Canada. But their admission to that country is to some extent impeded by the immigration laws which we have described already.

There were already in Canada about 4,000 Indians, chiefly Punjabis. Some of these were revolutionaries of the Hardayal school, some were loyal, and some had migrated from the United States on account of labour differences there. The Committee of Enquiry, which subsequently investigated the whole affair, considered that Gurdit Singh's action had been much influenced by advice and encouragement received from Indian residents in Canada. At any rate, after failing to secure a ship at Calcutta, he chartered a Japanese vessel named the *Komagata Maru* through a German agent at Hong Kong. He issued tickets and took in passengers at that port, at Shanghai, at Moji and at Yokohama. He certainly knew what the Canadian law was, but perhaps hoped to evade it by means of some appeal to the courts or by exercising political pressure. It is equally certain that many of his passengers had no clear comprehension of their prospects. The Tribunal that subsequently tried the first batch of Lahore conspirators held that probably Gurdit Singh's main object was to cause an inflammatory episode, as one of the witnesses stated that Gurdit Singh told his followers that should they be refused admission, they would return to India to expel the British. On April the 4th, 1914, the *Komagata Maru* sailed from Hong Kong. At intermediate ports consignments of the *Ghadr* newspaper were received on board, and at Yokohama two Indian revolutionaries from the United States visited the ship. On the 23rd of May the *Komagata Maru* arrived at Vancouver with 351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muhammadans on board. The local authorities refused to allow landing except in a very few cases, as the immigrants had not complied with the requirements of the law. Protests were made, and, while negotiations were proceeding, a balance of 22,000 dollars still due for the hire of the ship was paid by Vancouver Indians, and the charter was transferred to two prominent malcontents. Revolutionary literature of a violent character was introduced and circulated on board. A body of police was sent to enforce the orders of the Canadian Government that the vessel should leave; but with the assistance of firearms, the police were beaten off, and it was only when a Government vessel was requisitioned with armed force that the *Komagata Maru* passengers, who had prevented their Captain from weighing anchor or getting up steam, were brought to terms. On the 23rd of July they started on their return journey with an ample stock of provisions allowed them by the Canadian Government. They were by this time in a very bad temper as many had staked all their possessions on this venture, and had started in the full belief that the British Government would assure and guarantee their admission to a land of plenty. This temper had been greatly aggravated by direct revolutionary influences. The revolutionary party too had endeavoured to smuggle arms on board at Vancouver.

During the return voyage the War broke out. On hearing at Yokohama that his ship's company would not be allowed to land at Hong Kong, Gurdit Singh replied that they were perfectly willing to go to any port in India if provisions were supplied. The British Consul at Yokohama declined to meet his demands, which were exorbitant; but the Consul at Kobe was more compliant, and after telegraphic communication between Japan and India, the *Komagata Maru* started for Calcutta. At neither Hong Kong nor Singapore were the passengers allowed to land. This added to their annoyance, as, according to the findings of the Committee, many had not wished to return to India at all.

The *Komagata Maru* arrived at the mouth of the Hooghly on the 27th September 1914 and was moored at Budge-Budge at 11 A.M. on the 29th. There a special train was waiting to convey the passengers free of charge to the Punjab. The Government was acting under the provisions of the recently enacted Ingress into India Ordinance, which empowered it to restrict the liberty of any person entering India after the 5th September 1914, if such action were necessary for the protection of the State. Information had been received regarding the temper and attitude of Gurdit Singh and his followers. It was justified by events. The Sikhs refused to enter the train and tried to march on Calcutta in a body. They were forcibly turned back; and a riot ensued with loss of life on both sides. Many of the Sikhs were armed with American revolvers. Only 60 passengers in all, including the 17 Muhammadans on board, were got off in the train that evening. Eighteen Sikhs were killed in the riot; many were arrested either then or subsequently; and 29, including Gurdit Singh, disappeared. Of those who were arrested, the majority were allowed to go to their homes in the following January. Thirty-one were interned in jail.

The Committee found that most of the passengers were disposed to blame the Government of India for all their misfortunes. "It is well known," states the report, "that the average Indian makes no distinction between the Government of the United Kingdom, that of Canada, that of British India, or that of any colony. To him these authorities are all one and the same." And this view of the whole *Komagata Maru* business was by no means confined to the passengers on the ship. It inspired some Sikhs of the Punjab with the idea that the Government was biassed against them; and it strengthened the hands of the *Ghadr* revolutionaries who were urging Sikhs abroad to return to India and join the mutiny which, they asserted, was about to begin. Numbers of emigrants listened to such calls and hastened back to India from Canada, the United States, the Philippines, Hong Kong and China.

Preventive measures.

134. The Government of India had already on the 29th of August passed a Foreigners Ordinance in order to prevent the entry into India of undesirable aliens. On the 5th of September they followed up this measure by an Ingress Ordinance designed to control the movements of returning emigrants of the *Ghadr* persuasion. The Budge-Budge riot warned all concerned that serious consequences would certainly ensue from half-hearted employment of such precautions, and, as subsequently other emigrants arrived, they were carefully inspected, and, if considered dangerous, either interned in jail or forbidden to reside elsewhere than in their native villages. But thousands were returning; accurate discrimination was impossible; and few of the emigrants had been individually incriminated by any news as yet received. It was not long before the emigrants who were not interned made their presence felt in the Punjab; and only the precautionary measures adopted prevented an early outbreak on a considerable scale. As it was, the situation developed gradually.

Development of a dangerous situation.

135. On the night of the 16th October 1914 the Chauki Man railway station on the Ferozepore-Ludhiana line was attacked by three or more persons, armed with a revolver. All persons unconnected with the staff were ordered to leave, and fire was opened on the Station Master, who was hit in the stomach, an unfortunate water-carrier being simultaneously wounded in the thigh. The ruffians then helped themselves to the station cash and departed. It transpired afterwards that the emigrants had been expecting a consignment of arms at this station.

On the 29th of October the ship *Tosa Maru* arrived at Calcutta with 173 Indian passengers, mostly Sikhs, from America, Manila, Shanghai and Hong Kong. Reliable information from Hong Kong and Rangoon had preceded the vessel, to the effect that her passengers had talked openly of starting rebellion on arriving in India. One hundred of these men were interned in jail. Of those who were not interned, 6 were afterwards hanged for murderous outrages in the Punjab, 6 were convicted in various conspiracy cases, 6 were subsequently arrested and interned on account of their mischievous activities, 2 were chief leaders of the subsequent revolutionary movement and were admitted as approvers. Of the men originally interned in jail, 6 were prosecuted in the first conspiracy case for criminal acts of conspiracy abroad, and were transported for life. Of all the October, November and December shiploads of returning emigrants, the *Tosa Maru* was the most dangerous. It contained malcontents who had divided themselves into sections each of which was to work under a leader in a particular area of the Punjab. But the internment of the majority of the passengers disorganized these elaborate arrangements. In November the Provincial Government reported to the Government of India that some of the recently interned emigrants were moving about the country but were generally regarded with indifference. Village headmen had reported to the local authorities cases in which these persons were indulging in dangerous or inflammatory language. Secret meetings were being held, emissaries were visiting villages and gangs were being formed. On the 27th of November one of these gangs, consisting of 15 men, while on its way to loot the Moga subdivisional treasury in the Ferozepore district; met by accident a Police Sub-Inspector and a zaildar (village notable), who challenged them. These, after a brief parley, they shot dead with revolvers. Afterwards they were pursued and surrounded by police and villagers. Two were killed; seven were captured, and the rest escaped. All the captured men had recently returned from the Far East or America. On the 28th of November another gang collected at the Jhar Sahib, a Sikh temple, on an isolated spot in the Amritsar district. They were feasted there by a certain Lal Singh and his relations and, while making arrangements for the perpetration of outrages, were alarmed and dispersed by the advent of police followed by cavalry.

Arrest was ordered of one Prithi Rajput, of Laru in the Ambala district, who had been active in spreading sedition since his return to India. On the 8th of December he tried to murder the police officer sent to apprehend him and nearly succeeded in doing so.

On the night of the 17th December at Pipli village, in the Dalwali police circle of the Hissar district, the house of a Brahman was robbed of booty worth Rs. 22,000 by a gang suspected to consist of returned emigrants. Two were reported to have been armed with guns.

Summary of existing conditions by the Punjab Government.

136. In the middle of December the Punjab Government reported to the Government of India that the doings of the returned Sikh emigrants had more than anything else engaged official attention, that the majority of these had returned expecting to find India in a state of acute unrest and meaning to convert this unrest into revolution. On the 19th of the same month the Provincial Government forwarded, for consideration and orders by the Imperial Government, a draft ordinance dealing with the prosecution and suppression of violent crime. They asked for the very early promulgation of this ordinance throughout the province.

Their letter summarised the situation in clear and forcible terms. It did not suggest that the stability of Government would be seriously endangered by the emigrants, but expressed the apprehension that the attempts of these men to create disorder might lead to feelings of insecurity and alarm and thus disturb the peace of the province. Within the past few months several violent crimes, the robbery of mail bags, attempts to derail trains, had been committed by returned emigrants and their local adherents. Government was also in possession of information which showed that some of these persons had endeavoured to seduce troops from their allegiance and contemplated an extensive programme of violence and terrorism. The Lieutenant-Governor considered that " it is most undesirable at the present time to allow trials of any of these revolutionaries or other seditionmongers who have been or may

be arrested in the commission of crime or while endeavouring to stir up trouble to be protracted by the ingenuity of Counsel and drawn out to inordinate length by the committal and appeal procedure which the criminal law provides." His Honour therefore submitted for approval a draft ordinance which provided, subject to the sanction of the Local Government to its application in these cases, (*a*) for the elimination of committal procedure in the case of offences of a political or quasi-political nature; (*b*) for the elimination of appeal in such cases; (*c*) for the taking of security from persons of the class affected by a more rapid procedure than that prescribed by the ordinary law; (*d*) for the prompt punishment of village officers and the fining of villagers colluding with and harbouring revolutionary criminals. The ordinance created one substantive offence, "the carrying of arms in suspicious circumstances." This provision had been borrowed from the Frontier Tribes Regulations. The Punjab letter ended with the following passages:—"The object of the ordinance is to provide for the prompt suppression and, as far as possible, prevention of the type of crime in which the revolutionary and seditious sections of the population are most likely to indulge. The bulk of the people are well-disposed, but the war has created a situation which the enemies of Government consider favourable for the propagation of lawlessness and defiance of constituted authority. Any delay or weakness in dealing with such manifestation is certain to encourage these tendencies and to draw to the revolutionary gangs a large number of lawless and desperate characters, who would be influenced not so much by political objects as by the prospect of plunder. With these influences at work, while famine prices are prevailing, there is danger of organized attacks on property on a large scale leading to a general feeling of insecurity and alarm. Hence the Lieutenant-Governor has included various offences against property, in addition to seditious offences and acts punishable under the Arms and Explosives Act, within the scope of the ordinance." The measure was exceptional and intended to cope with a temporary emergency. It would have the support of all loyal and law-abiding people in the province.

Further development of the situation.

137. This letter had no sooner been despatched than the situation began to develop far more rapidly.

The *Ghadr* booklet *Ghadr-i-ganj* (Echo of mutiny) enjoins: "We should commit dacoity on the Government and awake the whole of the Punjab." "Rob Europeans of their money and bring it to your own use." And Nawab Khan, the first important *Ghadr* approver, stated in Court that one of the resolutions passed on the *Tosa Maru* was that loyal Punjabis of substance should be looted. The judgment of the first Lahore Tribunal recites five notable cases in which these intentions were carried out. But besides these cases the following other outrages were committed by turbulent men, believed or suspected to be mainly returned emigrants, during the months of December 1914 and January and February 1915:—

(*a*) Dacoities at Pharala and Karnama in the Jullundur district on the 24th and 25th of December.

(*b*) Two robberies in the Ferozepore district on the same dates.

(*c*) A dacoity at Chowrian, Gurdaspore district, on the 27th December.

(*d*) Dacoities on the 1st and 4th of January in the Hoshiarpur and Jullundur districts. One of these was accompanied by the murder of a village watchman.

(*e*) An attack by eight Sikhs on the house of a Canal Sub-overseer in the Montgomery district. The owner's arm was broken by a revolver bullet.

(*f*) A dacoity at Sri Gobindpur in the Gurdaspore district on the 16th of the same month.

(*g*) The plundering of some Hindu shops on the 21st of January at a town in the Kapurthala State. Some of the gang were subsequently arrested with some seditious literature, 245 rounds of ammunition and a revolver.

We now come to the " political " dacoities proved in Court :—

(*a*) The first of these was perpetrated on the 23rd of January. Ornaments were taken from the family of a Hindu shopkeeper at Sahnewal in the Ludhiana district. The unfortunate man, his wife and daughter-in-law were beaten. He died of his injuries. The booty obtained was small.

(*b*) On the 27th of January 10 or 15 dacoits attacked the house of a Hindu in the Mansuran village of the same district. They took away a large amount of booty which was converted to revolutionary purposes. They assaulted a woman and a boy, proclaiming to the assembled villagers that they were collecting money to turn out the British and would be assisted by the Germans. Villagers who opposed the robbers were fired at and bombed. Some students from Ludhiana were implicated in this outrage.

(*c*) On the 29th of January a money-lender's house at Jhanir in the Maler Kotla State was plundered and the owner was made to show the robbers the way to another house, which was also rifled. A Special Tribunal subsequently found that this crime too was committed by a gang of revolutionaries for the purpose of securing funds for the prosecution of their seditious objects.

(*d*) On the 2nd of February, for the same purpose, revolutionaries robbed a house at Chabba in the Amritsar district. They were armed with bombs, pistols and clubs. They murdered the owner of the house, but were attacked by a group of villagers who captured one, drove off the rest, and only desisted from pursuit when some had been injured and mutilated for life by the dacoits. In this enterprise the revolutionaries were assisted by local bad characters; and then it was that the police authorities began to get into touch, through a spy, with the whole organization, and discovered that an enterprise far larger than any yet undertaken was in process of incubation. But before coming to this we should mention—

(*e*) a dacoity at Rabon Unchi in the Ludhiana district on the 3rd of February, where a woman was robbed of property worth Rs. 4,198 which was devoted to revolutionary purposes.

There had too been attempts at derailing trains on the 3rd, 6th, 7th, 15th, 18th and 21st of January. Moreover, on the 12th of February a police guard consisting of one Head Constable and four constables stationed on a railway bridge in the Amritsar district were menaced by a gang of eight or ten men.

The Lahore conspiracy.

138. It was subsequently established in Court, and is manifest from this recital, that the original disappointment and disorganization of the returned emigrant conspirators had given way to the utmost confidence and activity. Many of the interned *Komagata Maru* passengers had been released early in January; letters were reaching India from Indian residents in America full of rancour, abuse of the English, and confident hope of a German victory; and the authorities had been warned by one of the emigrant leaders that his associates were in touch with the Bengal revolutionary party and with local seditionists. It was moreover proved that in December 1914 a young Maratha Brahmin named Vishnu Ganesh Pingley had arrived in the Punjab promising Bengali co-operation with the malcontent emigrants. Pingley, a native of the Poona district, had emigrated young, and had returned from America with various Sikh *Ghadr* proselytes. After his arrival in the Punjab a meeting was held at which revolution, the plundering of Government treasuries, the seduction of Indian troops, the collection of arms, the preparation of bombs and the commission of dacoities were all discussed. Pingley's offer to introduce a Bengali bomb expert was accepted, and emissaries were despatched to collect materials for making bombs. The assistance of some Ludhiana students was enlisted in this collection work and Rash Behari Basu, of Delhi conspiracy notoriety,

arrived from Benares, where he had been living in retirement.* A house was procured for him in Amritsar, where he lived with other Bengalis till the beginning of February 1915. There he worked in concert with the leading Sikh revolutionaries. Early in February he arranged for a general rising on the 21st of February of which Lahore was to be the headquarters. He went there and sent out emissaries to various cantonments in Upper India to procure military aid for the appointed day. He also tried to organize the collection of gangs of villagers to take part in the rebellion. Bombs were prepared; arms were got together; flags were made ready; a declaration of war was drawn up; instruments were collected for destroying railways and telegraph wires. In the meantime, however, in order to raise funds for the financing of the enterprise, some Punjab revolutionaries had committed various dacoities. Information of the projected rising had been received through a spy. Rash Behari's headquarters were raided on the 19th of February, and seven returned emigrants were found there, in possession of a revolver, bombs and the component parts of other bombs, as well as four revolutionary flags. Two more conspirators were arrested on the following day. Thirteen in all were taken and four houses were searched. Twelve bombs were seized, five of which were loaded bombs of the Bengal pattern. The report by the Chemical Examiner showed that two of the latter were apparently old and the other two of recent make. Fragments of similar bombs had been found in connection with former revolutionary outrages in India. National flags too were discovered. It became manifest that the plotters had designed simultaneous outbreaks at Lahore, Ferozepore and Rawalpindi; and later it appeared that their operations were intended to cover a far wider area. Not only were these to extend to such places as Benares and Jabalpur; but we are satisfied from evidence which we regard as conclusive that at least two or three revolutionaries in Eastern Bengal were on the 8th of February aware of what was in contemplation, and were arranging for a rising at Dacca if the Sikh revolt materialised.

Rash Behari and Pingley escaped, the latter only for a time as he was arrested a month later in the Lines of the 12th Cavalry at Meerut with bombs in his possession. On the 20th of February, the day after the first captures, a Head Constable was killed and a Police Sub-Inspector was wounded by a party of returned emigrants, whom they had asked to come to the police-station. And on the 14th and 20th of February dacoities were committed in the Faridkot State and Lyallpur district.

Further representations made by the Punjab Government.

139. The Punjab Government had endeavoured to meet a state of serious disorder by the resources of the ordinary law and by arranging patrols of police and cavalry. But these measures were inadequate, and on the 25th of February they addressed the Government of India, in continuation of their December letter, appending an account of the dacoities and violent crimes which had been committed by the returned emigrants and their adherents. They enumerated 45 cases in all, the figure for the past five months, and once more asked for extraordinary legislation. They reported that the situation had rapidly developed in a dangerous manner, and that the rural population in the central districts had been adversely affected by the campaign of violence and sedition waged by the *Ghadr* party and supported increasingly by the lawless section of the people. Rural notables and village officials were being terrorised. The revolutionaries were using every endeavour to tamper with the loyalty of the troops. The objective of the conspiracy frustrated on the 19th had been an attack on the magazine and armoury of a regiment. On the same date forty men had arrived by train at Ferozepore, some armed, presumably to attack magazines and armed depôts, but had been thwarted by precautions taken by the military. Fifteen Muhammadan students had gone off to join the Hindustani fanatics on the frontier. Patrolling by troops and police was steadily practised, but the situation in the Punjab could not be allowed to drift any further. It was necessary that effective power should be given, as soon as possible, to the local Government to deal with violence and political trouble. The spread of revolutionary propaganda must be checked forthwith; violent and seditious crimes must be

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* See paragraph 121.

promptly punished; the men behind them must be removed and interned; the mischievous activities of newspapers must be curtailed; and every precaution must be taken to ensure that the poisonous teaching of open rebellion was kept both from the army and from the people from which the army was recruited.

In a subsequent letter dated February the 28th the Punjab Government reported that the Sikh conspirators arrested at Lahore appeared to be mainly " ignorant Sikh peasants who have been indoctrinated with crude ideas of equality and democracy in America and led to believe by Hardayal and his co-workers that India can be made into a Utopia in which all will be equal, and plague and famine cease to exist by the simple expedient of driving out the British." On the 16th of March the Lieutenant-Governor reported the arrest of three returned emigrants of the *Ghadr* persuasion while attempting to tamper with troops, the seizure of six bombs in the Ludhiana district and the outbreak of violent dacoities in the Western Punjab, where at one place shops and houses were looted for four successive nights and in another tract robberies were organized by criminals who announced that Government was in difficulties and that the Germans were coming. It is probable that these last-named outbreaks were caused not by returned emigrants, but by a general contagion of lawlessness. They were in fact the organized attacks on property on a large scale foreshadowed by His Honour's letter of December the 19th, 1914. In this same letter of the 16th of March 1915 he stated that, so far, of 3,125 emigrants who had passed through the hands of the police at Calcutta and Ludhiana, 189 had been interned, 704 had been restricted to their villages, and 2,211 had so far been subjected to no restrictions. He reported the appointment of standing district committees of Sikhs to assist the local authorities in dealing with emigrants, and more especially in advising as to internments. Results so far indicated that these committees would recommend the internment of many emigrants still at large.

Passing of the Defence of India Act, Subsequent improvement of conditions.

140. The Government of India was reluctant to supersede in any degree the courts and processes of ordinary law. But both in the Punjab and in Bengal the situation was rapidly deepening in gravity. The Defence of India Act, which substantially embodied the main provisions of the originally proposed draft ordinance, was passed quickly through the Imperial Legislative Council. Its most important provisions were the appointment of Special Tribunals for the trial of revolutionary crimes. It allowed neither commitment proceedings to these Tribunals nor judicial appeal from their decisions. A letter from the Punjab Government dated the 31st of March 1915 describes its salutary effect; and there can be no doubt that in subsequent months a highly dangerous situation rapidly improved. The degree of assistance derived from the new Act and the regulations framed thereunder may be appreciated through the following extract from a letter addressed to the Government of India by the Punjab Government on the 30th September 1915: " Action has been taken against twenty-five persons during the past fortnight under rule 3 framed under section 12 of the Defence of India Act. Nineteen of these are followers of one Mani Singh, from whose possession a quantity of seditious papers were recovered on the 26th of June in the Jhind State. These papers, which were written by Mani Singh, purported to be revelations of God, and the most recent were of a very objectionable nature, gloating over the success of the German arms and predicting the downfall of the British. Action has been taken against 19 of Mani Singh's following in British territory who appear to have been engaged in intrigue and in circulating false rumours about the war."

A few remaining outrages.

141. The only other revolutionary offences which we need mention are—

(*a*) The discovery of arms and seditious literature at Thikriwala, Gurdaspore, on the 3rd of April 1915.

(*b*) The murder of a loyal zaildar, Chanda Singh, in the Hoshiarpur district on the 25th of the same month. Two returned emigrants were hanged for this.

(*c*) A loyal gentleman named Sardar Bahadur Acchar Singh was murdered in Amritsar district on the 4th of June 1915 by two returned emigrants, who were caught and hanged.

(*d*) On the 12th of the same month an attack was made on a military guard posted at a railway bridge in the same district by a gang of revolutionaries. The non-commissioned officer in charge of the guard and the sentry were killed. Four sepoys were wounded and all the rifles and ammunition were carried off. The gang was promptly arrested and the arms were recovered.

(*e*) On the 3rd of August 1915 one Kapur Singh, who had given evidence in the Lahore conspiracy case, was murdered.

Order completely restored.

142. On the 16th of July 1915 a deputation of the leading Sikhs of the Amritsar district waited upon the Deputy Commissioner with the object of devising means to remove the stigma which the conduct of the returned emigrants had attached to their nation, and this incident probably expressed a widespread feeling, for the *Ghadr* movement in the Punjab was then rapidly subsiding.

On the 31st of January 1916 the Punjab Government wrote: "The returned emigrants among the Sikhs are reported to be settling down, and the feeling among the Sikhs generally is reported to be more satisfactory than at any time for some years. The gallant behaviour of Sikh regiments at the front has done much to restore the *amour propre* of the community, which was apprehensive that its good name would suffer from the crimes of the returned emigrants. There could be no better proof of the confidence of the people in the stability of the Government than the fact that 15,000 acres of Government waste land were sold on the 20th and 21st January at Montgomery at a rate of Rs. 180 per acre. Many of the purchasers were Sikh sardars or peasant proprietors."

Lahore conspiracy trials.

143. Nine batches of conspirators were tried by Special Tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. In one of these cases 61 accused were before the court, there were 404 prosecution witnesses, and 228 persons were called as witnesses by the defence. In another the accused numbered 74, the prosecution witnesses 365, and the defence witnesses 1,042. In a third the figures were 12, 86 and 44. As a result of all the cases, 28 persons were hanged, 29 were accquitted, and the rest were sentenced to transportation or imprisonment. Some mutinous soldiers of two regiments were tried by court-martial, and a few murderers, dacoits and train-wreckers were dealt with by the ordinary courts.

We have already narrated the main facts elicited by the conspiracy trials. The first Tribunal observed in their judgment that "a wave of sedition had been ebbing and flowing in the Punjab since 1907." They recited the doings of Hardayal in America, the arrival of the emigrants in the Punjab, the coming of Ganesh Pingley, the principal crimes committed by the revolutionaries, the arrangements made by Rash Behari and his associates for a general rising. Among other things a declaration of war had been drawn up; instruments had been collected for destroying railways and telegraph wires. The Tribunal commented on minor dacoities and on attempts which had failed either from lack of courage in the robbers because there were armed pensioned soldiers living in the village which was to be the object of attack, or because the police had been warned, or for some other reason. They observed that the *Ghadr* newspaper had placed the seduction of troops in the forefront of its objectives and that various efforts with this object were made by some of the associates, both at ports on the way to India and in this country. Rash Behari was prominent in co-ordinating the latter, and employed Pingley, a Ludhiana student named Sacha Singh,* and other persons as his instruments. *Ghadr* literature was used. Indian soldiers were approached at Meerut, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, Fyzabad, Lucknow, in the United Provinces. The success attained was extremely small, but the seed sown must have caused some tragedies had not the plan for a concerted rising on the 21st of February been nipped in the bud. The conspirators attached great importance to the propagation of seditious literature and to the manufacture of bombs. As regards the first the judgment states: "There is no doubt the establishment of a press in India was one of the methods they

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* See paragraph 122.

intended to further their designs. The success in seducing people which the *Ghadr* had attained in America was sufficient encouragement for this course to be adopted in India; and it is common knowledge that Indians are easily swayed by that which is in print." The bombing material collected in Amritsar and the establishment of a bomb factory in Jhabewal, a village near Ludhiana, are described in the judgment of the Tribunal. A village named Lohatbadi was also made a bomb centre.

The issue of the *Ghadr* dated the 13th January 1914 had advised Indians to go abroad, learn how to make rifles, bring boxes full of them into the Punjab and " rain over the province a sweet shower of guns." Some pistols and ammunition were brought from America, and Rash Behari contributed four revolvers. Other weapons too were collected, but most fortunately for the public the procurement of sufficient arms was a serious difficulty, and the plans for attacking the Ferozepore and Mian Mir arsenals collapsed.

The men tried in the first case were the organizers and leaders; those who plotted and tried to overthrow Government by murder, massacre and rapine. But the men tried in the second case were, with few exceptions, the implements for occasional outrages who dropped out of the movement soon after taking part in particular crime. Among the first batch of convicts was Bhai Parmanand, of 1909 notoriety.

This man left India for a time, but had returned from America *via* Engiand in December 1913. In America he had associated with Hardayal. He had written and published after the outbreak of war a history of India the purpose of which, the Tribunal found, was " to bring His Majesty's Government in India into hatred and contempt and to further the general objects of the *Ghadr* conspiracy." He was found to be a leader in the plots of the conspirators. Another convict was Pingley, the Maratha, already alluded to.

144. The judgment in the second case gives further details of the return of the revolutionary emigrants from America. It states that sedition was actively preached in villages; and among regiments men were instructed to hold themselves in readiness to rise and massacre when the signal was given. Even after the February failure efforts continued, and a place called Dhudile was made a rendezvous of revolutionaries. The aid of the local schoolmaster was enlisted and his school became a house of call for the confederates. A detachment from a regiment on guard at a railway bridge was attacked on the 11th of June 1915; two men thereof were murdered; and the murderers, on their way home, killed two other men. Five of the gang, however, were soon arrested and hanged.

The judgment recites evidence which shows that it was mainly want of arms that prevented a large rising in December 1914. The Tribunal found that the seduction of students was carried out on all possible occasions, such inducements being offered as that " studies should be dropped as they taught only slavery; all who helped (the rebellion) were to be given high office; the rising would be inaugurated by the arrival of leaders from foreign countries in aeroplanes; and the State would crown Hardayal as King." Villagers too were enlisted, some influenced by fanatical excitement, some by cupidity and hopes of loot; and possibly some fearing that, if they did not, they would be left behind when the revolutionaries succeeded in their objects. Advantage had been taken of the Delhi temple wall incident to persuade some fanatical Sikhs that their religion was threatened.

The judgment states that the " *Ghadr* newspaper and its progeny (verses, leaflets, etc.) were distributed in every place where the revolutionaries hoped to gain adherents, and particularly among troops."

The Tribunal concluded that not only had the crimes recited in the original case been committed, but that other murders had been committed or projected.

Evidence given in the third Lahore conspiracy case supported the finding of the Mandalay Special Tribunal that certain revolutionaries, three at least from Canada, collected in Bangkok and engaged in a plot to invade India by way of Burma. The Punjab Tribunal wrote: " We have clear evidence that this design did exist, and that it was part and parcel of the *Ghadr* movement in which German agents were concerned. . . . It is

quite clear that some scheme for causing trouble to the British Government, to be developed in Siam, had been hatched by the leader of the *Ghadr* movement in San Francisco in conjunction with Germans." Later on the judgment runs: " We have seen that the ' Jugantar Asram ' (at San Francisco) was placarded with a sheet: ' Do not fight the Germans. They are our friends;' and this was clearly the *Ghadr* motto after war (*sic*). We have seen that the literature printed at the *Ghadr* offices was taken away personally by the German Consul for distribution among Indians everywhere; we have seen that Germany paid for Indian agents to be sent to Afghanistan, Siam, Manila, Thibet and Turkey from America, to stir up trouble against Britain; that the German Consul in San Francisco was in close connection with Ram Chandra; and that the Consul-General in New York was forwarding Indian revolutionaries at his own expense to Germany to help in such ways as they could." The judgment goes on to refer to the evidence of a witness once a paid agent of Germany, his association at the India House with Hardayal, and at Rio Janeiro with Ajit Singh, " the revolutionists of 1907, at whose instigation he set out to Berlin for revolutionary work." He reached Berlin in March 1915, and there met Hardayal and other well-known Indian revolutionaries, " who were the leaders of an Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin. This society, which aimed at establishing a republic in India, held constant meetings attended by Turks, Egyptians, German officials, and most noteworthy of all, German ex-professors and ex-missionaries who, in their time, had received the hospitality of the British Government in India. Hardayal and Chattopadhyaya were in daily communication with the German Foreign Office. To carry out the revolution in India, there was an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Inflammatory letters, drafted by the German Government and addressed to Indian Princes as from the German authorities, were translated and printed, and meetings were held in which the common objects of India and Germany were dilated upon, these meetings being sometimes presided over by highly placed German officials." The witness was sent back to America, " reported his arrival to the German Consul, who put him in communication with Gupta and one Wehde, a German, whose particular mission was to convey 20,000 dollars of German money to the revolutionaries in India. In America he met other Germans, Boehm, Jacobson and Sterneck, and his connection with these men and the Siamese expedition we have already discussed."

The other cases call for no special notice here. In one Lal Chand Falak, of 1909 celebrity, was convicted of conspiracy to wage war upon the King and of sedition. He was transported for ten years.

Action taken under the Defence of India Regulations.

145. Under the Defence of India Act 30 persons were interned in jail, 113 were restricted to their villages, 25 were restricted to other villages. Under the Ingress into India Ordinance 331 persons were interned between October 1914 and December 1917, of whom 224 are accounted for by the period October 1914 to April 1915. Two hundred and forty-two of the 331 have been released. Of the emigrant revolutionaries, 2,576 in all have been restricted to their villages. We are informed that so valuable has been the work of the Sikh advisory committees in regard to restrictions, internments, relaxations and releases, so strong has been their influence on the side of law and order, that although a considerable number of suspects continued to arrive in the Punjab after the troubled period, especially from the Far East, at the end of 1917 the total of persons restricted in any way under the Ingress Ordinance was only 914, while the number of these at first restricted and then released from restriction had risen to 1,513, and releases were steadily progressing. There is, however, sound admonition in the following words of a Sikh official witness who appeared before us: " There are thousands of persons who have returned to India with revolutionary ideas and only those against whom we had definite information were interned or restricted. The majority have perfect liberty." The Government of the Punjab have informed us that they have also taken the following precautions:—

(*a*) They have by order prevented four newspaper editors from publishing pro-German or alarmist matters. They have ordered

the pre-censorship of a newspaper which Zafar Ali Khan, of the *Zamindar*, has been permitted to start.

(*b*) They have prohibited Messrs. Tilak and Bepin Chandra Pal* from entering the province. Information had been received that these two gentlemen proposed a lecturing tour to spread the Home Rule propaganda. "The *Ghadr* conspiracy," the local Government considers, "has shown how the illiterate classes are apt to interpret a demand for Home Rule which to educated persons may seem justifiable. Further, when the province was being called upon to supply the largest possible number of recruits for the Indian Army, it was unquestionable that any political excitement such as these gentlemen proposed to create would be prejudicial to public safety and would have a bad effect on recruiting. Orders were issued, accordingly, prohibiting them from entering the Punjab. These are still in force."

Conclusion.

146. It is evident that the *Ghadr* movement in the Punjab came within an ace of causing widespread bloodshed. With the high-spirited and adventurous Sikhs the interval between thought and action is short. If captured by inflammatory appeals, they are prone to act with all possible celerity and in a fashion dangerous to the whole fabric of order and constitutional rule. Few persons, reviewing the history which we have summarised, will not be disposed to endorse the considered opinion of the Punjab authorities that "had not Government been armed with extensive powers under the Defence of India Act and the Ingress Ordinance, the *Ghadr* movement could not have been suppressed so rapidly; and delay of preventive action and retribution in such a case would have increased yet more the amount of disorder to be coped with."

* See paragraph 147.

CHAPTER XII.

REVOLUTIONARY CRIME IN MADRAS.

Bepin Chandra Pal's lecturing tour in 1907.

147. In 1907 people in the Madras Presidency were excited by a series of lectures delivered by Bepin Chandra Pal, a Bengali journalist and lecturer. He commenced a tour through the East Coast cities in April and arrived at Madras on the 1st of May. The subjects on which he spoke were "*Swaraj*," "*Swadeshi*" and "Boycott." His visit to Rajamundry had been followed on the 24th of April by a strike of students at the Government College there. On the 2nd of May in a speech at Madras he is reported to have said that, while the British desired to make the Government in India popular without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British, the Indians desired to make it autonomous, absolutely free of the British Parliament. The British administration was based upon *maya* or illusion and in the recognition of the magic character of the British power lay the strength of the new movement.

The news of Lajpat Rai's deportation from the Punjab brought Bepin Chandra's tour to a close. A crowd had assembled to hear him speak on the 10th of May, but he did not appear and leaflets were distributed which stated that "as a mark of sorrow at Lajpat Rai's arrest and deportation Mr. Pal's lecture announced for this evening is abandoned." Bepin Chandra left next day for Calcutta and the arrangements made to receive him in districts south of Madras were cancelled. On the 25th of May he addressed a meeting at a *Sakti* celebration in a house in Calcutta at which, according to a report which appeared in his own paper, *New India*, on June 6th, 1907, he recommended the organization of Kali *puja* (worship) in every important village every new moon day. Not worship of the ordinary Kali, but of Raksha Kali that is worshipped in times of trouble. Raksha Kali was not black but white, the symbol not of darkness but of light. The sacrifices acceptable to Raksha Kali were white goats and not black ones. It would not be a bad thing if they could organize public Raksha Kali *pujas* at the present juncture, where large crowds could be collected and 108 goats sacrificed. It would put courage into drooping hearts.

According to a report of the meeting in the *Bande Mataram* newspaper of May 27th, 1907, Bepin Chandra had been followed by "a Madrasi gentleman," who declared that they ought to go abroad and learn the manufacturing of bombs and other destructive weapons and how to wield them (even the Czar of all the Russias trembled at bombs), and return to their country to sacrifice every *Amavasya* (new moon) night 108 whites (not white lambs but those who were their enemies) and there the bright prospect of the whole nation lay in the future.

Outburst of seditious activity.

148. An outburst of seditious activity followed upon the visit of Bepin Chandra and resulted in various trials in 1908. Early in that year also several copies of a pamphlet describing the secret organization of the Russians were found in the possession of students in the Public Works Engineering workshops. The judgments of the High Court in criminal appeals Nos. 491 and 503 of 1908 show that Subramania Siva and Chidambaram Pillai conspired together to excite disaffection towards the Government by the delivery of speeches in Tuticorin on the 23rd and 25th of February and the 5th of March 1908 advocating absolute *swaraj*. The last of these speeches was connected with Bepin Chandra Pal, whose release from jail was expected on the 9th of March after a term of six months' imprisonment for refusing to give evidence in connection with charges against Arabinda Ghosh, as editor of the *Bande Mataram*. He was called in the speech the "Lion of *Swaraj*," and it was suggested that the flag of *swaraj* should be hoisted on the occasion. On the 9th of March Chidambaram Pillai delivered a speech in Tinnevelly eulogising Bepin Chandra and calling on the people to boycott everything foreign and assuring them that in three months they would obtain *swaraj*.

The two conspirators were arrested on the 12th of March and on the 13th a serious riot broke out in Tinnevelly. It was marked by wholesale and deliberate destruction of Government property in open defiance to constituted authority. Every public building in Tinnevelly town except the Sub-Registrar's office was attacked. The furniture and records of these buildings were set on fire as well as portions of the buildings themselves; the Municipal office was gutted. Twenty-seven persons were convicted and sentenced for participation in the riot.

On the 17th of March 1908 one Krishnaswami made a speech at a public meeting in Karur in the Coimbatore district, saying that in Tuticorin *swadeshi* effort was so great that they had demolished the *pardesi* (foreign) courts of the Collector, Munsif and Police; why should not they (of Karur) do the like? There was a low-paid regiment: why should they not exert themselves for the *swadeshi* cause and to help their mother use their guns to shoot the white faces? If they did so, could they not get *swaraj*? The speaker was tried, convicted and punished.

In connection with the release of Bepin Chandra a paper in Telugu styled *Swaraj*, or the Nationalist Telugu weekly, was revived in Bezwada in the Kistna district. On the 26th of March a violent article appeared on the arrest of Chidambaram Pillai, of which the conclusion was "Halloo! *Feringhi*, cruel tiger! You have devoured simultaneously three inoffensive Indians in a moment without cause. You have been transgressing your own laws too. You fear-stricken man; it is natural for men blinded by arrogance to entertain such perverted thoughts. You yourself have exposed your secret. You have declared that the arbitrary *Feringhi* rule is drying up at the mere breeze of the development of Indian nationality." For this article the printer and proprietor were tried, convicted and punished.

The "India" and its staff.

149. On the 23rd of May, the 27th of May and the 27th of June 1908 seditious articles were published in Madras in the Tamil paper called *India* which resulted in the conviction in the High Court of the printer and publisher, Srinivas Iyengar, on the 13th November 1908. The *India* Press was then closed in Madras and removed to Pondicherry, where the paper was restarted on more seditious lines than before. One of the staff was M. P. Tirumal Acharya. This young man left Pondicherry for Europe in 1908 and lived for a time at the India House in London. In 1909 he went to Paris. In September 1910 he wrote from Paris to a member of the staff of the *India* in Pondicherry a letter in which he said if they could not do or did not care to risk doing things worth doing at Pondicherry, the next best thing was to put their plans into practice at some safe and suitable place and he expected them to do something of the sort soon.

Incubation of murder.

150. At the time when Acharya wrote his letter of September a conspiracy against the British Government was being worked up in the Madras Presidency by Nilakanta Brahmachari (the first accused in the Tinnevelly conspiracy case of 1911). He had been going round Southern India both in 1910 and in previous years in company with Shankar Krishna Aiyar, preaching *swadeshi* and sedition, and induced various persons in the Presidency to take a blood oath of association for the purpose of obtaining *swaraj*. In June 1910 Shankar introduced Nilakanta to his brother-in-law, Vanchi Aiyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department. Early in December 1910 V. V. S. Aiyar, who had been the right-hand man of Vinayak Savarkar at the India House and had subsequently gone to Paris and associated with Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Madame Cama and other plotters there, arrived in Pondicherry and started revolver practice for young Indians in certain gardens and preached the necessity of violence and assassinations to free the country. On the 9th of January 1911 Vanchi Aiyar took three months' leave and visited Pondicherry, where he associated with V. V. S. Aiyar and indulged in revolver practice under his instructions. Evidence was given in the Tinnevelly conspiracy case that Vanchi had told one of the witnesses that English rule was ruining the country, that it could only be removed if all white men were killed, and suggested that Mr. Ashe should be first killed as being the head of the Tinnevelly district and an officer who had taken a leading part in the events of 1908. Vanchi also said that arms could be obtained from Pondicherry at the proper time.

In searches of the houses of the accused conspirators in the Tinnevelly case, two pamphlets were found both of which purported to have been printed at the "*Feringhi* Destroyer Press." One entitled "A word of Advice to the Aryans" said: "Swear in the presence of God that you will remove this sinner of a *Feringhi* from our country and firmly establish *swaraj* therein. Take an oath that as long as the *Feringhi* exercises authority in our land of Bharata you will regard life as worthless. Beat the white English *Feringhi* you get hold of, even as you beat a dog, and kill him with a knife, a stick, a stone or even by the hand given by God." The other pamphlet was called "The Oath of admission into the Abhinav Bharat Society." The evidence showed that ten copies of each pamphlet had been sent by post by one of the staff of the *Dharma* paper in Pondicherry to a person who had distributed and discussed them with the accused.

Murder of Mr. Ashe.

151. Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly, was shot on the 17th of June 1911 by Vanchi Aiyar in a railway carriage at a junction in the Tinnevelly district. The assassin was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Shankar Krishna Aiyar, already mentioned, who was subsequently arrested and punished. Upon the body of the murderer was found a letter in the Tamil language which stated that every Indian was trying to drive out the English and restore *swarajya* and the Sanatan Dharma. Rama, Sivaji, Krishna, Guru Govind and Arjun ruled over the land protecting all religion, but now the English were preparing to crown in India George V, a *Mlechha*, who ate the flesh of cows. Three thousand Madrasis had taken a vow to kill George V, as soon as he landed in the country. To make known their intention to others, he, Vanchi, the least in the company, had done that deed that day.

Connection with Paris anarchists

152. In the April number of Madame Cama's paper called *Bande Mataram* which was published in Paris about the end of May, there was some indication in one of the articles that a crime of this nature was in contemplation. It concluded with these words: "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. No distinction should be made between officers and private people. The great Nana Sahib understood this, and our friends the Bengalis have also begun to understand. Blest be their efforts, long be their arm, now indeed we may say to the Englishman, 'Don't shout till you are out of the wood.'" In a subsequent article dated July 1911, Madame Cama tried to show that the recent assassinations were in accordance with the teachings of the *Bhagwad Gita*, stating: "When the gilded slaves from Hindustan were parading the streets of London as performers in the royal circus and were prostrating themselves like so many cows at the feet of the King of England, two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by their daring deeds at Tinnevelly and at Mymensingh that Hindustan is not sleeping." (Sub-Inspector Rajkumar Ray had been murdered on the 19th of June at Mymensingh—see paragraph 52).

This article and the letter found on the murderer seem to show that the murder was designed to take place on the day of the Royal Coronation ceremonies.

Conclusions.

153. The result of the Tinnevelly conspiracy trial was that nine accused persons belonging to different castes and grades of society were found guilty of conspiracy against the State, but were not found to be guilty of abetment of the murder of Mr. Ashe. It was pointed out by the Court how the binding nature of the oath taken by the conspirators had overcome the caste prejudices which are often a bar to intimate association in Southern India.

Since the trial of the Tinnevelly conspirators there does not appear to have been any trouble from criminal revolutionary conspiracy in the Madras Presidency. We do not consider that there was any indigenous revolutionary movement in Madras, and but for the influence of Bepin Chandra Pal and the revolutionaries plotting in Paris and Pondicherry there would have been no trouble in Southern India.

CHAPTER XIII.

REVOLUTIONARY CONSPIRACY IN BURMA.

Special features of Burma.

154. The province of Burma presents many features which differentiate it from the other provinces of the Indian Empire. For our present inquiry we are chiefly concerned with the composition of its population. It contains a total population of upwards of 12 million people, of whom 8 millions are Burmese, 3 millions belong to frontier tribes, such as Shans, Karens and Kachins, while the other million is composed of immigrants, 400,000 Hindus, rather more than 400,000 Muhammadans and 120,000 Chinese. The chief city of Burma, Rangoon, contains a population of nearly 300,000, of whom upwards of 100,000 are Hindus, upwards of 50,000 Muhammadans (mostly from Gujerathi-speaking races of Western India), 15,000 Chinese, while 88,000 are Burmese. There do not appear to have been any indigenous conspiracies in Burma connected with the Indian revolutionary movement, though the province has had its native conspiracies, for there have been plots fomented by petty chieftains who hoped to obtain some form of kingship and that the British rule would in some mysterious manner come to an end: none of them have given any serious trouble to the authorities.

Imported conspiracy.

155. Burma, however, has not been altogether free from criminal conspiracy connected with the Indian revolutionary movement. It has been the scene of determined efforts to stir up mutiny among the military forces and to overthrow the British Government. Such efforts have originated in America, have been concentrated in Bangkok and thence, with the assistance of Germans, have been directed from the Siamese frontier against Burma.

The existence of a conspiracy in America and its development in Bangkok were investigated in the two Burma conspiracy cases tried by Special Tribunals in Mandalay in 1916. The following passage from the judgment in the first conspiracy case describes the American conspiracy according to the evidence recorded by the Tribunal:—

"As to the existence of a conspiracy Counsel have not thought it possible to deny it and no argument was addressed to us as to it. Two approvers, Nawab Khan and Mula Singh, gave evidence as to it. They tell us of the wanderings of men like Hardayal, Parmanand and Barkatulla, who called meetings and made seditious speeches inflaming the minds of Indians in America and Canada. A meeting at Astoria is described at which Hardayal took the chair and it was decided to form an Association to be called the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast with local branches, and how office bearers for local centres were appointed. It was resolved to collect subscriptions and to start a paper to be called the *Ghadr* or 'Mutiny,' which was to be sent gratis to all Indians, and a press to be called the Jugantar Asram or "Hermitage of the New Era.' The headquarters were to be at San Francisco and there the press was started. The paper was first issued on the 1st November 1913.

The objects of the Association or '*Ghadr*' party are deposed to by the witnesses and clearly set out in the party organ. Each issue contains an article entitled, 'A rough account of the British Raj.' It gives fourteen heads of charges against British rule. It will be sufficient to cite a few of them. '1. The English are dragging away 50 crores of rupees every year from India to England. 3. For the education of 24 crores of persons the expenses are $7\frac{3}{4}$ crores and for sanitation two crores, but for the army $29\frac{1}{2}$ crores are spent. 4. Famines are increasing and within the last ten years two crores of men, women and children have died from hunger. 11. Expeditions have been sent against Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Persia and China with the money of India and at the sacrifice of the lives of Indians only. 14. Fifty-seven years have passed since the mutiny of 1857 and another is urgently needed now.'

The paper is frankly seditious and it urges preparations for mutiny and the freedom of India by expelling the English. Again—'This is the time to prepare yourselves for mutiny while this war is raging in Europe. Oh, brave people! Hurry up and stop all these taxes by mutinying.' 'Wanted:—Brave soldiers to stir up *Ghadr* in India. Pay—death; prize—martydom; pension—liberty; field of battle—India.'

"Get up, and open your eyes, Accumulate bags of money for the *Ghadr* and proceed to India. Sacrifice your lives to obtain liberty.'

The issue presses everyone to return to India for *Ghadr* to free the country from British rule.

The theme of all the issues is the same, namely, to go to India and stir up *Ghadr* to defeat the English and take the government of the country from them.

A book of inflammatory poems was also issued called the '*Ghadr-i-ganj*.' The nineteenth poem is in praise of Tilak, Liyaqat Husain, Barkatulla, Suki, Ajit Singh, Savarkar, Arabinda Ghosh, Krishnavarma, Hardayal and others and of the *Ghadr* newspaper. 'They have raised the flag of mutiny—Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammadans all have joined. . . Let us go to our country to fight, this is our final order.'

It tells of the arrest of Hardayal at San Francisco on the 25th of March 1914.

In the issue of the 18th August 1914, the *Ghadr* gives instructions for those actively working in the cause. They should distribute *Ghadr* literature, encourage passive resistance, break up railways, induce people to withdraw their money from banks, give notice to the native regiments to get ready to 'raze down these Franks,' and so on.

* * * * * *

There can be no doubt that a conspiracy was started in 1912, and that it had for its object the freedom of India from the British Raj by mutiny, whereby the English were to be driven out of India and the country governed by the people themselves.

The *Ghadr* newspaper was sent out broadcast to all places where there were Indians, and it was admittedly received in Bangkok. It is proved that more copies than one of each issue were sent to various persons, and the paper contains a request that the spare copies should be distributed to others and passed on (Exhibits M 1 and M 2). A roll of 50 copies was sent to 'Arya Prince Charlie at Bangkok,' and it is obvious that so great a number can only have been sent for distribution. The paper was sent gratis and no request for it was necessary, so that the mere act of receipt cannot prove much, but the fact must be considered."

Before the outbreak of war the only issues of the *Ghadr* which came into the hands of the Burmese authorities were a few which reached persons loyally disposed to the British Government, but that a considerable number of copies were reaching Burma might fairly be inferred from the fact that as soon as censorship was introduced for postal communications, large quantities were seized. As many as 104 covers containing copies of the *Ghadr*, published on the 24th January 1915, were intercepted. They contained 220 Gujerathi, 10 Hindi and 3 Urdu issues of the paper. The Gujerathi editions were found to have been prepared by one Khem Chand Damji, who for some time had been resident in Rangoon and had afterwards gone to America and found employment with the *Ghadr* Press in San Francisco.

The "Jahan-i-Islam."

156. Among the 104 covers above referred to, were found six issues of a Turkish paper known as *Jahan-i-Islam*. This was a newspaper containing articles in Arabic, Turkish and Hindi, which was started in Constantinople about May 1914. The Urdu portion of it was prepared by Abu Saiyad, a native of the Punjab, who until 1912 had been employed as a teacher and sometimes as a clerk in Rangoon and had left for Egypt about the time of the outbreak of the Turko-Italian war. Copies of this paper were at first freely obtainable both in Lahore and in Calcutta, but owing to its violently anti-Christian tone its importation into India was prohibited under the Sea Customs Act in August 1914. After the declaration of war the Urdu section of the paper contained a leading article by Hardayal, the originator of the *Ghadr*, and virulently anti-British articles by the Egyptian Nationalist leaders, Farid Bey and Mansur Arifat. In the issue of the 20th November 1914 a speech of Enver Pasha was reported, in which, among other things, he said:—"This is the time that the *Ghadr* should be declared in India, the magazines of the English should be plundered, their weapons looted and they should be killed therewith. The Indians number 32 crores at the best and the English are only 2 lakhs; they should be murdered: they have no army. The Suez Canal will shortly be closed by the Turks, but he who will die and liberate the country and his native land will live for ever. Hindus and Muhammadans, you are both soldiers of the army and you are brothers, and this low degraded English is your enemy; you should become *ghazis* by declaring *jihad*, and by combining with your brothers murder the English and liberate India."

The reference to *Ghadr* in this issue of the paper was probably due to the inspiration of Hardayal, who during his visit to Constantinople in September 1914 stayed with Abu Saiyad and wrote the article for the paper which has already been referred to.

157. The despatch of copies of the *Jihan-i-Islam* in bundles of the *Ghadr* newspaper seems to have been no accident. It has been ascertained that, at the suggestion of Abu Saiyid, Tewfik Bey, a prominent member of the Young Turk party, came to Rangoon in 1913 and offered the post of Turkish Consul to Ahmad Mullah Daud, a member of the Muhammadan trading community in Rangoon. At the time of the outbreak of the war Ahmad Mullah Daud held the office of Turkish Consul. **Pro-Turkish intrigues.**

After Turkey had entered the war two Indian Muhammadans came to Rangoon who had been in Turkey as members of the Red Crescent Society which had gone from India to afford medical relief to the Turkish army in the Balkan war. One of these persons was Hakim Faim Ali, who was sent out in December 1914 from Constantinople as an emissary of the Young Turk party. The other was Ali Ahmad Sadiqi, who also arrived about the end of 1914.

Some of the Muhammadans at Rangoon were at this time in a disaffected state. In the month of November the 130th Baluchis had arrived from Bombay, having been transferred to Rangoon as a punishment for murdering one of their officers. The regiment consisted chiefly of Muhammadans. Soon after their arrival Muhammadans at Rangoon had contaminated the men with the tenets of the *Ghadr* newspaper and by January 1915 the regiment was thoroughly disaffected and ready for mutiny. The rising was, however, nipped in the bud on the 21st January by timely and drastic action on the part of the military authorities who punished 200 of the plotters.

About the 28th of December 1914, letters were intercepted from one Kasim Mansur, a Gujerathi Muhammadan of Singapore, to his son in Rangoon. One of these letters forwarded an appeal to the Turkish Consul, Ahmad Mullah Daud, from the Malay States Guides, one of the two regiments in Singapore, informing him that the regiment was prepared to mutiny against the British Government and fight for the Turks, and requesting that a Turkish warship might be sent to Singapore. Information of this correspondence was given to the authorities at Singapore in time to enable them to transfer the Malay States Guides to another place before any mutiny occurred. The authorities were not, however, able to prevent a serious mutiny of the other Singapore regiment, the 5th Infantry, who had undoubtedly been contaminated by Muhammadan and Hindu conspirators belonging to the American *Ghadr* party. Some of these plotters soon after the Singapore mutiny found their way to Rangoon. Among them was one Mujtaba Husain *alias* Mul Chand, who had been a zilladar in the Court of Wards at Cawnpore and had absconded after having misappropriated Rs. 2,000. He then appears to have found his way to Manila, where he came in touch with the *Ghadr* party and then came to Singapore and helped to promote the mutiny.

158. Meanwhile, Ali Ahmad and Faim Ali had been forming a secret society among Muhammadans, whose object was to assist in subverting British rule. They collected subscriptions amounting to Rs. 15,000, enlisted the services of the Head Master of the Memon Muhammadan School, employed a well-known smuggler to collect pistols and had rules framed with the object of preserving the secrets of their society. About the same time, *i.e.*, early in 1915, certain members of the *Ghadr* party, named Hasan Khan and Sohan Lal Pathak, who had come from Bangkok into Burma over the Siamese frontier, rented a house, No. 16, Dufferin Street, Rangoon, as the headquarters of their party and hired a post-box, No. 340, for their correspondence in Rangoon. **A secret society.**

Information of the existence of a *Ghadr* plot in Rangoon was first obtained in April 1915, when a letter was intercepted in Singapore from Mujtaba Husain giving the number of the post-box, No. 340, in Rangoon. In the month of June a large batch of *Ghadr* literature was found at Myawaddy in Burma, near the Siamese frontier, together with two letters addressed to Ali Ahmad and Faim Ali in Rangoon.

The close connection between the Muhammadan and the *Ghadr* plotters thus becomes apparent.

It is evident that at this time attempts were being made to tamper with the Military Police of Burma, a formidable force which numbers 15,000 men and is recruited chiefly from Sikhs and Punjabi Muhammadans. One of the letters found at No. 16, Dufferin Street, was addressed to a notorious Sikh *Ghadrite* from British Columbia, named Harnam Singh, under the fictitious name of Ishar Das, from the Military Police Sikh temple in Moulmein asking Ishar Das for money.

The *Ghadr* literature seized at Myawaddy in June contained a leaflet reproduced locally by a Chinese process entitled "A Message of Love to Military brethren," in which the native officers of the Military Police were invited not to be tempted by medals and badges of slavery but to throw them away, wash out the old stains of servitude and adorn their breasts with the insignia of freedom.

"Ghadr" attempts to cause trouble.

159. In the month of August, Sohan Lal Pathak, who was a direct emissary from the *Ghadr* headquarters in San Francisco, met some men of the Mountain Battery stationed at Maymyo and harangued them on the folly of serving Government and endeavoured to seduce them from their allegiance. The men, however, proved loyal and their jemadar succeeded in capturing Sohan Lal, who had on his person three automatic pistols and 270 cartridges. He had with him also papers which included an article by the notorious Hardayal, a copy of the *Jahan-i-Islam*, several copies of a *Fatwa* appealing to the Faithful to destroy unbelievers, elaborate formulæ for making explosives and a copy of the *Ghadr* paper. Five days later Narayan Singh, who had been travelling with Sohan Lal, was captured in Maymyo with a fully loaded pistol, which he attempted to use against the police, a quantity of ammunition, copies of the Turkish *Fatwa* and a copy of the *Ghadr*. Narayan Singh had been employed on a railway in Siam and had come across the frontier from that State.

This was not an isolated case of attempt to introduce mutiny and rebellion from the Siamese frontier. There is ample evidence that the *Ghadr* party in America, in conjunction with the Germans, intended to train Sikhs returning to India to the use of arms in places along the railway which was being built in Northern Siam in the direction of Burma largely by German engineers and Punjabi workmen, and to invade Burma and foment rebellion by Indian troops and the Military Police. The story of these schemes and of their failure was investigated in the first conspiracy case in Mandalay, a number of conspirators were brought to justice and punished and fresh evidence was afforded of the activity of the Germans and the *Ghadrites* in Bangkok, indications of which had become apparent also in connection with other German schemes in the Far East.

Shib Dayal Kapur, a Sikh returning from America by way of Shanghai, was sent on to Bangkok by a German in Shanghai and put in touch with the German Consul at Bangkok, from whom he received money to finance the Sikhs entering Burma from Siam. He also received money for a Bengali lawyer of Bangkok to enable the latter to go to Calcutta and get in touch with the Bengali revolutionists in that place who were expecting to receive a large consignment of German arms somewhere in the Bay of Bengal. There is reason to believe that 5,000 revolvers were expected.

The Muhammadan *Ghadr* party of Rangoon are known to have planned a rising on the occasion of the *Bakr-Id* in October 1915, when English were to be killed "instead of goats and cows." The rising was, however, postponed until the 25th of December as their arrangements were not complete. During November a *Ghadr* plot in the Military Police battalion at Pyawbwe was discovered and revolvers, dynamite and other things to be used in the mutiny were seized. Action was then taken under the rules under the Defence of India Act and the chief conspirators, including Muhammadans, were interned. Since then there has been no trouble in Burma.

CHAPTER XIV.

A MUHAMMADAN CURRENT.

Indian Muhammadans and the war.

160. The Census figures of 1911 show that in India, on an average, of every ten persons seven are Hindus, two are Muhammadans, and one is a follower of some other religion. The Muhammadans are, however, unevenly distributed; in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan nine men out of every ten are Muslims, in the Punjab and Bengal every second man, in Bombay one man out of five, and in the United Provinces one man out of seven. British rule, however, followed closely on the decay of Muslim sovereignty; and the political importance of Indian Muslims has always outweighed their actual numbers. But in the early years of the new dispensation they were slow to appreciate the advantages of Western learning; and when at last they realised that under Western administration this must be necessarily the way to office and power they had lost considerable ground. Much of this ground, however, they succeeded in recovering; and when the Morley-Minto reforms of 1908 were carried into effect, representative Muhammadans took a distinguished place in the councils of the Indian Empire.

Very few Muhammadans were in any degree concerned in any of the conspiracies described in our previous chapters; and the only recent movement towards the forcible subversion of British rule which can be termed Muhammadan was isolated, weakly supported, and mainly due to the remarkable circumstances of present times.

The sympathy of Indian Muslims with Turkey was noticeable as long ago as the Crimean War; and, before the outbreak of the present gigantic struggle, had strengthened with improved communications and a wider interest in the world outside India. The feeling had been fanned by pan-Islamic influences to some of which we have referred in our chapter on the Punjab, by the war between Italy and Turkey, and by the events of the Balkan War. The British agreement with Russia regarding Persia was much disliked, and British inaction during the Balkan War was contrasted with Britain's championship of Turkey in former days. It was said by some that, unless, the Imperial policy altered, the Muslim status in Asia and Europe would be permanently abased. The worst interpretation possible was placed by certain Muslim newspapers on all occurrences in or out of India which could be adduced in support of this theory.

When these things are remembered, it is evident that the choice which confronted zealous Muhammadans in November 1914 was one of some complexity. The declaration of war came from Turkey. But that pan-Islamism should find no expression in after events, that it should contribute no trouble of any kind could perhaps hardly be expected. In the mass. Indian Muslims may justly claim credit for the part which they have played. This part has been prompted in some measure by the declaration which immediately followed the news of Turkey's entry into the arena, that the holy cities of Arabia and sacred shrines of Mesopotamia would not be attacked by Britain and her allies, so long as Indian pilgrims remained unmolested. And the loyal manifesto simultaneously published by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, premier ruling Chief of India, set a valuable example to his co-religionists.

But among a small and vaguely defined group of fanatical Muhammadans there has been a desire to assist or join the enemies of England, a wish to substitute a new Islamic Empire for present British rule in India. This wish has borne fruit in proceedings which we will now describe.

The Hindustan fanatics.

161. In independent territory across the border of the North-West Frontier Province there is a small colony of Hindustani fanatics, who go by the name of Mujahidin. The colony was founded by Saiyid Ahmad Shah, a native of Rai Bareli in Oudh and a fervent apostle in India of the Wahabi

sect. Wahabis are an advanced division of the Sunnis, believers in the doctrines of Abdul Wahab, an Arab reformer of the eighteenth century, who taught literal interpretation of the *Koran* and rejection of all priestly forms, ceremonies, and glosses on the Holy Writ. Saiyid Ahmad, who had begun life as a soldier of fortune, adopted Wahabi doctrines, visited Mecca in 1822, returned to India, where he acquired a following at various places in the Gangetic plain, and in 1824 appeared among the mountain tribes on the Peshawar border preaching a *jihad* or war against the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. Together with his adherents, he founded a colony which, although small, has survived many vicissitudes and remains until now. It has frequently been assisted by recruits and funds from co-religionists in this country many of whom have lent their support to this colony as a purely religious institution without enquiring into its political tendencies. Its members regard India as a land not governed by Muslims and therefore unfit for Muslim habitation, a land of the enemy (*dar-ul-harb*). They have always preached *jihad*. They have always kept in touch with, and drawn support from, a secret organization of friends in India. During the troubles of 1857 they were joined by a number of mutineers and endeavoured unsuccessfully to bring about a general frontier attack. Later on they took part in various border wars, and in 1915 were concerned in the rising which led up to the engagements at Rustam and Shabkadr. Twelve of their number, dressed in the customary black robes, were found dead on the field after the latter.

The flight of the Lahore students.

162. In our chapter on the Punjab we mentioned that in February 1915 fifteen Lahore students left their colleges and joined the Mujahidin, subsequently proceeding to Kabul, where they were first placed in strict detention and afterwards released and allowed some freedom of movement under surveillance. Two have returned to India. Three were captured by the Russians and made over to the British authorities. They expressed contrition for their behaviour and have received conditional pardon. The whole fifteen have been called by their admirers the Muhajirin (the persons who, following the example of the Prophet Muhammad, have fled from their homes under oppression). We have read the statements of two of those who have returned. One was impressed by a printed tract with the idea that the Sultan of Turkey had proclaimed that it was feared that the British might attack and dishonour Mecca and Medina. Indian Muhammadans should therefore rise and proceed to an Islamic country. They must unite in *jihad* against non-Muslims. The other student was equally stirred by the Sultan's proclamation and was offended by a picture in an English newspaper which he considered obnoxious to Islamic sentiment. Both had conceived the false idea that the Muhammadan religion was insulted and oppressed in India.

Its significance.

163. Times like the present bring to the surface secret and long forgotten currents. The flight of the fifteen students from Lahore was a visible sign that there are in this country, as there were fifty years ago, a few Muhammadans who teach that the way of salvation lies in waging war against the infidel Government of India either personally or by recruiting for or sending money to the Mujahidin. This fact has been established by other evidence. In January 1917 it was discovered that a party of eight Muhammadans had joined the Mujahidin from the districts of Rangpur and Dacca in Eastern Bengal. In March 1917 two Bengali Muhammadans were arrested in the North-West Frontier Province with Rs. 8,000 in their possession which they were conveying to the fanatical colony. These two men had been for some time themselves Mujahidin and had been sent down to their native districts to collect subscriptions. The ground is prepared for such persons and their work is facilitated by false allegations of British oppression. They have helpers of a type that is not new but has for many years been generally lost to official sight. Various State trials of such helpers took place between the years 1864 and 1872. In 1868 some Wahabi conspirators were interned under the provisions of Act III of 1818. The following passages from a book named " Our Indian Musalmans," published by the late Sir William (then Mr.) Hunter of the Indian Civil Service, explain the circumstances of these internments :—" There can be no little doubt that had

this Act been applied to the confederacy which the campaign of 1858 and the subsequent enquiries disclosed, British India would have been spared the Frontier War of 1863. A few well-aimed arrests would have saved us nearly a thousand soldiers killed or wounded in the Ambeyla Pass, and many hundred thousand pounds. Even after that war, if the conspiracy which the State trial of 1864 brought to light had been broken up by a vigorous use of the power of arrest by the Executive, we should in all probability have been spared the campaign on the Black Mountain in 1868. . . . Costly wars on our Frontier, severe judicial sentences within our territory, had alike failed to put down the fanatical confederacy; and in 1868 the Government at length resolved to vigorously enforce its power of arresting offenders. This measure could be carried out without risk of injury to the innocent. . . . Lists of the leading traitors had for several years been in the hands of the authorities. The most conspicuous preachers of treason were apprehended; the spell which they had exerted on their followers was broken; and by degrees a phalanx of testimony was gathered together against those more secret and meaner, although richer, traitors who managed the remittances, and who, like the Army contractors in the trial of 1864, carried on a profitable business as underwriters of treasonable risks."

We find that the recorded proceedings of the Bengal Government for the year 1869 contain the abstracts of charges and grounds of detention in regard to each of these old internees. We quote a specimen extract. It relates to a certain Nazir Sirdar of the Malda district and discloses practices which are now rare but have not ceased to exist. The warrant for the detention of this man was issued on the 10th of November 1868. The grounds for its issue were these :—" It was found that contributions were openly made in several villages contiguous to Kalleea Chuk in Maldah for a *jihad* or religious war against the English, with the intention of restoring the Muhammadan rule, and driving the Kafir (English) from the country; several persons were arrested, and witnesses were examined by the Magistrate. The evidence showed that Nazir Sirdar was the leader of this movement; that he had taken an active and prominent part for several years; that he had induced several men to proceed on *jihad* to join the Hindustanees at Malka and Sittana; and that he and his agents had levied contributions from all Musalmans on account of *jihad*. The evidence also showed that Ibrahim Mandal was the head centre to whom Nazir sent all sums collected by him and his agents, and who received those contributions, avowedly to remit the same to the fanatics across the frontier."

The "Silk Letter" conspirators.

164. Favourers of the Mujahidin are few in number, but supply an essential link in a chain of communication which the persons whom we shall here designate the " Silk Letter " conspirators have sought to establish with the Muslims of India.

In August 1916 the plot known to Government as the " Silk Letters " case was discovered. This was a project hatched in India with the object of destroying British rule by means of an attack on the North-West Frontier, supplemented by a Muhammadan rising in this country. For the purpose of instigating and executing this plan a certain Maulvi Obeidulla crossed the North-West Frontier early in August 1915 with three companions, Abdulla, Fateh Muhammad and Muhammad Ali. Obeidulla is a converted Sikh and had been trained as a Maulvi in the Muslim religious school at Deoband in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces. There he infected some of the staff and students with his own militant and anti-British ideas, and the principal person whom he influenced was Maulana Mahmud Hassan, who had long been head Maulvi in the school. Obeidulla wished to spread over India a pan-Islamic and anti-British movement through the agency of Maulvis trained in the famous Deoband school. But his plans were thwarted by the Manager and Committee, who dismissed him and some of his chief associates. There is evidence too that he got into trouble over some accounts. Maulana Mahmud Hassan, however, remained and continued to receive visits from Obeidulla. Secret meetings were held at the Maulana's house and it was reported that men from the frontier had been received there. On September the 18th, 1915, Mahmud Hassan, with a certain Muhammad Mian and other friends, followed Obeidulla's example

by leaving India, not however for the North, but for the Hedjaz tract of Arabia.

Before departing, Obeidulla had started a school in Delhi, and had put two books into circulation preaching militant fanaticism to Indian Muhammadans and impressing on them the supreme duty of *jihad*. The common object of this man and his friends, including the Maulana, was to promote a great Muslim attack on India which should synchronize with a Muslim rebellion. We shall see how each endeavoured to accomplish his purpose.

Obeidulla and his friends first visited the Hindustani fanatics and afterwards proceeded to Kabul. There he met the members of a Turco-German Mission with whom he fraternised; and after some time he was joined by his Deoband friend, Maulvi Muhammad Mian Ansari. This man had accompanied Maulana Mahmud Hassan to Arabia and returned in 1916 with a declaration of *jihad* received by the Maulana from the hand of Ghalib Pasha, then Turkish Military Governor of the Hedjaz. While on his way, Muhammad Mian distributed copies of this document, known as the "Ghalib-nama," both in India and among the frontier tribes. Obeidulla and his fellow-conspirators had devised a scheme for the provisional government of India after the overthrow of British power.* A certain Mahendra Pratap was to be President. This man is a Hindu of good family and eccentric character, who, at the end of 1914, was granted a passport to travel in Italy, Switzerland and France. He had gone straight to Geneva, had there met the notorious Hardayal and had been by Hardayal introduced to the German Consul. He had then proceeded to Berlin and had thence been despatched on a special mission, having apparently impressed the Germans with an exaggerated idea of his importance.

Obeidulla himself was to be Minister of India, and Barkatulla, a friend of Krishnavarma's and a member of the American *Ghadr* party, who had also travelled to Kabul *via* Berlin, was to be Prime Minister. Son of a servant of the Bhopal State, he had visited England, America and Japan. He had been appointed Professor of Hindustani at Tokio. He had there edited a bitter anti-British paper called "The Islamic fraternity," which was suppressed by the Japanese authorities. He had later been dismissed from his appointment and had then joined his *Ghadr* friends in America.

The Germans of the Mission, failing to achieve their object, left Afghanistan early in 1916; but the Indians remained, and the "Provisional Government" despatched letters to both the Governor of Russian Turkestan and the then Czar of Russia inviting Russia to throw over her alliance with Great Britain and assist in the overthrow of British rule in India. These were signed by Mahendra Pratap and subsequently fell into British hands. The letter to the Czar was on a gold plate, a photograph of which has been shown to us.

The "Provisional Government" also proposed to form an alliance with the Turkish Government, and in order to accomplish this object Obeidulla addressed a letter to his old friend, Maulana Mahmud Hassan. This, together with another letter dated the 8th *Ramzan* (9th July 1916), written by Muhammad Mian Ansari, he forwarded under a covering note addressed to Sheikh Abdur Rahim of Hyderabad, Sind, a person who has since absconded. Sheikh Abdur Rahim was requested in the note to send on the enclosures by the hand of some reliable *hadji* (pilgrim) to Mahmud Hassan at Mecca, or even to convey them himself if no trustworthy messenger were obtainable. We have ourselves seen the letters to Mahmud Hassan which came into British hands. They are neatly and clearly written on yellow silk. Muhammad Mian's letter mentioned the previous arrival of the German and Turkish missions, the return of the Germans, the staying on of the Turks, "but

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* Obeidulla has thus been described by one who knew him well: "He was an extraordinary man for drawing up schemes, so that one would imagine he was ruler of a great empire, but when there was real work to be done he was lazy and indifferent about doing anything himself."

without work," the runaway students, the circulation of the " Ghalibnama, the " Provisional Government," and the projected formation of an " army of God." This army was to draw recruits from India and to bring about an alliance among Islamic rulers. Mahmud Hassan was to convey all these particulars to the Ottoman Government. Obeidulla's letter contained a tabular statement of the " army of God." Its headquarters were to be at Medina, and Mahmud Hassan himself was to be general-in-chief. Secondary headquarters under local generals were to be established at Constantinople, Teheran and Kabul. The general at Kabul would be Obeidulla himself. The table contains the names of three patrons, 12 field marshals, and many other high military officers. Of the Lahore students, one was to be a major-general, one a colonel, and six lieutenant-colonels. Most of the persons designated for these high commands cannot have been consulted as to their appointments. But the whole information conveyed by the silk letters has rendered certain precautions advisable, and these have been taken.

In December 1916 Maulana Mahmud Hassan and four of his companions fell into British hands. They are now prisoners of war interned in a British possession. Ghalib Pasha, the signer of the " Ghalibnama," is also a prisoner of war and has admitted signing a paper put before him by the Mahmud Hassan party. A translation of its prominent passages runs as follows :—" The Muhammadans in Asia, Europe and Africa adorned themselves with all sorts of arms and rushed to join the *jihad* in the path of God. Thanks to Almighty God that the Turkish Army and the Mujahidin have overcome the enemies of Islam. . . . Oh Moslems, therefore attack the tyrannical Christian government under whose bondage you are. . Hasten to put all your efforts, with strong resolution, to strangle the enemy to death and show your hatred and enmity for them. It may also be known to you that Maulvi Mahmud Hassan Effendi (formerly at the Deoband Madrassa, India) came to us and sought our counsel. We agreed with him in this respect and gave him necessary instructions. You should trust him if he comes to you and help him with men, money and whatever he requires."

Conclusion.

165. The facts narrated in this chapter establish clearly the anxiety of some Muhammadan fanatics to provoke first sedition and then rebellion in India. For the purpose of accomplishing their objects they seek to co-operate with the enemies of Britain. Their methods of waging war range from subterranean intrigue and propaganda to open defection. Sometimes they send recruits or collect and remit money. Sometimes they go themselves. Always they preach sedition. Against their designs the loyalty of the general Muslim community and the effective power of the Government are the only safeguards.

CHAPTER XV.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

The nature of all these conspiracies. Their failure.

166. We have now investigated all the conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement. In Bombay they have been purely Brahmin and mostly Chitpavan. In Bengal the conspirators have been young men belonging to the educated middle classes. Their propaganda has been elaborate, persistent and ingenious. In their own province it has produced a long series of murders and robberies. In Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras, it took no root, but occasionally led to crime or disorder. In the Punjab the return of emigrants from America, bent on revolution and bloodshed, produced numerous outrages and the *Ghadr* conspiracy of 1915. In Burma, too, the *Ghadr* movement was active, but was arrested.

Finally came a Muhammadan conspiracy confined to a small clique of fanatics and designed to overthrow British rule with foreign aid.

All these plots have been directed towards one and the same objective, the overthrow by force of British rule in India. Sometimes they have been isolated; sometimes they have been interconnected; sometimes they have been encouraged and supported by German influence. All have been successfully encountered with the support of Indian loyalty. But it is not surprising that, in dealing with conspiracies so elusive and carefully contrived, Government has been compelled to resort to extraordinary legislation. In our next chapter we shall show why codes and procedure devised in less difficult times failed to meet the necessities of the situation created by some of the conspiracies which we have described.

PART II.

Difficulties and Suggestions.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DIFFICULTIES THAT HAVE ARISEN IN DEALING WITH THE CONSPIRACIES.

Question obscured by the use of extraordinary powers.

167. We have now to examine as regards India as a whole the difficulties which have arisen in dealing with the conspiracies which we have described. This is not the same thing as examining the failure of the courts of justice in the punishment of crime, because the forces at the command of the Government have not been limited to those provided and regulated by the Criminal Law. The powers conferred by Regulation III of 1818 have been in force throughout the whole existence of these conspiracies. Since March 1915 there have been the Defence of India Act and the Rules under it. The Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, and the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914, were enacted early in the autumn of the preceding year.

These powers have been largely used. In the Punjab a threatening situation was terminated in 1907 by the deportation under Regulation III of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The much more ominous plots and disturbances connected with the returning Sikhs in 1914 and 1915 were crushed by extra-judicial measures and the ringleaders in outrage were tried and convicted under the Defence of India Act procedure. In a sense, therefore, difficulty has not been experienced in dealing with those conspiracies. The difficulties with reference to which we have to report are, however, those which would have arisen in the absence of such measures. They would have been grave indeed.

In Bengal the revolutionary movement (which began earlier, was more fully organized and worked in soil better prepared than in the Punjab) increased and flourished continuously from 1907 to 1916. Though Pulin Behari Das was deported in December 1908 he was released in 1910 and for the next five or six years practically no extra-judicial methods were employed. Even after the enactment of the Defence of India Act in 1915, its provisions were at first but slightly used. The murder on the 30th June 1916 of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji marked the end of this policy. By this crime the revolutionaries were brought within sight of the realisation of one of their preliminary objects, namely, the demoralisation of the police. The necessity of extraordinary measures could now no longer be denied. Arrests and searches under the Defence of India Act and the confessions and revelations thereby obtained enabled the police to get inside the movement, and the members of it have been gradually consigned to custody. In this sense, therefore, the difficulty experienced in dealing with the conspiracy in Bengal has been from the middle of 1916 overcome. The preceding period of approximately ten years stands, however, as a period over which it is possible to study, unconfused by collateral influences, the contest between this class of crime and the criminal law of the Courts. Still the period since June 1916 must not be wholly neglected. There have been outrages since that time, though they have diminished progressively, but the Courts cannot be appealed to for want of evidence. One trial has, however, been proceeding at Alipore during our sittings and it will be hereafter again referred to.

Statistics of outrages and convictions in Bengal.

168. Since the year 1906 revolutionary outrages in Bengal have numbered 210 and attempts at committing such outrages have amounted to 101. Definite information is in the hands of the police of the complicity of no less than 1,038 persons in these offences. But of these, only 84 persons have been convicted of specified crimes in 39 prosecutions, and of these persons, 30 were tried by tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act. Ten attempts have been made to strike at revolutionary conspiracies by means of prosecutions directed against groups or branches. In these

prosecutions 192 persons were involved, 63 of whom were convicted.* Eighty-two revolutionaries have rendered themselves liable to be bound over to be of good behaviour under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code. In regard to 51 of these, there is direct evidence of complicity in outrages. There have, moreover, been 59 prosecutions under the Arms and Explosives Acts which have resulted in convictions of 58 persons.

Reasons for failure of ordinary machinery in Bengal.
(a) Want of evidence.

169. The main reason why it has not been possible by the ordinary machinery of the criminal law to convict and imprison on a larger scale those guilty of outrages and so put down crime is simply want of sufficient evidence. There have been 91 dacoities since 1907, of which 16 were accompanied by murder, and from January 1st, 1915, to June 30th, 1916, there were 14 murders, 8 of them being of police officers, for which it has not been possible to put anyone upon trial. This difficulty in obtaining legal evidence has been no doubt greatly enhanced by terrorism, as we shall show. But apart from that, the inherent difficulties are formidable. With regard to the country districts, it is necessary to bear in mind that in spite of some increases the constabulary is still practically limited to what was found necessary to maintain order among peaceable peasantry. The organization is briefly as follows :—

(b) Paucity of police.

For the purpose of the investigation of crime the geographical unit may be taken to be the police-station. A police-station in Bengal has an average area of 110 square miles, but many of them have more than 250 square miles and some as many as 500. There is sometimes only one investigating officer attached to a police-station, though in most cases he has two or more additional officers to assist. The investigating officers hold the rank of Sub-Inspector and are Indians.

There is a staff of constables, numbering generally from 6 to 18 attached to each police-station. These men are almost all illiterate and are not employed in investigation work. Their duties are merely routine, confined to such work as the execution of warrants, patrol, and escort of prisoners.

Besides the regular police there is in each village a local watchman, known as "chaukidar," paid for by the villagers. He is not a whole-time servant, is usually a cultivator, and wholly illiterate. His primary function is to keep watch and ward and report matters of interest occurring in his village to the officer in charge of the police-station. His remuneration averages from Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 per mensem. In some districts he is subordinate to the District Magistrate, and in others to the Superintendent of Police. Groups of chaukidars, numbering about 15, work under a dafadar, who is supposed generally to superintend their work. * * *

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(c) Facilities enjoyed by criminals.

It is to be remembered that the districts in which the police above described have to do their work consist of scattered villages often accessible during the rains in Eastern Bengal by water only. An armed band coming from a distance suddenly attacks a house or houses in one of these villages. The members of the gang have their faces covered with masks. They make a reckless use of firearms to keep the villagers at a distance and then depart. They have generally cut the telegraph wires, if any. When perhaps after many hours or even several days an officer of experience reaches the spot he can collect no evidence satisfactorily identifying anyone as involved in the crime, and, unless one of the gang has been wounded and captured or it has been possible to cut them off in their retreat, no clue is obtained. As a rule the dacoits easily make their way by twos and threes to the centre from which they set out.

With regard to outrages in towns the character of the irregular streets with their open-fronted shops and dwellings must be borne in mind. And it must be realised that the Bengali dress with the loose shawl thrown over the shoulders and coming down over the hands in front makes it easy to carry undetected even a heavy pistol like a Mauser in a way that would be impossible to a man in European clothes.

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* See Annexure (2).

(d) Difficulty in proof of possession of arms, etc.

Another difficulty is this. Where incriminating articles such as arms or documents are found it is often hard to bring home the possession to any particular individuals. This occurs where the same premises are occupied jointly by undivided families, or even where a house or garden is used as a mess or meeting place for a number of youths. The latter difficulty is illustrated by the following passages from the judgment of the Sessions Judge of Dacca in the Adabari arms affair :—

"I hold it safe to infer that there was a close connection between the young men seen running away and the arms found, and that the garden was used as a meeting place for young men banded together for an illegal purpose. I also think it safe to infer that the appellants were members of this band. But I do not think it safe to infer that every member of the band had control of the arms and ammunition concealed in the garden. Unless this inference can be drawn the charge against the appellants has not been established. . . . There is no evidence of the appellants being leading members of the band. . . . From Lakhan chaukidar's evidence it appears that the teacher called Sarada was their captain, who used to teach them *lathi*-play. For the reasons stated I hold that it had not been proved that the appellants had the revolvers and ammunition in their possession or under their control."

(e) Distrust of evidence.

It is also true that evidence as to identity has in practice to be overwhelming. Having regard to the difficulties to which we have adverted, it is possible that the principle is a sound one. The same may perhaps be said of the feeling which seems to pervade these trials that there is but a slight presumption that a witness, however serious his testimony, is telling the truth. Indeed, even where a prisoner has confessed before a Magistrate in a way that makes his statement evidence under the Indian Evidence Act, it is common for his advocate at the trial formally and seriously to "retract" the statement for him. This is treated as making some difference. Even this may be a sound practice. But if it is, it only shows how difficult it is to establish anything.

(f) Confessions largely useless.

In many of the cases where no one has been brought to justice we think the information now before us shows beyond any reasonable moral doubt at least some of the guilty parties. This is because we have now so many converging though independent indications. Yet we recognise that a prosecution would probably fail. The position is a curious one. Confessions made to the police are not evidence. As a corollary to this there is no objection to the police questioning suspects without a caution, nor any disadvantage in answering. The result is that the facts are known because they cannot be proved.

Illustrations.

(a) The Armenian Street dacoity.

170. To illustrate the difficulty of obtaining reliable legal evidence even where the story of the crime is from a practical point of view known to a certainty, we will examine the case of the Armenian Street dacoity committed in Calcutta at about 9 P.M. on the 7th May 1917. This case possesses many features favouring the discovery of the crime and its ruthless cruelty should make it probable that any who could assist the police would come forward to do so. It will be remembered that five eye-witnesses of the occurrence survive, namely, the two servants (both wounded) of the proprietors, who were both killed, and two women and one Muhammadan who were in the shop as customers. Further, the dacoits went away in a taxi-cab, from which after going some distance they took out one of their number who had been badly wounded, shot him and left his body upon the ground. These are, therefore, important clues. Now we have carefully examined the materials collected by the police, and the following is what is available. The murdered dacoit has been independently identified by a neighbour from his own village. From papers and statements obtained by the police in searches in connection with their investigations of a previous crime, it was known that he belonged to a certain gang, but these documents and statements cannot be made legal evidence against the individuals in the gang on a charge of committing this dacoity. Ten members of this gang have by degrees been arrested, and all except three have admitted their guilt to police officers of standing. Two of those who have made no statements have, however, wounds upon them described by other prisoners as received by them in the course of the dacoity. The taxi-cab driver came forward but, though he admits witnessing the murder of the dacoit and washing blood from the car, he said nothing about it for a week, and spoke only when he thought he might be found out His

story varies and he obviously was an accomplice. He has identified as one of the dacoits one of the prisoners in custody who, as above mentioned, has made no statement, but at the same time he identified as another dacoit a perfectly innocent member of the public brought in for the purpose of the identification parade.

The taxi-cab was engaged by a man who has also been found. This man was on the car throughout and is also an accomplice, though he did not take part in the actual dacoity. He says he recognises the photograph of the murdered dacoit and also that of another of the gang. He was employed to hire the car by another man, who has also been found, and admits that he procured the engagement of the car knowing it was for a dacoity. The two wounded servants at the shop and the three customers say they could not identify any of the dacoits. It will be remembered that two of the customers fled, the other, a woman, hid under a bench and the two servants fell wounded at the commencement of the attack. One of the servants, however, thinks he recognises the photograph of the murdered dacoit as that of a youth who was loitering near the shop earlier in the day.

The upshot of the whole matter is that there is no untainted evidence against any one.

(b) The Bhowanipore murder.

Another illustration that may be given is the Bhowanipore murder. This is the outrage of the 30th June 1916, already mentioned as finally demonstrating the necessity of recourse to exceptional measures.

A senior Deputy Superintendent of Police and his orderly, a head constable, were proceeding home on bicycles near the Presidency Hospital, when five youths armed with pistols attacked them in broad daylight. At that time in the evening the roads of that neighbourhood are filled with traffic, although the particular cross-road of about a quarter of a mile in length on which the murder was actually committed carries comparatively little. On one side of this cross-road is an open plot of land on which a crowd of Bengali youths were playing football. The scene of the crime is only about 100 yards from one of the main thoroughfares.

The Deputy Superintendent was shot dead with nine wounds on his person, one of which was in the head. The head constable was seriously wounded and subsequently succumbed to his injuries in hospital. Both the Deputy Superintendent and his orderly were armed, but the suddenness of the attack afforded them no opportunity of using their weapons as they were cycling at the time.

After the outrage, the culprits escaped in the direction of a main thoroughfare to the east of the scene. They were challenged by a constable on point duty in the vicinity and fired at him. They then escaped through a small bye-lane into a thickly populated Indian quarter. They were dressed in ordinary clothes as worn by average Bengalis of that class and there was therefore nothing by which to identify them after they had got clear away from the immediate vicinity of the crime.

The police investigation on the spot gave no hope of identifying the culprits. The only evidence available was that of the wounded head constable who stated in hospital that he would be able to identify two of the youths, whom he described as wearing respectively a white shirt and a striped coat.

The nature of the crime itself provided no clue as to the particular section of the revolutionary party responsible, as many sections were known to have conspired or attempted to murder this officer previously.

The general statements of individuals arrested in Bengal shortly after the outrage showed clearly that this crime was the work of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, without however indicating the particular persons responsible for it.

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If the above synopsis is closely followed, it will be seen that of five persons captured at different times each states that he and the other four were the actual murderers and there is a good deal of concurrent information as to some at any rate of their confederates. Still there is no evidence justifying a prosecution.

The two crimes we have just dealt with occurred in 1916 and 1917, respectively, when the police had the experience of ten years behind them. Both crimes were committed in the streets of Calcutta.

Terrorism.

171. We have endeavoured to set forth some of the difficulties attending the enforcement of the criminal law in these cases. They have been enhanced by other causes and chiefly by terrorism. This began with the murder of Narendra Gosain, than which it would be hard to imagine a more telling act of vengeance. The murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy in April 1908 was the first great blow struck by these revolutionaries. The Alipore prosecution was the reply, and the approver in that prosecution was killed before the trial, and killed even in the gaol. A leaflet of the *Swadhin Bharat* series thus comments upon this achievement :—

" When, coming to know of the weakness of Narendra, who, roused by a new impulse, had lost his self-control, our crooked-minded merchant rulers were preparing to hurl a terrible thunderbolt upon the whole country, and when the great hero Kanailal, after having achieved success in the effort to acquire strength, in order to give an exhibition of India's unexpected strength, wielding the terrible thunderbolt of the great magician, and making every chamber in the Alipore Jail quake, drew blood from the breast of the traitor to his country, safe in a British prison, in iron chains, surrounded by the walls of a prison, then indeed the English realised that the flame which had been lit in Bengal had at its root a wonderful strength in store. . . ."

A newspaper, the *Bande Mataram*, openly sold, said this in its issue of the 12th September 1908 :—

" Kanai has killed Narendra. No more shall the wretch of an Indian who kisses the hands of his companions reckon himself safe from the avenging hand. The first of the Avenger's history shall write of Kanai and from the moment he fired the fatal shot the spaces of his country's heaven have been ringing with the echo of the voice ' Beware of the traitor's fate.' "

It is not necessary to recapitulate the further murders and attempted murders of officers, witnesses and suspected backsliders which have been already narrated as occurring in the succeeding years. The terroristic influences at work were recognised by Magistrates and Judges, as can be shown from recorded cases.

(a) Nangla case.

(*a*) The commitment order in the Nangla conspiracy case dated June 2nd, 1910, contains the following sentences :—" The fear shown by the majority of the witnesses was one of the notable features of the case. It was obvious that many of them only spoke with reluctance, while a considerable number showed such extreme nervousness at the sight of the accused when shown them for identification, that they made not the faintest effort to identify any of them, and exhibited only a great anxiety to escape at the earliest possible moment. The demeanour of the witnesses was a striking testimony to the terror which the gang had inspired."

(b) Barisal case.

(*b*) In the Barisal conspiracy case, the District Magistrate recorded the following order on the 27th of June 1913 :—" A week or so before the commencement of the case, I decided, in consultation with Mr. Webb, the Additional Superintendent of Police, to separate from the other political under-trials as many of the ringleaders as we could find accommodation for elsewhere. Our object was to lessen the chances of the under-trials conspiring

against the lives of the two confessing accused. . . . It is well known that some of the accused would gladly assassinate Girindra and Rajani if they could, and some of them have even made open signs to the informers indicating a desire to shoot them."

(c) Madaripur case.

(*c*) Baman Chandra Chakrabarti, an accused in the Madaripur conspiracy case, appealed to the High Court against a conviction of criminal intimidation under section 506, Indian Penal Code, and an order binding him over to keep the peace. This appeal was dismissed with the following observations from the Judges:—" The offence of criminal intimidation has been amply proved by evidence which cannot be doubted. The only thing that we have to consider is the sentence. . . . It is common knowledge that many assassinations, murders and bomb-throwing outrages have taken place and are still taking place, and that the victims generally have been persons assisting in Crown prosecutions, for instance, enquiring officers and approvers. In the present case the complainant was a witness who had come to give evidence against the present accused and his co-accused, and he was threatened in the manner already stated. . . . We have been informed by the learned Deputy Legal Remembrancer that the Faridpur conspiracy failed because of the reluctance of witnesses to give evidence on behalf of the prosecution. Mercy cannot be shown to persons who threaten witnesses who have come forward to state what they knew. Assassinations and murders must be put down with a strong hand. For these reasons we decline to interfere."

(d) Ganguli's case.

(*d*) On the 18th of September 1915, the Special Commissioners who tried the case of King-Emperor *versus* Bipin Behari Ganguli under section 395 of the Penal Code (dacoity) remarked in their judgment:—" It should be observed that during the investigation of the case Murari Mitra, whose son, Prabash, is an important witness and who himself is said to have rendered active assistance to the police, was murdered in his house on the 25th of August. This, no doubt, is responsible for the fact that several witnesses have resiled from the statements which they made before the police, and in our opinion must add considerable value to the evidence of those witnesses who have had the courage to adhere to their statements."

(e) Barisal case again.

(*e*) A letter exhibited in the Barisal conspiracy case and accepted by the Court indicates the methods employed by the terrorists. We may quote a few extracts:—" To one crowned with victory—The notice, etc., asked for by you will soon be sent. You should preach to the best of your abilities the idea among the students so that they may not waste to no purpose their time during the vacation. . . . You should first win over by sweet words the boy of your place about whose character you have written and keep him neutral, and if he proves a particular source of harm extreme measures should be adopted in his case so as to leave no clue."

(f) Sibpur dacoity.

(*f*) The Commissioners who tried the Sibpur dacoity case, in their judgment delivered on the 15th February 1916, observe: " In cases of this description, of a so-called political character, the bulk of the witnesses are reluctant to assist the police by coming forward and stating what they know."

(g) Mr. Gupta's memorandum.

(*g*) Mr. N. Gupta, a Counsel of considerable experience in trials of revolutionary offences, in a memorandum furnished to us states: " I have myself noticed that in several cases the witnesses have been seized with trembling when they went up to the dock to identify the accused persons."

Length of trials.

172. The opportunity for exercising terrorism is increased by the remarkable length of trials in India. All conspiracy cases are necessarily long, as a large number of people have to be separately connected with the offence charged and each overt act has to be proved as a separate case. A large number of witnesses must therefore be called. The defences of the individuals may be all separate. But all cases in India seem to be protracted by the multitude of points taken and by the cross-examination upon every sort of collateral matter of every witness, however unimportant, to a degree unknown in England. A few instances may indicate the time it takes to dispose of a criminal case, though it is right to add that many of the cases to be cited would have been much more speedily dealt with had the prosecution not included more prisoners than were ultimately convicted, and extended their

evidence to collateral matters really outside the course of proof. We may here point out that the preparation of a complicated criminal case demands very careful consideration by experienced lawyers. In England such cases absorb the energies of a large and able staff. In Bengal there is nothing to compare with it and it is no reflection upon the officers who have to do this work without the necessary training to say that the cases are not always presented as they should be.

In the Alipore conspiracy case, arrests were made on the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 10th of May 1908. Proceedings were instituted in the Magistrate's Court on the 18th of the same month. He framed charges on the 19th of August. The trial before the Sessions Judge lasted from the 19th of October 1908 to the 4th of March 1909, and judgment was delivered on the 6th of May 1909.

In the Nangla conspiracy case arrests were made on the 11th of April 1910; proceedings commenced before the Magistrate on the 14th idem. The accused were committed to a special Bench of the High Court under Act XIV of 1908, and judgment was delivered on the 30th of August 1910.

In the Howrah conspiracy case proceedings commenced before the Magistrate on the 23rd of March 1910, the accused were committed to the High Court on the 20th of July 1910, and judgment was delivered on the 19th of April 1911.

In the Dacca conspiracy case the case opened before the Magistrate on the 1st of August 1910. It was committed to the Sessions on the 22nd of November 1910, and judgment was delivered by the Sessions Court on the 7th of August 1911.

In the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case the accused were first produced before the Magistrate on the 20th of September 1914. His commitment order is dated March the 25th, 1915, and the Sessions Court delivered judgment on the 29th of November 1915.

In the Raja Bazar bomb case the accused were produced before a Magistrate on the 19th of December 1913, and judgment was delivered by the Sessions Court on June the 4th, 1914.

As a final illustration of what can be achieved in the protraction of proceedings we will refer to a trial which began at Alipore on the 2nd January last, judgment at the moment of writing standing reserved. In August 1916 a body with the features of the face obliterated by acid was found in a passenger compartment of a train which had started from Calcutta. A man who had been associating with revolutionaries and giving information to the police was missed about the same time. The case for the prosecution has been that a gang of five strangled this man in a lonely garden, put acid on his face, packed his body in a trunk, took it to the station in two hackney carriages (changing *en route*) and put it in the railway carriage as found. The trial has lasted 63 days, though no witnesses were called for the defence. The learned counsel for one of the accused addressed the Court for 20 days.

It must be remembered that in the course of these proceedings witnesses for the Crown have to give their evidence first before a Magistrate. Even that part of the proceedings may take weeks, during which the witnesses in waiting can be threatened. Then there is a long interval before they are called again at the trial. During this period they may be further threatened or they may partially forget the facts and develop discrepancies. They are not as a rule well-educated men, nor do they possess exact habits of mind. They have no intellectual predisposition to firmness in testimony nor much sense of the duty, as touching themselves, of co-operating in the repression of crime.

The figures quoted at the outset of this chapter of this report indicate that a great number of guilty persons escaped punishment, and we have set forth some reasons to account for their doing so. This, however, is only one way of looking at the matter. By our Terms of Reference we are required to consider the difficulties experienced in dealing with these conspiracies.

Relation between convictions and persistence of crime.

173. Now crime is not satisfactorily dealt with, however certainly its commission may be followed by punishment, unless it is checked thereby. We should therefore have liked to have taken the statistics year by year and set forth the relation between the convictions and the volume of crime in the succeeding period. This would have been a most informing statement. We have found it, however, impossible to present it either in chart, tabular or narrative form, so as to be at once just and clear. The convictions are often so long after the offence and acquittals are so numerous, that as regards their deterrent or preventive influence the proceedings cannot be assigned either a date or a value. On the other hand the continuing crime cannot be correctly appraised either by the number of cases or the property or life lost. It would be necessary to look at the facts of the outrages separately. We must, therefore, consider this aspect of the matter broadly, and the conclusion we come to is that the convictions which did take place did not have as much effect as might have been expected in repressing crime. It must be remembered that the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy in April 1908, which was the first great outrage, was promptly punished by the execution of one murderer, while the other only escaped by suicide on arrest. Further, this outrage was at once followed by the raids on the Maniktala Garden and other revolutionary premises, resulting in the arrest and prosecution of about 40 persons. Many of these were no doubt acquitted, but that was not till months (in the case of those acquitted on appeal not till nearly two years) afterwards. In the meantime the arrests must have been a great blow to the revolutionaries, and it did, as we believe, check crime. But this was only for a time. The conspiracy soon revived. A vendetta was commenced by the murder of the approver, Naren Gosain, in September 1908, and of Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prosecutor, in January 1909. Ultimately, in 1915 and 1916, outrage reached its highest point. As the result of more successful prosecutions some wretched boys of ill-balanced mind might have been transported or executed, but the men behind them, faithful to the principles of these organizations, do not show themselves, and it is only where there has been a successful raid upon premises, which can be proved by what is found to be the seats of sedition, and where it is possible by the circumstances of their arrest or otherwise to show the connection of leaders with these premises, that a conviction of such men can be secured. If they are not convicted, the movement is not checked. The murder of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alam on the steps of the High Court is a case in point. The youth who shot him was hanged, but the day before his execution he told the story of his perversion.* The real criminal responsible for this boy's act was Jatin Mukharji, who lived for six years to corrupt more youths, till he was killed in the Balasore affray in 1915. Even if, however, more ringleaders had been convicted and the movement thereby checked to the extent of the termination of their individual activities, we doubt if it would have had much moral effect in the right direction. An unscrupulous Press, combined with the Samiti organizations, had done their work too well.

This is the real explanation of much that has happened. It goes a long way to explain the unwillingness and timidity of witnesses, to which we have already drawn attention, and it accounts for the state of feeling and the habit of association which kept up the supply of desperate youths.

Pernicious operations of the Revolutionary Press.

174. The Press Law as it stood before 1908 was wholly insufficient for the emergency which had arisen. The *Jugantar* began publication in 1906, and in the person of its printer or publisher was successfully prosecuted

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* *Extracts from confession voluntarily made by Birendra Datta Gupta to the Chief Presidency Magistrate* :—"I was introduced to a gentleman named Jatindra Nath Mukharji of 273, Upper Chitpur Road, by a boy named Jnanendra Nath Mitra in the month of September. . . By reading the *Jugantar* I got a very strong wish to do brave and violent works, and I asked Jatin Mukharji to give me work at 275, Chitpur Road. He told me about the shooting of Shams-ul-Alam, Deputy Superintendent, who conducted the bomb case, and he ordered a boy named Satish Chandra to make arrangements for this case. I asked Jatin for such works, and he asked me whether I shall be able to shoot Shams-ul-Alam. I answered that I will be able." Deponent went on to describe the murder and ended: "I make this statement so as not to injure Jatin, but as I have come to understand that anarchism will not benefit our country, and the leaders who are now blaming me, now thinking the deed that of a head-cracked boy, to show them that I alone am not responsible for the work. There are many men behind me and Jatin, but I do not wish to give their names in this statement. The leaders who are now blaming me should be kind enough to come forward and guide boys like me in the good ways."

five times between June 1907 and June 1908. But the imprisonment of the individual produced no effect. Each time a new printer or publisher was found. There was no provision for forfeiture of the press and the paper went on as before. Its sale was so great, that, as the Chief Justice pointed out, the crowds seeking to purchase it formed an obstruction in the street. When upon the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy in 1908 the Government became convinced that the law required strengthening and carried the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, and later in the year, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, the conspiracy had enjoyed two years' start. " The seeds of its wickedness," said His Excellency the Viceroy, in speaking upon the first Bill, " have been sown amongst a strangely impressionable and imitative people—seeds that have been daily nurtured by a system of seditious writing and seditious speaking of unparalleled violence, vociferating to beguiled youth that outrage is the evidence of patriotism and its reward a martyr's crown." The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, dealt however only with newspapers and then only when they incited to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence. In 1910, a more comprehensive measure, the Indian Press Act, 1910, was carried. In the meantime, though the *Jugantar* had disappeared, other newspapers continued to vilify the British *régime*, and pamphlets of the most fanatical and bloodthirsty character were circulated.

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* * * * we are convinced that these publications produced ever a new succession of instruments of murder and outrage, and that to this source, independently altogether of the failure to secure convictions for committed crimes, is largely due the continuance and extension of the conspiracy. " These things," said the Government Member moving the Bill which became the Act of 1910, " are the natural and ordinary consequence of the teachings of certain journals. They have prepared the soil on which anarchy flourishes; they have sown the seed, and they are answerable for the crop. This is no mere general statement; the chain of causation is clear. Not only does the campaign of violence date from the change in tone of the Press, but specific outbursts of incitement have been followed by specific outrages."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LEGISLATION REQUIRED.

273. *The last part of our task is to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with conspiracies.*

Position when present special legislation lapses incalculable

This as expressed appears to us to be applicable to the state of circumstances under which the difficulties referred to were encountered. These difficulties have, however, been circumvented for the time being by special temporary legislation and they have not been in operation at the time of our inquiry. When this legislation lapses, circumstances may have altered and the position may be better or worse. We do not think it is for us to speculate nicely on these matters. We must of course keep in view that the present war will have come to an end, but we cannot say with what result or with what ulterior consequential effects or possibilities of consequential effects upon the situation. On the other hand, the persons interned under the Defence of India Act will be due for release and the terms of imprisonment of many dangerous convicts will be coming to an end. Further, there will, especially in the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent. Nevertheless, if we thought it clear that the measures taken against the revolutionary movement under the Defence of India Act had so broken it that the possibility of the conspiracies being revived could be safely disregarded, we should say so. That is not our view and it is on this footing that we report. We must explain that we have not sought to draft legislative proposals. We only suggest lines on which we think they might be formulated.

Before going further we think we ought to notice briefly the opinions and proposals which the difficulties of the 10 years covered by our investigation have elicited.

Though Pulin Behari Das and others were deported under Regulation III of 1818 from December 1908 to January 1910, further recourse to these powers was not thought desirable.

Past proposals for preventive measures.

176. During 1911, 1912 and 1913, in view of the failure of the Howrah gang case, various proposals for preventive legislation were discussed. It was mooted that the Criminal Tribes Act, 1911, might be utilised. It became apparent, however, that inasmuch as that measure depended for its application on the existence of a class of persons which could be defined for the purpose, it was of no practical use for the emergency under consideration. Other proposals were that there should be an extension of the binding down procedure provided for by section 108 and the succeeding sections of the Criminal Procedure Code to persons suspected of being dangerous revolutionaries or that an enactment should be introduced providing on the lines of section 565 of the Criminal Procedure Code that a court should be empowered to make an order for police supervision involving reporting to the police in cases of persons who had been bound over or (as an alternative proposal) in lieu of such binding over. It was contemplated that under such procedure evidence of reputation should be admissible. These discussions in their later stages had to take note of the revelations brought about by the searches at Dacca and Comilla in 1912.

In 1913 occurred the discoveries in the Raja Bazar case, when secret literature pointing to a widely spread seditious movement was brought to light and materials for the manufacture of bombs of the type already used in other provinces as well as in Bengal were found. The position at the end of 1913 was universally regarded as a very dangerous one, and in April 1914 the Government of India and the Government of Bengal agreed in the opinion that recourse would have to be had in regard to a limited number of persons

to Regulation III of 1818 but that by way of safeguard the cases should be examined by a judicial body and that the incarceration involved should not be in a jail. The discussion of measures for the introduction of police surveillance was also continued. We do not think it worth while to pursue further the details of these discussions because various difficulties were found and no satisfactory scheme was evolved. What we do desire to lay stress on is that early in 1914, that is to say, before the war and before the theft of Messrs. Rodda's arms, it was recognised that the forces of law and order working through the ordinary channels were beaten. We are convinced that that was the state of affairs even at that date.

Acting upon this view the Government of India submitted a number of names to a committee of three gentlemen (one an Indian) consisting of two actual and one former High Court Judges. They reported that they were convinced, though they had not confined themselves to legal evidence, that 24 persons were members of and had taken and were likely to take a lively part in promoting a widespread conspiracy in Eastern and Western Bengal, the object of which was to overawe and subvert the Government. This committee acted on the same class of evidence with regard to the individual cases as we have considered for an inquiry of less nicety, namely, the appreciation of the general situation both at that time and since. They were impressed with its cogency just as we have been. In August 1914 the war broke out, the Foreigners Ordinance and the Ingress into India Ordinance were passed immediately, and the Defence of India Act and Rules came into force early in 1915. This legislation, together with Regulation III of 1818, has sufficed for present needs, since being put into full operation after the murder of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Chatarji. Proposals for legislation for the period after the war were, however, drafted and had been under consideration when it was decided to appoint our committee.

We have thus sketched the course of discussion during the troublous years leading up to the commencement of our labours because we have felt bound to indicate the assistance we have received from this source. We are concerned, however, with the future, not with the past, and it suffices to say that though our suggestions for legislation do not reproduce as an assembled whole any scheme as yet submitted, still they contain hardly an idea which has not, in one connection or another, been the subject of critical discussion of which we have had the benefit.

Suggestions—Punitive measures, permanent. (a) Points of general application.

177. The measures which we shall submit are of two kinds, viz., *Punitive*, by which term we mean measures better to secure the conviction and punishment of offenders, and *Preventive*, *i.e.*, measures to check the spread of conspiracy and the commission of crime.

We may say at once that we do not expect very much from punitive measures. The conviction of offenders will never check such a movement as that which grew up in Bengal unless all the leaders can be convicted at the outset. Further, the real difficulties have been the scarcity of evidence due to various causes and the want of reliance, whether justified or not, on such evidence as there has been. The last difficulty is fundamental and cannot be remedied. No law can direct a court to be convinced when it is not.

Punitive measures (permanent).

Legislation directed better to secure the punishment of seditious crime may take the shape either—

(*a*) of changes in the general law of evidence or procedure which if sound would be advisable in regard to all crime, or

(*b*) changes in the substantive law of sedition or modifications in the rules of evidence and procedure in such cases designed to deal with the special features of that class of offence.

(*a*) Some changes have been suggested to us which we feel bound to assign to the first class.

Instances of this are—

(1) An amendment of the law which excludes confessions or admissions unless made as required by section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(2) A relaxation of the rule of practice which requires corroboration of the testimony of an accomplice.

There could be no justification for making either of these changes in order to facilitate prosecutions in cases of sedition if in other cases they are allowed to remain as a proper safeguard against injustice. On the other hand, if we inquired whether these amendments should be made in the general law, we feel that we should be embarking on an investigation which, though perhaps not literally outside our terms of reference, must nevertheless be larger than we were really intended to pursue. It would involve eliciting the opinions of persons of experience in all parts of India and would postpone our report to a date when it might be useless. These and many other matters connected with Indian criminal procedure may be well worth investigating, but we cannot engraft an inquiry of that magnitude upon our task. We therefore only note the above points and pass from them.

There are, however, one or two points which, though of general application, we think we may advert to, because they involve no alteration but merely arise in connection with the observance of existing rules. We have had our attention pointedly drawn to the length of trials and of cross-examinations in particular. It is the duty of the court to disallow of its own motion either examination or cross-examination upon matters irrelevant or addressed directly or indirectly to a purely ulterior or collateral object and not to the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused, or calculated to elicit directly or indirectly the disclosure of matters protected from disclosure by section 125 of the Evidence Act.

This duty is not only consistent with the Indian Evidence Act but directly arises out of it. It is not, however, in terms declared by it, and it is one of the disadvantages of Codes that, while they are useful in many respects, they sometimes tend to fetter the exercise of independent common sense. This leads us to hesitate before recommending that this duty be expressly declared by a new section. We are not clear whether just as the absence of such a declaration may sometimes lead to the duty being lost sight of, its insertion might not lead to its exercise without due discretion. It seems to us a point upon which experienced judicial opinion in India might well be elicited.

The same observations apply to the undoubted rule of law that the Court shall take as conclusive (save as excepted by section 153) the answer of a witness upon a question put as to credit only and shall not treat the mere making of the suggestion involved in the question as indicating any foundation for it.

We think, however, that no harm can be done by amending section 343 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (which prohibits promises or threats to induce an accused person to disclose or withhold any matter) so as to make it clear that there is no prohibition of a promise, whether to an accused or any other person, of protection against injury caused by the criminal acts of others. We do not think that this is really any alteration of the section at all. Such a promise as is referred to is only an assurance that he will get what he would be entitled to in any case. If it is an alteration, however, its advisability is too obvious for discussion.

(b) Points of special application.

(*b*) As regards changes specially relating to seditious crime, we recommend three permanent additions to the law.

In the first place we think that a permanent enactment on the lines of Rule 25 A under the Defence of India Act is required. That rule provides for the punishment of persons having prohibited documents (which may have to be defined anew) in their possession or control with (as we read the effect of the words used) intent to publish or circulate them. In its present form, however, the substance of the offence is confounded with the presumptive evidence of it. The drafting should, in our judgment, be recast, and the penalty seems too high for times of peace, seeing that the offence is merely possession with an intent not yet acted upon.

We also recommend that the principle of section 565 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (which provides for an order requiring notification of residence after release in the case of persons convicted a second time for certain offences) should be extended to all persons convicted of offences

under Chapter VI of the Penal Code (offences against the State) whether previously convicted or not. Such persons might be ordered to give security for a period not exceeding two years for good behaviour so far as offences under Chapter VI are concerned, and in default be directed to notify their residence to Government, who should have power to restrict their movements for the period of two years after their release and prohibit them from addressing public meetings,—the term "public meetings" including in its scope political subjects as in section 4 of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1907.

Lastly we think that in all cases where there is a question of seditious intent, evidence of previous conviction for seditious crime or association (of an incriminating kind of course) with persons so convicted should be admissible upon written notice to the accused with such particulars and at such a time before the evidence is given as might be fair. What we have called seditious crime would of course have to be accurately defined.

Emergency measures (punitive).

Emergency measures punitive and preventive.

178. The above are changes which, we think may usefully be made in the ordinary permanently working law of the land. We shall now indicate further Punitive measures (relating wholly to procedure) and also a scheme of Preventive measures, both of which relate solely to the present and possible future emergencies.

The lines on which we propose to cast our suggestions are as follows. We shall sketch out a scheme of Punitive and Preventive measures to be framed and enacted but not to come into force save upon a notification of the Governor-General in Council. This will provide for possible future emergencies. We shall suggest, however, a proviso that in respect of matters which have occurred hitherto or may occur (say) before the end of the war the scheme shall be in force at once without any notification. This will deal with the present emergency.

A further question may arise as to whether the whole enactment should be limited to a period of years. As the scheme we suggest is equally workable whether it is temporary or permanent we treat this point as purely one of policy and express no opinion.

The powers which we shall suggest for dealing with future emergencies must be ready for use at short notice. They must therefore be on the statute book in advance. That fact alone is calculated to have some moral effect, for it is then known exactly what a renewed anarchical movement will encounter. To postpone legislation till the danger is instant, is, in our view, to risk a recurrence of the history of the years 1906—17. Still, its emergency character must be emphasised.

Emergency measures to come into force upon notification.

179. In these circumstances we think that appropriate provisions should be framed and enacted, but should not come into force save upon a notification by the Governor-General in Council declaring the existence of a state of affairs justifying such action. The formula in which this declaration is to be made will require careful and accurate statement, its function being to safeguard the public against an unnecessary invocation of extraordinary powers. We do not think, however, that we should take it upon ourselves to draft it.

Emergency powers of different degrees.

180. Further, as we have said, the powers we suggest will be both Punitive and Preventive and the latter will be of two degrees varying in stringency. The scheme ought to be capable of being called into operation in compartments and it is worth considering whether the necessary notifications might not be required to declare a higher degree of public danger to justify the use of some powers than of others. We venture to lay some stress on the desirability from every point of view of the Government being able to take mild measures early. This is hampered if they are obliged, in order to take mild measures, to declare a state of affairs of great seriousness. On the other hand, they should not have authority to assume power to take stringent measures without pledging themselves to the declaration of a crisis of proportionate gravity. We have already intimated that we do not feel

called upon to draft any form of notification but, to illustrate our suggestion of progressive notifications, if we may use that phrase, it might be sufficient, in order to call our punitive measures into force, to declare that seditious offences are prevalent and that it is expedient to provide for their speedy trial under the provisions of the Act, while for the invocation of the mild form of preventive measures it might be obligatory to declare that seditious movements were being extensively promoted, and for the more stringent preventive measures, that seditious outrage was occurring to a degree endangering public safety—or some such formulæ.

The notifications should of course be capable of application to particular provinces or smaller areas.

Emergency provisions for trials.

181. Coming now to the measures themselves, we are of opinion that provision should be made for the trial of seditious crime by Benches of three Judges without juries or assessors and without preliminary commitment proceedings or appeal. In short, the procedure we recommend should follow the lines laid down in sections 5—9 inclusive of the Defence of India Act. It should be made clear that section 512 of the Code of Criminal Procedure (relating to the giving in evidence under certain circumstances of depositions taken in the absence of an absconding accused) applies to these trials, it having, we understand, been questioned whether section 7 of the Defence of India Act has that effect.

We think it necessary to exclude juries and assessors mainly because of the terrorism to which they are liable. But terrorism apart, we do not think they can be relied upon in this class of case. They are too much inclined to be affected by public discussion. We could give instances which have come before us, where we think there have been miscarriages of justice owing to the causes above mentioned. We may further point out that the trial of such cases without jury or assessors was introduced by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

As regards the procedure and the absence of right of appeal, we think it essential that the delay involved in commitment proceedings and appeal be avoided. It is of the utmost importance that punishment or acquittal should be speedy both in order to secure the moral effect which punishment should produce and also to prevent the prolongation of the excitement which the proceedings may set up. Furthermore, the delays involved by commitment proceedings and the double examination of witnesses increase the chance of the witnesses being intimidated, add to the hardships involved in their attendance with the consequence of making them less ready to come forward, and also afford time for them to forget the facts.

We think, however, that there is one important amendment to be made in the procedure. Under the temporary scheme now in operation charges are formulated after the evidence for the prosecution has been closed. In our opinion some expedient must be found for defining the issues and communicating them to the accused a reasonable time before he has to meet or rebut them. We do not apprehend how an accused can deal relevantly either in cross-examination or by preparation of evidence with a case not formulated.

To meet this difficulty we suggest some such scheme as the following. It is a compromise between having no preliminary proceedings and the ordinary full commitment proceedings. We are told that some Special Tribunals have proceeded to some extent on these lines with satisfactory results. It seems quite fair to the accused :—

(*a*) Commitment proceedings to be abolished in these cases.
(*b*) Proceedings to start with a detailed written complaint to be drawn up by the Government Prosecutor setting out full particulars of what is intended to be proved against each accused.
(*c*) The prosecution witnesses to be first examined in chief, but the accused not to be called upon to cross-examine at this stage.
(*d*) The charge to be framed with regard to such of the accused against whom there is *prima facie* evidence.
(*e*) The case should be adjourned and the Court should fix the period of adjournment suitable to each case, but such period should not be less than 10 days.

(*f*) The accused to remain in the " custody of the Court " as opposed to the " custody of the police," or in other words, the Superintendent of the Jail should be under the directions of the Court so far as the accused are concerned. This does not indicate any real change, but perhaps an insertion of a provision of this nature will have the effect of silencing much mischievous criticism.

(*g*) The police papers will of course be placed before the Court. The Court after going through the papers may, if it thinks right, allow copies of some of these papers to the accused. Of course in this matter the Court will have absolute discretion, and the Court may refuse to allow copies of any of the police papers to the accused.

(*h*) At the expiry of the period of adjournment the cross-examination of the witnesses and the rest of the trial will proceed.

Composition of Courts.

182. While, however, we recommend in substance the procedure established under the Defence of India Act, we think the constitution of the tribunals as provided by these Acts should be altered. It seems to us inadvisable that these tribunals should to any extent be composed of persons not already members of the judiciary but selected by the executive for the purpose of the specific case. Nothing that we have seen suggests that the special tribunals hitherto appointed have been unfair towards the accused, but we think the objections in principle cannot be overlooked. Moreover, as the right of appeal is taken away, the tribunals should be of the highest strength and authority. They should be composed of High Court or Chief Court Judges selected by the head of the Court. It is true that this might mean a grave demand upon these Benches. But, after all, there is no judicial work so important as that with which we are dealing or so imperatively calling for a tribunal of the highest authority. Substitutes can be appointed for the Judges called away, and if there is no power it can be obtained. Substitutes, however, ought not to try these cases.

Place of trial.

183. It has been brought to our attention that the bringing of witnesses to Calcutta or other seats of a High or Chief Court may be attended with inconvenience and may be a source of alarm and confusion to country witnesses. This must arise just as much if the witnesses are brought to such city to attend a special tribunal as at present constituted. If, on the other hand, the three gentlemen composing such tribunal can sit elsewhere than in such city, it seems to us that the three Judges can do so.

Testimony of accused.

184. A question to which we have given much consideration is whether the accused should be entitled to give evidence on his own behalf in these cases, subject to the consequences now provided by the law of England. This has been found to afford valuable protection to an innocent prisoner, while exposing sham defences and unfounded suggestions.

The principle upon which an accused person cannot at present give evidence is that he is interested and interested persons were incompetent as witnesses by the Common Law in all cases, civil as well as criminal. This incompetency was gradually removed in England until the only remnant of the original rule was the case of a person under criminal trial. The incompetency in this case also was gradually removed as regards one crime after another until in 1898* it was swept away in all cases by an Act of general application. The change was really the concession of a new facility to prisoners, though doubtless it had its inconveniences for persons really guilty. It was hedged about with important safeguards from the prisoner's point of view of which the following are the most notable :—

(*a*) he cannot be called except with his own consent;

(*b*) if called, he cannot be asked questions as to his character, including previous convictions, unless either—

(*i*) the facts put would be evidence against him in chief, independently of the Act, as showing design or the like, or

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* 61 and 62, Vict. c. 36.

(*iii*) he has given evidence of his own good character or the character of witnesses for the prosecution has been attacked on his behalf.

In other words, there is a special code limiting his examination, and if the principle were introduced in India, the application of sections inconsistent with it, such as section 165 of the Indian Evidence Act, would have to be excluded.

This new principle, at first much mistrusted, has been found to work well in England; and in India where, as is so frequently the case, the grave issue arises whether a confession has been improperly extorted, it would seem much more conducive to the discovery of the truth that the accused should be entitled to depose on oath to what has occurred subject to cross-examination than that it should be left to suggestion. And so also as to other issues.

No doubt only an experienced Court should try cases under these conditions in order to make sure that an ignorant prisoner does not misunderstand his position and is not unfairly dealt with. This safeguard is ensured when the cases come before three Judges of the highest rank, and upon the whole we think the provision should be introduced. If it were a question of its general application we should, having regard to the abovementioned considerations, be against it.

A suggestion made to us that the Court should be at liberty to put any question it pleases to an accused, even though he does not tender himself as a witness, is one that we cannot approve of.

Perpetuation of testimony in particular circumstances.

185. If our proposal is accepted that there shall be no commitment proceedings, the re-enactment or retention of section 13 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908) in its present form will not be appropriate. It is, however, necessary that the object which that section was intended to attain, namely, the protection of important witnesses and the perpetuation of their testimony, should be provided for. We think the statements of dead or absent witnesses made at either of two stages of the investigation should be made available for use by the Court, namely, (1) statements proved to have been made to a police officer not below the rank of Superintendent, where such statements have been recorded by such officer and read over and explained to the person making it and signed by him; (2) statements of witnesses made at the trial and not yet cross-examined upon—the condition making them admissible being in each case the same, namely, the belief of the Court that the death or absence of the deponent has been caused in the interests of the accused.

Other suggestions.

186. The Court should have the power, where and so far as they think it advisable in the public interests or for the safety of a witness, to exclude the public or any person from the hearing or any part of it and to prohibit any disclosure of their proceedings or any part of them either wholly or save as authorised by the tribunal, any such disclosure or purported disclosure being dealt with as a contempt of Court. This should not be done as a matter of course, but only where the tribunal is satisfied as to the necessity of it.

It has been pointed out to us that time and expense are sometimes wasted in proving over and over again every time a trial occurs facts not really disputable after the first trial; for instance, the existence of some conspiracy. We think this is an inconvenience attending the observance of sound principles which cannot be infringed. No element in the guilt of any person can be allowed to be taken for granted on the strength of proceedings to which he was not a party.

The cases to be tried subject to the provisions above sketched out will be such as are ordered to be so tried by Government, the power to make such orders being limited to certain classes of offences to be named in a schedule. This was the scheme of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, the schedule to which might be adopted.

In all these cases the District Magistrate should be empowered to order investigation. We are informed that this will be the result of clause 37 of the Amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code Bill now under consideration. If the abovementioned amendment is not enacted, machinery ought, we think, to be devised for giving such power by special order or otherwise

in the cases with which we are immediately concerned. It has been suggested to us that the power should extend to Superintendents or even Inspectors of Police, but we cannot endorse this.

Emergency measures (preventive).

Emergency preventive measures.

187. We have been forced to the conclusion that it is necessary, in order to keep the conspiracies already described under control in the future, to provide for the continuance after the expiry of the Defence of India Act (though in the contingent form explained and under important limitation) of some of the powers which that measure introduced in a temporary form. By those means alone has the conspiracy been paralysed for the present, and we are unable to devise any expedient operating according to strict judicial forms which can be relied upon to prevent its reviving, to check it if it does revive, or, in the last resort, to suppress it anew. This will involve some infringement of the rules normally safeguarding the liberty of the subject. We have endeavoured to make that infringement as small as we think possible consistently with the production of an effective scheme.

The possibilities to be provided for range from incipient sedition to incipient anarchy.

Existing temporary powers.

188. The powers at present temporarily possessed by the Government are so far as material for the present purpose to be found in rules 3—7 inclusive and 12 A under the Defence of India Act, 1915. We do not refer for the present to the Foreigners Ordinance, 1914, or the Ingress into India Ordinance, 1914. * * * * * * * * * * * Shortly stated, their effect is to give power to require persons by executive order to remain in any area to be specified or not to enter or remain in any such area, with penalties for breach of such requirement. These orders may be made and served on the person affected, whereupon they become binding upon him, or the person may be arrested without warrant and detained for a period not exceeding in all one month, pending an order of restriction. There is also a power of search under search warrant. It will be observed there is no provision for an examination of the cases of such persons. The decision lies solely with the Local Government. There is also the power of confinement under Regulation III of 1818.

Scope of our proposals.

189. We think that provision ought to be made for calling into operation (in the last resort and subject to safeguards) powers going to the full extent of those above quoted.

But while we feel bound to formulate such a scheme, we think that the whole of it must be subject to the observance of four main principles—

(*i*) No interference with liberty must be penal in character. Nothing in the nature of conviction can be admitted without trial in strict legal form. If in the supreme interests of the community the liberty of individuals is taken away, an asylum must be provided of a different order from a jail.

(*ii*) Any interference with liberty must be safeguarded by an inquiry which, though circumstances exclude the possibility of its following forensic forms, must be judicial in the sense that it must be fair and impartial and as adequate as it can be made.

(*iii*) Every order (which should be made by the Local Government) authorising such interference must recite the holding of such inquiry and declare that, in the opinion of the Local Government, the measures ordered are necessary in the interests of public security.

(*iv*) The order must be made for a limited time only (say, not exceeding a year) and must be renewable only by a new order (not necessarily a new inquiry) reciting that the renewal is necessary in the interests of public security.

Two grades of powers desirable.

190. We now proceed to elaborate, but without using drafting language or going into every detail, the scheme we suggest.

We think, as we have already indicated, that the powers to be acquired should be of two grades capable of being called into operation separately, possibly under different forms of notification.

The first group of powers should be of the following nature :—

(*i*) to demand security with or without sureties;
(*ii*) to restrict residence or to require notification of change of residence;
(*iii*) to require abstention from certain acts, such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets or attending meetings;
(*iv*) to require that the person should periodically report to the police.

The second group of powers should be—

(*i*) to arrest;
(*ii*) to search under warrant;
(*iii*) to confine in non-penal custody.

It is not conceivable that the second group of powers would be called into play without the first. Therefore after arrest and search there would be no objection (if thought sufficient) to making an order under the first group of powers.

Creation of an investigating authority.

191. An "investigating authority" or "authorities" should be constituted, as to which we shall say more later on.

If the first group of powers only is in force, the Government before making a final order should be required to refer the case to the investigating authority. They should, however, have power to make an interim order for a limited time. If the second group is in force, the person might be arrested and kept in custody for a time to be limited before the reference and thereafter pending the reference.

The duty of the investigating authority will be to inquire *in camera* upon any materials which they may think fit and without being bound by rules of evidence. They would send for the person and tell him what is alleged against him and investigate the matter as fairly and adequately as possible in the manner of a domestic tribunal. It would not be necessary to disclose the sources of information, if that would be objectionable from the point of view of other persons. No advocates would be allowed on either side or witnesses formally examined, nor need the person whose case is under investigation be present during all the inquiry. Should such person indicate that other persons or any other inquiries may throw light on the matter from his point of view, the investigating authority would endeavour to test the suggestion if it seems relevant and reasonable. At the close of the inquiry the investigating authority would certify their conclusion to the Local Government.

It will be noticed that though we have suggested the procedure to be followed by the investigating authority, we have not yet indicated our view as to what it should inquire into or the nature of its conclusions.

Scope of investigation.

192. This seems to us the most difficult of all the matters with which we have had to deal, and yet it is one as to which exactness is imperative. We think what is to be aimed at is that the order of restriction or the like should be executive, but on a basis of fact ascertained judicially (in the sense explained) by the investigating authority. If the investigating authority are to deal with the question of the order to be made, they acquire power without the responsibility for the results. The executive are responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The worst solution of all is that the investigating authority should recommend and that the executive should be able to disregard the recommendation. If, however, the investigating authority is to confine itself to facts, what is the question of fact to be? The states of fact contemplated cannot be reduced to definitions like crimes such as murder and so on. If they could, no list that we can contemplate would cover the ground. Under these circumstances we suggest the following solution. Let the Government propound to the Committee in plain language what they suggest the man has done or is doing or is likely to do, and let the authority return in plain language what they find upon the subject. Then let the Government recite that finding in its order and proceed to deal with the man as it thinks necessary. The great object will

thus be attained of making it known exactly what is ascertained against the man in fact apart from executive conclusion, but the responsibility for action will still rest solely on the Government. It is for consideration whether the order should not be published.

The nature of the above suggestion explains why we have used the term " Investigating Authority " instead of " Advisory Committee." The use of the latter term seems to condemn one in advance to the embarrassments from which it is the whole object to escape.

Composition of the authority.

193. If the functions of the investigating authority are such as we have described, the difficulty of its composition is minimised. For an inquiry in a judicial spirit into facts knowledge and experience are the requisites. It has been suggested to us that the judicial, the executive and the non-official elements should be represented upon the body or bodies in question. Having indicated the functions which we recommend for the investigating authority, we do not feel that we are driven to give our views as to its exact composition. But we think we may say as based upon the experience gained in the course of our labours that one member should be a non-official Indian selected for his knowledge of the people.

Visiting Committees.

194. We suggest one more provision to be made in this scheme of preventive measures. We think there should be Visiting Committees to report upon the condition of persons restricted in residence or in custody. We do not go into the question of the composition of these Committees. This may well vary in different parts of India and possibly in different parts of the same province or with reference to different communities. We were much struck by the useful work of this kind that can be done by Committees, working in very small areas, in the Punjab. Machinery so satisfactory may not be possible elsewhere. The Committees appointed must, of course, be persons who are prepared to accept the scheme and work it effectually though sympathetically.

Administration of preventive measures.

195. We have sketched out a scheme complete, as we hope, in principle but requiring elaboration in detail. In some points, such as the provision to be made in respect of those whose liberty may in one form or another be interfered with, we appreciate that administrative questions will arise into which we cannot enter deeply. Our function is to suggest a scheme of law, not of administration.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as we have necessarily gathered something of the psychology of these offenders in the course of our inquiry and as these impressions have necessarily guided us in reaching our conclusions, we think we may indicate generally the lines on which we have contemplated that they may be worked out administratively. These revolutionaries vary widely in character. Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influences of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.

Provision for existing danger.

Treatment of existing offenders.

196. The scheme above set forth is, as has already been pointed out, designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

There are, however, a limited class of persons, namely, those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for their case.

In the first place, there are a number of persons still at large, such as Rash Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who, if tried at all, ought to be tried, even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires, under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand, it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

Secondly, there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

Some, if not most, of these persons are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the war. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which 5 involve further murders. There are others like him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organizers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1818. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

Assuming, however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

Lastly, it may be that a few of those now merely interned and some of the convicts who will be released may require some control. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually.

It seems to us that the simplest device is to provide that in respect of acts committed before the Defence of India Act expires (or an earlier date if preferred) and danger apprehended by reason of such acts in the future it should be lawful to proceed against any person under any of the provisions which we have outlined without any notification. In other words, the new law is to be deemed to be operative for that purpose immediately.

Net result of our proposals.

Result of suggestions.

197. The short result of the whole is that we suggest a scheme under which past and (say) war-time matters are immediately provided for, subject to which all special powers become dormant till there is a notification. It will be observed, for the purposes of drafting, that this is not the same thing as providing a scheme to be in force (say) only during the war but capable of revival afterwards upon notification. The division in time applies not with reference to the whole operation of the enactment but with reference to the occurrence of the subject-matter.

Restriction of Ingress.

Ingress into India.

198. A point not yet dealt with is the question of Ingress into India. The power possessed by the Government under the special war legislation is roughly to exclude foreigners altogether, and as to all persons entering India to limit their residence and if necessary to arrest and confine them. As regards persons not being foreigners no power is to be exercised unless the authority exercising it is satisfied that "the exercise thereof is desirable in order to protect the State from the prosecution of some purpose prejudicial to its safety, interests or tranquillity." It appears abundantly from some parts of the narrative contained in this report that there are bodies outside India conspiring to promote seditious violence within it. Even before the war political murder has been accomplished by arms imported into India from such sources, while during the war armed insurrection has been plotted between these bodies and revolutionaries in India in conjunction with the enemies of the Empire. We cannot forecast post-war conditions outside India or, for that matter, within it. But as regards India itself we have

suggested a scheme of preventive legislation only to be called into operation if necessity arises. An emissary arriving from abroad to promote disturbance in any part of India where the powers conferred by such legislation are, owing to unfortunate circumstances, already in a state of activity could perhaps be dealt with under such powers. But a situation ought to be contemplated in which, while India is peaceful, conspirators from abroad enter it to promote disorder. Provision is wanted for preventing a state of affairs being produced by such means which will necessitate the assumption of the emergency powers *ex hypothesi* not at the moment in operation. The mere statement of the case shows that such provision must be outside emergency contingent legislation. It is required for isolated cases.

With regard, however, to this question of Ingress into India we appreciate that the above considerations (the only ones within our province) reveal but a portion of the problem. Under these circumstances we refrain from suggesting any formula defining the limits of the powers with which the Government should be armed.

Inter-provincial movements.

199. Considerations somewhat analogous to those that apply to India in relation to other countries apply to each province in relation to others. It will be regrettable if revolutionary crime breaks out anew in any province: but if it does it will be disastrous that it should run from province to province, necessitating the proclamation of emergency measures in one after another. Further, in a province like the Punjab it may be absolutely necessary, in order to avert the gravest danger, to prevent the entry of certain persons coming even from peaceable provinces. Such persons are those whose presence within the province is calculated in the opinion of the Local Government to give rise to or encourage criminal conspiracy.

We do not suggest that any investigating authority should be required to concern itself with the exercise of any of the powers controlling the activities of persons entering India or passing from one province to another.

Basis of our proposals.

Competency of legislature not considered.

200. In making suggestions for legislation we have not considered at all whether it could be argued that such legislation is in any respect beyond the competence of the Governor-General in Council. We have no authority to lay down the law on any such point and any provisional assumption as the basis of our proposals would only cause embarrassment. We have proceeded therefore on the basis that any suggestions of ours which it may be decided to adopt will be given effect to by some legislature competent for the purpose.

S. A. T. ROWLATT.
B. SCOTT.
C. V. KUMARASWAMI SASTRI.
H. V. LOVETT.
P. C. MITTER.

ANNEXURE (1).

Summaries of some Bengal judgments.

Purpose of this annexure.

In this annexure we propose to summarise briefly the judgments in some noteworthy cases by way of illustrating the subject of our Chapter IV.

The Muzaffarpur murders.

2. The first political murders in Bengal within the period under review were the Muzaffarpur murders. On the evening of the 30th April 1908 at Muzaffarpur in Bihar, a bomb was thrown into the carriage of Mrs. Kennedy and Miss Kennedy. Both ladies died. The syce was injured. The outrage occurred in front of Mr. Kingsford's house. The following points are established from the judgment of this case, as also from that of the Alipore conspiracy case so far as that judgment relates to this occurrence:—

(1) For the first time in the history of Bengal a youth of the *bhadralok* class perpetrated a bomb outrage.

(2) The motive for the offence was political (vengeance and terrorism). Mr. Kingsford as Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, had tried cases against the *Jugantar*, *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Nabasakti* newspapers and had convicted persons connected with these papers. In connection with an incident arising out of one of these cases a *bhadralok* youth named Shusil Kumar Sen was sentenced to a whipping of 15 stripes by him. These magisterial acts of Mr. Kingsford had given great offence to the Alipore conspirators. They sent two youths named Khudiram Basu and Prafulla Chaki to Muzaffarpur to bomb Mr. Kingsford. But instead and by mistake they bombed the two ladies. No crime of this kind actuated by such motives, had before been committed by any Bengali.

The Alipore conspiracy case

3. A number of *bhadralok* youths entered into a conspiracy to wage war against the King-Emperor (section 121 A of the Indian Penal Code) and used various places in furtherance of the object. Their headquarters were in Calcutta. They collected explosives, arms and ammunition. They employed newspapers in furtherance of this criminal conspiracy. On the 2nd of May 1908, by simultaneous searches in various places, the conspiracy was discovered.

The judgment of the High Court Bench presided over by Sir Lawrence Jenkins established the following points:—

(*a*) That at least 12 persons had collected arms for the purpose of waging war against the King. They were prepared to use explosives in order to further their purpose and accomplish assassinations. Some had made full confessions. They had actually killed two European ladies.

(*b*) The newspaper *Jugantar* was a "limb of the conspiracy." In our Chapter II we quoted the Chief Justice's estimate of this paper.

(*c*) Even young boys in very remote parts of the country were corrupted by the *Jugantar* newspaper and its teachings.

(*d*) A number of *bhadralok* youths of some education used a number of places in Calcutta and elsewhere for the purposes of a criminal conspiracy connected with the revolutionary movement, *e.g.*—

(1) No. 32, Muraripukur Road, Maniktala Garden—Explosives found.
(2) No. 38/4, Raja Novokissen's Street—Explosives found being prepared here by Hem Chandra Das.
(3) No. 15, Gopi Mohan Dutt's Lane, used for storing and manufacture of explosives.
(4) No. 134, Harrison Road—Explosives and ammunition stored.
(5) Sil's Lodge, Deoghar (about 200 miles from Calcutta), used for the purposes of this conspiracy.

(*e*) Arms, ammunition and explosives were collected; seditious books and literature conveying instruction in the manufacture of explosives were collected.

(*f*) The Chief Justice held that the accused were "for the most part men of education, of strong religious convictions."

(*g*) Hem Chandra Das, a *bhadralok* youth, went to Paris to learn the manufacture of bombs and explosives. Ullaskar Datta, another *bhadralok* youth, was self-taught in the manufacture of bombs and explosives.

From the points established, as also from the evidence accepted by the Court, it is clear that a number of *bhadralok* youths combined and collected arms and explosives, and committed various overt and daring acts of crime. Although the number of persons actually concerned was not very numerous, yet the conspiracy was a remarkable one in many respects. It was the first criminal conspiracy of any magnitude that the revolutionary party started. The conspirators showed enterprise, daring and determination. They succeeded in collecting a fair amount of money. The conspirators were gradually extending the field of their operations. Apart from their headquarters at Maniktala Garden, they used four other places for the furtherance of the objects of their conspiracy—one being an out-of-the-way place near Deoghar in Bihar.