Notes

PROLOGUE


11. Sivanath Sastrī, *History of the Brahma Samaj* (Calcutta, 1912), II, 393–437; the Indian Association also tried to spread its connections across northern India.


of Indian History" (unpublished seminar paper, University of Chicago, 1966), pp. 1–31, *passim*.


18. "Baboo. . . . Properly a term of respect attached to a name . . . and formerly in some parts of Hindustan applied to certain persons of distinction. . . . In Bengal and elsewhere, among Anglo-Indians, it is often used with a slight savour of disparagement, as characterizing a superficially cultivated, but too often effeminate, Bengali. . . . the word has come often to signify 'a native clerk who writes English.'" Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. William Crooke (new ed., Delhi, 1968), p. 44.


34. Precise data is offered by Bernard S. Cohn's unpublished material on the Middle Temple, 1860–1940; of 13 Indians admitted in the 1860s, 11 were Bengalis; in the 1870s, 18 of 41 were Bengalis; in the 1880s, 30 of 127 were from Bengal; of the 11 in the 1860s, 7 were Hindus, 16 of the 18 in the 1870s were Hindus, and 19 of 30 were Hindus in the 1880s. By the 1880s, an increasing number of Muslims from Bengal and Indians from other regions were admitted to the Middle Temple. On the legal profession in India and Bengal, see Samuel Schmitthenner, "The Development of the Legal Profession in India" (seminar paper for South Asia 700, University of Pennsylvania, 1965); Dinabandhu Sanyal, *Life of the Honble Justice Dwarkanath Mitter* (Calcutta, 1883).


38. "Deśer svādhīnātār janne prān debo" (I will give my life for the freedom of the country); my informant for this usage is Dr. Somdev Bhattacharji, a careful student of Bengali usage.


40. For example, see Rabindranath Tagore, "Naśan kī?" [What is the nation?] Rabindra racanābali, XII, 675-78.

CHAPTER ONE. THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE MODERATES


5. Sen, Biography of a New Faith, I, 139-65; Sivanath Sastri, History of the Brabmo Samaj (Calcutta, 1912), I, 109 ff., 141-54; II, 153-54.


7. Sen, Lectures, pp. 22-23.


10. Samuel Schur itthenner, "The Development of the Legal Profession in India" (seminar paper for South Asia 700, University of Pennsylvania, 1965), p. 48, on lawyers in politics elsewhere, see Heinz Eulau and John D.


13. This assessment is based on a reading of Government of Bengal, _Proceedings of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for the Purpose of Making Laws and Regulations_ (Calcutta, 1901–1907), XXXII–XXXVIII, January 1900 to December 1906. These proceedings are hereafter referred to as PBLC.

14. PBLC, XXXII, 83; references to the “people,” “middle classes,” “the educated,” and similar terms can be found in the writings of any of the early nationalists; see, for example, Surrendranath Banerjea, _A Nation in the Making_ (reprint, Calcutta, 1963), pp. 41, 62, 96, 115, 125.


22. On the British Indian Association, see Bimanbehari Majumdar, _Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature (1818–1917)_ (Calcutta,


27. The main source for Banerjea’s career is his own autobiography, *A Nation in Making*, written from 1914 to 1925. At a time when he found it difficult to hand over power to a new generation with different views, he made his young manhood seem purer, more exciting, more important, and more idealistic than it had been. He does not mention the strains and rivalries within the early Congress that other sources reveal.


34. Through fifty years, the Indian Association had 10 presidents, 2 of whom, including A. M. Bose, served for 10 years each; in this same time it had 3 secretaries, Banerjea serving from 1885 to 1920; Banerjea was president from 1920 until his death in 1925. On caucus and mass parties; see Maurice Duverger, Political Parties (2d ed., rev., New York, 1965), pp. 18-23, 133 ff.; Bagal, Indian Association, pp. 258-62.

35. Bagal, Indian Association, pp. 78, 117-20, 193, 211.

36. Banerjea, Nation, pp. 63-68.


39. Banerjea, Nation, pp. 69-78; Mukherjee and Mukherjee, Growth of Nationalism, pp. 86-88.

40. Seal, Emergence, pp. 252 ff.; Britton Martin, Jr., New India 1885 (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 40 ff.; Annie Besant, How India Wrought for Freedom (Adyar, Madras, 1915), pp. 13-14; Bimanbehari Majumdar and Bhakat Prasad Mazumdar, Congress and Congressmen in the Pre-Gandhian Era 1885-1917 (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 115-16; there is some suggestion that Banerjea was snubbed by being given a late invitation to the first Congress; he denied there was any problem.

41. Majumdar and Mazumdar, Congress, pp. 100-20; Besant, How India Wrought, passim.

42. Bonnerjee, Life of W. C. Bonnerjee, p. 34.

43. See, for example, Rudyard Kipling, Selected Prose and Poetry (Garden City, New York, 1937), passim; Michael O'Dwyer, India as I Knew It (London, 1925), pp. 12-15.

44. The presidents were: W. C. Bonnerjee (1885, 1892), Surendranath Banerjea (1895, 1902), A. M. Bose (1898), R. C. Dutt (1899), Lal Mohan Ghose (1903), Rash Behari Ghose (1907, 1908), Bhupendranath Basu (1914), S. P. Sinha (1915), A. C. Mazumdar (1916).

45. Bagal, Indian Association, pp. 95, 117-18, 139, 211.

46. Bipin Chandra claims that this meeting was held because the Congress would not consider the tea coolie issue, ruling it to be a purely provincial


52. Majumdar, *History of Political Thought*, pp. 395–96; Bagal, *Indian Association*, passim; from Bagal's account it is clear that few Muslims were involved.

53. For further and more concrete views by Hindus of the Muslims, see chapters 2 and 3 below; those more sensitive to the Muslims included Rabindranath Tagore and C. R. Das.


56. Argov, *Moderates and Extremists*, pp. 6–11, 49, 117, 152; a number of specific comments about Banerjea by G. K. Gokhale and others are given in chapter 3.

**CHAPTER TWO. IDENTITY, HISTORY, IDEOLOGY:**

**ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT AND SYED AMEER ALI**


16. See Dutt, *Economic History*, I, xvi, xviii, xxi; *Economic History*, II, xvii; Romesh C. Dutt, *Open Letters to Lord Curzon and Speeches and Papers* (Calcutta, 1904), Parts I and II.

17. Gupta, *Romesh Dutt*, pp. 53, 217; in the preface to *A History of Civilization in Ancient India* (3 vols., London, 1889–1890), Dutt describes his role of bringing the fruits of Sanskrit scholarship to the “general public”—Romesh Chunder Dutt, *The Early Hindu Civilisation B.C. 2000 to 320* (Calcutta, 1963), reprint of most of Books I, II, and III of *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*—and then goes on to talk about the Hindu student’s knowledge of India. It is not clear how these fruits would be distributed to Indian students by having the volume published in London. Dutt implicitly, at least, seems to be aiming at the Western reading public also. His later and brief *The Civilization of India* (London, 1900) seemed to be aimed primarily at Western readers, while his school texts, *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern India According to the Syllabus Prescribed by the Calcutta University* (Calcutta, 1907) and *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal for the Use of Schools* (Calcutta, 1904) were aimed at Bengali students. For the criticism of Dutt’s views on the Indian past, see Gupta, *Romesh Dutt*, p. 351, and Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], “The Men That Pass,” in *Bankim-Tilak-Dayananda* (Pondicherry, 1955), p. 64.


21. Dutt mentions reading Byron, Burns, Gray, Shakespeare, Scott, Wordsworth, Macaulay, Motley, Gibbon, Buckle, Mill, Burke, and the speeches of Bright, Gladstone, and Morley. Some of the influences on his historiography undoubtedly came from British historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and a few of these will be commented upon below. Dutt, *Three Years*, pp. 138–44.


23. Dutt, *Economic History*, I, v; Dutt, *The Peasantry of Bengal*, p. 19; several of Dutt’s works are organized in terms of stages of progress, especially Romesh Chunder Dutt, *England and India. A Record of Progress during a Hundred Years 1785–1885* (London, 1897) and Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Cultural Heritage of Bengal* (reprint, Calcutta, 1962; originally pub-

24. Dutt further divides the ancient period into smaller segments as laid out in the introduction, Dutt, *Early Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 1–22.

25. It is interesting that the earlier stages are labeled in terms of religious and literary texts and the added stages in the *Civilization of India* by the name of the ruling political power in the period. It may be that Dutt considered these later stages periods low in mental and spiritual creativity and so had no alternative but to apply political labels.


38. Louis Dumont, "The Village Community from Munro to Maine," *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, IX (December 1966), 69n, 75.

41. Dutt, *Civilisation of India*, p. 122.
42. Dutt, *Civilization of India*, p. 57. Notice throughout the ease with which Dutt assimilates terms like "confederation," "local self-government," "manufactures," so that ancient India often looks like the ideal modern Western society.
43. With the brief exceptions noted above. For an excellent introduction to his life and work and the complete Bengali texts of all his novels, see Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Rames racanābali* [Collected works of Romesh] ed. Jogesh Chandra Bagal (Calcutta, 1960).
44. Translated by Ajoy Dutt as *Todar Mull* (Allahabad, 1947).
46. Translated by Ajoy C. Dutt as *Sivaji* (Allahabad, 1944).
47. Translated by Ajoy C. Dutt as *Pratap Singh, The Last of the Rajputs* (Allahabad, 1943).
48. Translated as *The Lake of Palms* (London, 1902); Romesh Dutt himself did this translation into English.
50. Dutt, *Sivaji*, pp. 14, 17, 57, 102, 164–65; the more correct spelling, following the Bengali, would be "Bhavāni," but I have used the most common English spelling, "Bhawani."
56. Dutt, *England and India*, pp. xii, 2–3, 120; Dutt, *Cultural Heritage of Bengal*, pp. 3, 6, 58, 90, 163.
58. See Chandra, *Economic Nationalism*, passim, where there are dozens of references to Dutt; R. Palme Dutt, *India Today* (Bombay, 1947), pp. 84–85, 265.


64. Dutt, *Cultural Heritage of Bengal*, p. 90.

65. Dutt, *Peasantry of Bengal*, p. 49.


70. Dutt, *Economic History*, pp. 88–89.


83. For a subtle catalog of these characteristics and some of their ambiguities, see Houghton, *Victorian Frame*, passim.


86. Dutt, *Brief History of Bengal*, pp. i–ii, 3–21. His writings on Bengal include his two early books, *The Peasantry of Bengal* and the *Literature of Bengal* (reprinted as *Cultural Heritage of Bengal*); his school text, *A Brief History of Ancient and Modern Bengal for the Use of Schools*, and brief comments and sections in his novels, in *A History of Civilization in Ancient India*, and in *Economic History*.


88. Dutt, *Peasantry of Bengal*, p. 44.

89. Dutt, *Peasantry of Bengal*, p. 113.


one who believes in the unity of God and the prophetic character of Muhammad is a Muslim either by birth or conversion); he stresses that one need not observe specific rites or ceremonies.


Notes. The Swadeshi Movement

128. Of particular value are “Islamic Culture in India” and “Islamic Culture under the Moguls,” first published in Islamic Culture, July and October 1927 and reprinted in Aziz, Ameer Ali, I, 457–508.

CHAPTER THREE. THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT


2. For the connection, see Bipinchandra Pal, Memories of My Life and Times (Calcutta, 1951), II, 108 ff.; Swadesbi and Swaraj (Calcutta, 1954),
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18. For Chatterjee’s satire on the babu, see Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, “Se kāl ar ekāl” [That time ar(d) this], *Bankim racinābāli* [Collected works of Bankim] (2d ed., Calcutta, 1960), II, 200, quoted in Van Meter, “Role of Bengal,” p. 1; compare Chatterjee’s views with that of Rabindranath Tagore, *Rabindra racinābali* [Collected works of Rabindra] (Calcutta, 1961), I, 360–64; hereafter cited as Tagore, *RR*; Chatterjee, *Essays and Letters*, p. 46, mentions that the *Spectator* has described the Bengalis as the Italians of Asia, “acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.”


24. Government of Bengal, *Report (Part II) on Native-Owned English Newspapers in Bengal* (hereafter cited as *R (Part II of N-OENB)* and *Report of the Native Press in Bengal* (hereafter cited as *RNPB*), 1905, from which these figures and suggestions have been extracted; these are, of course, problematic sources to use because they give government-selected snippets, but they often have information not easily found elsewhere.

25. The name of the contemporary Sinn Fein movement means the same thing as “Swadeshi,” and Indian nationalists were constantly aware of
Notes. The Swadesbi Movement


28. See the suggestions about the functions of youth activities for the groups themselves and for the larger society in S. N. Eisenstadt, *From Generation to Generation* (New York, 1964), pp. 207–208, 273, 303, 314; data can be found in Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *India's Fight*, passim, and in chapter 5 below.


40. Many anti-imperialist quotations from Tagore are collected in *Your Tagore for Today* (Bombay, 1945), ed. Hirankumar Sanyal, tr. Hiren-
dranath Mukherjee; this particular metaphor comes from "Britons and Indians," written in 1893.


42. For Tagore's concern with leadership, see the two essays entitled "Deśanāyak" [Leader of the Country], RR, XII, 799–805 and XIII, 387–90; these essays were written in 1906 and 1939.


45. Tagore, "Society and State, 2," Towards Universal Man, p. 51; Tagore particularly addresses such remarks on the work to be done to students; see "Chātrader prati sambhāsa" [Address to the students], RR, XII, 723.

46. Tagore, RR, XII, 778–79; also Rabindranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore on Rural Reconstruction (Calcutta, 1962), passim.


49. A fuller account of revolutionary activity can be found in chapter 5, below.


51. Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 77, 81, 84. This volume contains many of Aurobindo's early political articles.

52. R (Part II) of N-OENB, No. 44 of 1904, para. 8170, October 12, 1904.


54. Mukherjee and Mukherjee, Bipin Pal, pp. 46–49; the plan is mentioned in Ghose, Passive Resistance, pp. 9–10.

55. Gokhale to Krishnaswamy, September 29, 1906, Gokhale Papers, quoted in Pardaman Singh, "The Indian National Congress–Surat Split," Bengal


57. To get a complete picture, one must read several accounts; see Amvika Charan Mazumdar, Indian National Evolution (Madras, 1951), Appendix B; “The Surat Papers,” Annie Besant, How India Wrought for Freedom (Adyar, Madras, 1915), pp. 466 ff.; Mazumdar was a Moderate and Mrs. Besant leans to that side. For an account more sympathetic to the Extremists, see Majumdar, Freedom Movement, II, 209 ff.; participants’ versions are in Banerjea, Nation, pp. 219–20, and Aurobindo Ghose, Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother (Pondicherry, 1953), pp. 78–81.


59. Mukherjee and Mukherjee, Bipin Pal, pp. 105 ff.; for comments critical of Pal when he returned, see R (Part II) of N-OENB, No. 42 of 1911.


62. Navak, October 30, 1911, RNPB, No. 45 of 1911, paragraph 85.

63. Ronaldshay, Curzon, II, 322 ff.; P. N. Bhargava, ed., Who’s Who in India (Lucknow, 1911), p. 26; J. H. Broomfield, Elite Conflict in a Plural Society (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 45–46, 65; many Bengali Muslims consider the Dacca Nawab family outsiders; they came from Kashmir, were influential at the Mughal court, and moved to Sylhet in the eighteenth century; they later moved to Dacca and held property there and in Barisal, Patna, and Mymensingh. During the revolt of 1857 they supported the Raj and thereafter they were generally loyalists to the Raj in politics.

64. See the different accounts in Das, Morley and Minto, pp. 147–82, and Syed Razi Wasti, Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement 1905 to 1910 (London, 1964), pp. 59–88; also Tripathi, Extremist Challenge chapter 5.


70. Banerjea, Nation, p. 60; Government of India, Sedition Committee, 1918, Report (Calcutta, 1918), gives only the fruits of CID investigations and is systematically organized; a better sense of the work of the CID and of the Home Department can be gained from reading of individual files; for the Viceroy’s view, see Mary, Countess of Minto, India Minto and Morley 1905–1910 (London, 1934), pp. 374–75.
71. Minto, India, p. 235; on the regulations, see pp. 154, 238, 256–57, 277, 377.
72. Wolpert, Tilak and Gokhale, pp. 220 ff.; an account of Aurobindo Ghose’s year in prison is given in chapter 4 below.
73. Lord Minto letter of March 19, 1907, in Minto, India, p. 109.
74. Extract from memorandum sent to Morley, March 19, 1907, Minto, India, pp. 110–11.
75. Minto, India, pp. 284, 332, 367.
77. Minto, India, p. 260; Besant, How India Wrought, pp. 493–95, 540.
78. Das, Morley and Minto, pp. 218–21.
80. Aurobindo Ghose, “The Reformed Councils,” Karmayogin, November 20, 1909, I, No. 20; although the article is unsigned, Sisirkumar Mitra, an expert on the writings of Aurobindo Ghose, has assured me that it was written by Ghose.
81. See numerous extracts from the Bengalee and other Indian papers on this point in R (Part II) of N-OENB, No. 51 of 1911, for period ending December 23, 1911.
82. Reprinted in Nayak, December 16, 1911, RNPB, No. 51 of 1911, para. 29.
84. Ronaldshay, Curzon, II, 259–60; Fraser, India under Curzon, pp. x–xxvi.
85. For example, see the statement of Bhupendranath Basu at the 1911 Congress, quoted in Besant, How India Wrought, p. 529.
86. Maslem Hitaishi, December 15, 1911, RNPB, No. 51 of 1911, para. 35.
CHAPTER FOUR. AUROBINDO GHOSE:
SECRETS OF THE SELF AND REVOLUTION

1. There are numerous government of India, Home Department, political files on Aurobindo Ghose; for example, see Home Department, Political, A. May, 1908, Nos. 104–111, which described him as the leader of the Extremists in Bengal.

2. For example, Sisirkumar Mitra, The Liberator, Sri Aurobindo, India and the World (Delhi, 1954), p. 3, writes, “Sri Aurobindo is a truth too vast for the mind—a truth that by its very dynamism is and will be revealing itself more and more to the world as time rolls on. . . . The subject which Sri Aurobindo is had better be approached with reverence and contemplation. Else, not even an iota of its truth and meaning can be grasped.” K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Sri Aurobindo (2d ed., Calcutta, 1950) and R. R. Diwakar, Mahayogi Sri Aurobindo (3d ed., Bombay, 1962) are similarly reverential; A. B. Purani, Sri Aurobindo In England (Pondicherry, 1956) and The Life of Sri Aurobindo (1872–1926) (2d ed., Pondicherry, 1960), is also a disciple but he, along with Sisirkumar Mitra, has been the most energetic at gathering information systematically about Aurobindo; all these works except Iyengar’s are useful as sources of information and of attitudes toward their common subject.

3. Aurobindo’s description of his own life is presented in Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother (Pondicherry, 1953), Part I; he always describes himself in the third person, almost as if he were an object, albeit an object chosen by God; the biographies mentioned in note 2 above all view the political career as preparatory to a higher stage; an exception is Girijāsaṅkar Rāycowdhrū, Śri Arabinda o bāhlāy swadesi yug [Sri Aurobindo and the Bengali Swadeshi age] (Calcutta, 1953); Karan Singh, Prophet of Indian Nationalism (London, 1963) also deals with Aurobindo’s career in politics, but it adds nothing to our knowledge of Aurobindo’s thought or activity.


15. Wood Note on Aravinda, Home Department File No. 13, June 1908.


19. Aurobindo was 11th in the open competition of 1890, 23rd in the first periodical examination, and 37th in the final examination. Government of India, Judicial and Public File 1396 of 1892.


21. It seems that this is but one instance in which Aurobindo was trying to create a revolutionary past and attribute his difficulties to the machinations of an evil imperial power. There is not a word in the government files about his revolutionary activities while in England.


27. Purani, *Life*, p. 57–59; the articles have been reprinted in Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], *Bankim Chandra Chatterjee* (Pondicherry, 1954), and in Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, *Sri Aurobindo’s Political Thought* (Calcutta, 1958), pp. 61–123.
Notes. Aurobindo Ghose

34. Ghose, *Chatterjee*, p. 35.


58. Although Aurobindo does not specifically say this, it would seem that a tract flooded with Hindu symbols and concepts would be anathema to the Muslims. Throughout his political career, Aurobindo showed little sensitivity to the Muslim question. He concentrated his energies and words on Hindu audiences. See Ghose, *On Himself*, p. 77.

59. For example, see Government of India, Home Department, Political, A. October 1909, Nos. 230–48, Note in the Criminal Intelligence Office on the *Karmayogin*, No. 1, June 19, 1909, by J. C. Ker, Personal Assistant to Director, C. I. Ker argues that Aurobindo would have to choose between pan-Indian or pan-Hindu nationalism and thought that at present the Muslims were placed outside nationalism as Aurobindo interpreted it.

60. According to Nalini Kanta Gupta, a disciple and publisher of Aurobindo’s *Collected Poems and Plays* (Pondicherry, 1942), a large part of the first of the two volumes was written in the Baroda period; Purani, *Life*, pp. 63, 83.


66. These articles and speeches have, in large part, been collected and reprinted; see Ghose, *Speeches*; Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *Aurobindo’s Thought*; Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, eds., *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought in Indian Politics* (Calcutta, 1964); Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (2d ed., Pondicherry, 1952).


68. Aurobindo, along with others of the “New School,” thought that the earlier Indian nationalists were “denationalized.” So to nationalize Indian politics, one had to bring into play native concepts and terms, and these were often religious. At the same time, Aurobindo had become increasingly religious and interested in spiritual matters since his return to India.


78. A great variety of plans were offered; see Mukherjee and Mukherjee, *National Education*, *passim*; for Tagore’s plans see chapter 4 above.


82. Compare Aurobindo’s use of Indian traditions with the views of Tagore, Bipin Pal, and Gandhi in chapter 4 above and 6 below.

83. For a full exposition of Aurobindo’s views on the *Bhagavad Gitā*, see Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], *Essays on the Gita* (Pondicherry, 1959). Aurobindo seems to have been much less influenced by Bengali Vaishnavism than almost any other major nationalist from Bengal.

84. Ghose, *Passive Resistance*, pp. 87–88. Although they were a scribe caste, some Kayasthas in the nineteenth century claimed Kshatriya status, and Aurobindo may have been one of them; at any rate, he seems to have identified strongly with the warrior caste.

85. There have been other twentieth-century Indians who have argued that violence is a more central Indian tradition than nonviolence; see Nirad C. Chaudhuri, “Janus and His Two Faces,” *The Continent of Circe* (London, 1965), pp. 97–119; it is probable that all those involved in the revolutionary movement and all those sympathetic to it would have agreed.


92. Home Department, Political, May 1908, Nos. 104–11.


95. Mitra, Liberator, pp. 79–81; Ghose, On Himself, pp. 51, 76.


100. Many revolutionaries recruited from 1907 to 1915 continued to work in Bengali politics until independence. Some later moved into the Congress or one of the small leftist parties. See chapters 6 and 7 below.


103. Mitra, Liberator, p. 94; Ghose, On Himself, pp. 78–82.

104. Ghose, On Himself, pp. 81–82.


106. Purani, Life, pp. 120 ff.

107. Written in 1939, quoted in Purani, Life, p. 121.


Notes. Aurobindo Ghose


114. Ghose, *Kārākābini*. It is noteworthy that this most revealing account is one of the few works by Aurobindo that the Sri Aurobindo Ashram and other nationalist publishers have not seen fit to reprint.

115. Hemendranath Das Gupta, *Deskbandhu Chittaranjan Das* (Delhi, 1960), pp. 10–16; one of the best biographies of Das.


127. Ghose, *On Himself*, p. 90; Government of India, Home Department, Political. A. October 1909, Nos. 230–48; several officials were against making Calcutta a “proclaimed area” or arresting Aurobindo, since these steps would help a “dying movement.”

128. Several of the most interesting articles have been collected in Aurobindo Ghose [Sri Aurobindo], *The Ideal of the Karmayogin* (7th ed., Pondicherry, 1950).


139. There have been many stories and rumors about overtures to Aurobindo in Pondicherry and about his influence on Indian politics from the ashram. He did have some contact with Bengali politics through Surendra Mohan Ghose, who visited him in Pondicherry from the 1930s (interviews with Surendra Mohan Ghose, New Delhi, September 20, 27, and 30, 1964). There were also stories that Aurobindo was offered the Congress presidency in the 1920s, and he was visited by C. R. Das (Purani, *Life*, p. 212). It is possible that further interviews and investigation may clarify this matter.
143. Translated and reprinted by Purani in *Life*, pp. 97–105; available in Bengali as *Śri Arābinder patra* (Pondicherry, 1952).
CHAPTER FIVE. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES


4. Earl of Ronaldshay, The Heart of Āryāvarta, A Study of the Psychology of Indian Unrest (London, 1925), p. 125; Valentine Chirol, Indian Unrest (London, 1910), also gives some attention to cultural factors—for example, he writes, “In its extreme form Shakti worship finds expression in licentious aberrations which, however lofty may be the speculative theories that gave birth to them, represent the most extravagant forms of delirious mysticism” (p. 84). See also the historical novels of Romesh Chunder Dutt, Rames racaṇābali ed. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee (Calcutta, 1960), Anandamath (Calcutta, n.d.), tr. Sree Aurobindo and Barindra Kumar Ghosh.

5. This phrase was used by Hari Kumar Chakravarty in an interview with Professor Robert C. North, Kodalia, West Bengal, August 25, 1958.

6. I have used the forms “Jatin” and “Jatin-da” throughout in referring to Jatindranath Mukherjee since I am usually quoting from English language sources which spell the name in this way. A more correct transliteration of the Bengali would be “Yatin” and “Yatin-dā.”

7. Interviews with Lalit Bhattacharya in Calcutta during 1964. Mr. Bhattacharya and I checked the dates in a notebook kept by his father Dina-bandhu Bhattacharya. Naren, later in life when he had changed his name to M. N. Roy, said that he was born some years later than the date given here and in most accounts. Naren’s year of birth corresponds to the Bengali year 1293.


13. One might call this the problem of “manhood,” and it had been noted by many writers on Bengal in this period; Chirol, *Indian Unrest*, p. 79; Haridas and Uma Mukherjee, eds., *Sri Aurobindo and the New Thought* (Calcutta, 1964), pp. 14, 89.


18. Government of India, Home Department, Political Proceedings, August 1911, Nos. 23–36, Howrah-Sibpur political dacoity gang case.


24. This was suggested to me in interviews with Surendra Mohan Ghose in New Delhi, September 1964, and with Dr. R. C. Majumdar in Calcutta, July 26, 1964.
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25. Home Department, 1911, Nos. 23–36.


34. Sedition Committee, Report, p. 94.


37. Guha, Bānlāy biplabbdā, pp. 94–95.

38. Interviews with Nirad C. Chaudhuri in Delhi, May and September 1964.


40. Ronaldshay, Āryāvarta, pp. 80–87; Pal, Nationality and Empire, pp. 84–85, 100, 123.


46. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, passim.

47. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, para. 3; Sedition Committee, Report, pp. 66–67; A. B. Purani, The Life of Sri Auro-


51. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, para. 15.


53. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, para. 27.


64. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, paras. 1, 50.


66. M. N. Roy, *La India, su pasado, su presente y su porvenir* (Mexico, 1918); M. N. Roy, *La voz de la India* (Mexico, n.d. [1917?]); the second of these works includes the title essay and “Carta Abierta a su Excelencia Woodrow Wilson . . .” and “¿Por qué los soldados indios luchan por Inglaterra?”


70. Roy, *La voz*, pp. 9, 16.


76. Home Department, 1917, Nos. 299–301, Chakravarty statement, para. 37.


78. Rabindranath Tagore, *Rabindra racanābali* [Collected works of Rabindra] (Calcutta, 1961), XII; hereafter referred to as Tagore, *RR*.


80. Tagore, *RR*, XII, 999.

81. Tagore, *RR*, XII, 979, 981, 984, 1004.

82. Tagore, *RR*, XII, 978 ff.

83. See chapters 6, 8, 9, and 10.

84. See Bhupendranath Basu, “Why India is Heart and Soul with Great Britain,” (London, 1914).


CHAPTER SIX. THE GANDHIAN AGE AND THE RISE OF CHITTARANJAN DAS


15. For biographical details on Das, see Prithās Chandra Ray, *The Life and Times of C. R. Das* (Calcutta, 1927); Hemendranath Das Gupta, *Deshbandu Chandranjan* Das (Delhi, 1960); Dilip Kumar Chatterjee, *C. R. Das and Indian National Movement* (Calcutta, 1965); there are also interesting details in B. R. Nanda, *The Nebru, Motilal and Jawaharlal* (New York, 1963) and Jayakar, *Life*.


18. Das's Bengali works include *Malaṅchā*, *Mālā*, *Sāgar saṅgit*, *Antaryāmi*, and *Kisbore Kishori*; the most popular of these was *Sāgar saṅgit*, translated by Aurobindo Ghose as *Songs of the Sea*; it is reprinted in Sri Aurobindo, *Collected Poems and Plays* (Pondicherry, 1942), II, 249–73. The poems are typical of Bengali lyric verse and reflect the changing moods of sea and self. The sea is taken as an image of the cosmos and a metaphor for God. There are recurring descriptions of the one, the individual, and the merging of all. In devotional passages, Das recounts the secret trysts of lover and beloved, of friend and friend, of the king of mysteries and the seeker for fulfillment. See Das Gupta, *Das*, pp. 23–24 on other aspects of his literary career.


23. Under the first title it is reprinted in Rajen and B. K. Sen, eds., *Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan* (Calcutta, 1926), pp. 1–83; under the second title, extracts are given in Das Gupta, *Das*, pp. 141–47. In neither case is the original Bengali title given.


46. J. H. Broomfield, “The Non-cooperation Decision of 1920: A Crisis in Bengal Politics,” in *Soundings*, ed. Low, pp. 247 ff.; because of his antipathy to the Bengali bhadralok politicians, Broomfield tries to demonstrate that Das is a mere opportunist; but the same charge could be made against Gandhi for his shift from cooperation to Noncooperation. Das was a pragmatist and a skillful politician and should not be condemned out of hand for this.
47. Mitra, *IAR*, 1921, I, 141.
49. Nanda, *Nehrus*, pp. 181 ff.; Das Gupta, *Das*, pp. 50 ff. The transformation in the life-styles of these two men was a topic brought up in several conversations with Indians who lived through this period. Perhaps there is a model for this kind of shift in the four stages of life in Indian traditions, particularly from gṛhaśṭha or householder to vānaprastha or forest-dwelling ascetic, and also in the descriptions of the lives of religious men like the Buddha.
61. For details about the Gandhians, see Banerji, *Crossroads*, pp. 141 ff.
70. Home Department, File 61 of 1924, section 1.
71. Interview with Surendra Mohan Ghose in New Delhi, September 27, 1964; Halder, “Revolutionary Terrorism,” p. 249.
74. Gandhi acted several times to smooth out disputes between the Das group and the Gandhians in Bengal and Das acted to settle district Congress disputes in Bengal. Das, Midnapur, pp. 100–101; Banerji, Crossroads, p. 146.

75. Nehru, Toward Freedom, pp. 69–70 gives a vivid account.

76. Jayakar, Life, I, 422.


78. Gandhi, Swaraj in One Year, pp. 43–96.

79. Gandhi, Swaraj in One Year, p. 43.


81. Bose, Indian Struggle, p. 78.


85. Anstey, Economic Development, p. 317. Unfortunately space does not permit an analysis of the Chandpur Affair of 1921; this was a complicated series of events in eastern Bengal involving tea coolies and strikes by transportation unions in Chittagong; there is an account in Broomfield, Elite Conflict, pp. 184–85, 214–19, but he has used mostly government of Bengal sources and presented the affair from the government point of view. To give a fairer analysis one has to go back to the different kinds of records of the period and compare all the available versions of the affair; Broomfield seems to have distorted the views of C. F. Andrews, The Indian Problem (2d ed., Madras, 1923), pp. 79 ff., who was involved; see also PBLC, 1921, III, 383–427, 452–85.

86. Broomfield, Elite Conflict, pp. 219 ff.; many Bengalis today recall the story of Mrs. Das's arrest and how it aided the movement.


91. Quoted in Jayakar, Life, I, 509.
93. Gandhi, Young India 1919–1922, pp. 993 ff.
100. Pal, Non-Co-operation, pp. 8, 20, 68–72.
102. Pal, Non-Co-operation, p. 64.
103. Pal, Non-Co-operation, pp. 78, 85.
112. Bose, Indian Struggle, p. 103.
114. Gandhi, Collected Works, XXII, 112.
115. Gandhi, Collected Works, XXII, 118.
CHAPTER SEVEN. THE SWARAJ PARTY


5. Dilip Kumar Chatterjee, C. R. Das and Indian National Movement (Calcutta, 1965), pp. 225–27; Forward, August 20, 1924, article on the Tata Conciliation Committee; Forward, September 30, 1924, article on the South Calcutta Congress organizing a workers’ association.


10. These details are collected from a number of sources including Times of India, Who’s Who in India (Bombay, 1925–1947); this is an annual publication which has continued after independence. Thos. Peter, ed., Who’s Who in India (Poona, 1936); Tushar Kanti Ghosh, ed., Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan (Calcutta, 1933); K. P. Thomas, Dr. B. C. Roy (Calcutta, 1955); Subhas Chandra Bose, An Indian Pilgrim, An Unfinished Autobiography and Collected Letters 1897–1921 (Calcutta, 1965); Hemendranath Das Gupta, Deshbandu Chittaranjan Das (Delhi, 1960), passim.


12. See Bania paricay [Introduction to Families] (Calcutta, 1921), V, 30–33.

13. Many of these details have come from a reading of Forward in the years 1923–1924 and talks with Satya Ranjan Bakshi in Calcutta, 1964.

14. Home Department, File No. 61, 1924, section 5.

15. Home Department, File No. 61, 1924; interviews with Surendra Mohan Ghose, former Jugantar leader, New Delhi, September 20, 1964, and with
Kiron Das, ex-revolutionary and political worker, Calcutta, May 3, 1964; also from talks with Satya Ranjan Bakshi in Calcutta, 1964; all the interviewees claimed that Bose knew what was going on but was not directly involved in revolutionary work.

16. Earl of Lytton, *Pundits and Elephants* (London, 1942), pp. 63–66; on numerous occasions during 1924 and 1925, the Swarajists in the Bengal Legislative Council raised questions about the Swarajists who were imprisoned without specific charges for an indefinite term; on one occasion, an official said that the Government of Bengal was satisfied that there was a good case against Subhas Bose, *PBLC*, 1925, Vol. XVII, No. 1, p. 22.


20. The names of the members of the BPCC have been collected from *Forward*, September–October, 1924.


24. Government of India, *Census of India 1921* (Calcutta, 1923), V, Part II, 165–69; 2,710,206 out of 47,654,183 in Bengal and Sikkim. I have been assisted in my analysis of the BPCC by Professors Ralph W. Nicholas, Ronald B. Inden, and Moni Nag, but I alone am responsible for the results.


26. See *Forward*, September 7, 17, and 20, 1924.


30. For example, see Forward, August 5, 15, 1924, and September 7, 1924.
34. Quoted in Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 604(a).
35. Quoted in Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 608.
37. It is quoted in Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 606(a).
39. For Paranjpye's speech, see Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 608(b), 621; also see Jayakar, Life, I, 373, 377–78, on the resistance in Maharashtra to Gandhi, particularly among followers of Tilak, and on Maharashtra's relative loss of power from earlier days.
41. Quoted in Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 625.
42. Quoted in Mitra, IAR, 1924, I, 629.
43. Gandhi was subjected to some criticism from his own supporters for not pressing hard enough against the challenging Swarajists; see Forward article of September 14, 1924, and Jayakar, Life, II, 501–508.
44. William Roy Smith, Nationalism and Reform in India (New Haven, 1938), pp. 98–104.
47. Government of Bengal, Report on 1921–27, p. 170; for a fuller account, see Broomfield, Elite Conflict, pp. 169 ff.
48. Smith, Nationalism and Reform, pp. 118–19.
50. PBLC, 1921, V, 11–12.
51. For the debate and vote, see PBLC, 1922, VII, 544–88.


53. PBLC, 1921, V, 446–48, 532–33.

54. Dutt, Bengal Council, pp. 87–88; PBLC, 1921, V, 409–95, 513–42; Banerjea saw that the Muslims, the officials, nonofficial Europeans, and some nominated members were too strong a coalition to go against.


57. PBLC, 1921, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 239.


60. PBLC, 1922, XI, 249; 1923, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 9–10, 23, 109–10; Lord Ronaldshay said in early 1923 in the council that he could not accept the Meston Award and was pressing the government of India to give Bengal additional financial relief.

61. Lytton, Pundits, p. 40.


63. Lytton, Pundits, p. 34.


65. Broomfield, Elite Conflict, pp. 240–42; Lytton, Pundits, p. 41, claimed that “completely unscrupulous” methods were used to defeat Banerjea, but Broomfield’s account shows that Dr. Roy and the Swarajists were much better organized and more thorough in the campaign than were Banerjea’s followers.


68. Lytton, Pundits, p. 42.

69. Lytton, Pundits, p. 44.

70. Lytton, Pundits, p. 45.

71. Lytton, Pundits, pp. 45–46.

72. Lytton, Pundits, p. 48.

73. Government of Bengal, Report on 1921–27, reports that there were 21 Muslim Swarajists in the council, but the voting patterns do not seem to bear this out.
76. *Forward*, August 29, 1924.
83. *Forward*, September 11, 25; 1924, reports on the formation of the Dacca District Anjuman.
85. *Forward*, August 26, 1924.
87. *PBLC*, 1924, 16th session, p. 64.


104. For example, Subhas Bose maintained an interest in the corporation even while imprisoned; see his *Correspondence 1924–1932* (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 41, 174–78, 281–83.


### Chapter Eight. Subhas Bose and Nationalist Politics, 1925–1938


3. For a different but related view, see a recent account written independently of the present one, Bhola Chatterji, Aspects of Bengal Politics in the Early Nineteen-Thirties (Calcutta, 1969); an earlier version of the present study is Leonard A. Gordon, "Bengal's Gandhi: A Study in Modern Indian Regionalism, Politics and Thought," in Bengal Regional Identity, David Kopf, ed. (East Lansing, Michigan, 1969), pp. 87–130.

4. For example, Government of India, Home Department, Political File No. 61 of 1924, "Note of the Connection between the Revolutionaries and the Swarajya Party in Bengal"; also Political File No. 104 and K. W., 1927, letter of the Home Member, dated March 31, 1927.


10. Bose, Correspondence, 1924–32, pp. 81, 91–95, 139, 148.

11. Bose, Correspondence, 1924–32, p. 158.

12. Bose, Indian Pilgrim, pp. 8–10, 19–44.


17. Roy, *Subhash*, p. 21; I am not sure of the exact year in which the Bose bought their house at 38/2 Elgin Road, Calcutta, but Subhas Bose is already writing letters from that address in 1914; see Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, p. 142.


23. Bose, *Correspondence, 1924–32*, pp. 137–41; here Subhas Bose identifies Basanti Devi, the widow of C. R. Das, with the nation, with Bengal, and with the Universal Mother.

24. Dilip Kumar Roy is the leader of this attempt; see Dilip Kumar Roy, *Netaji—The Man, Reminiscences* (Bombay, 1966), especially Appendix XI, “Netaji, The Mystic.”


26. Roy, *Subhash*, pp. 61, 65; about fifty unpublished letters of Subhas Bose to Mrs. Vetter were lent to me by the Netaji Research Bureau, 38/2 Elgin Road, Calcutta; they were written in the 1930s. Kitty Kurti, *Subhas Chandra Bose As I Knew Him* (Calcutta, 1966), also contains letters written by Bose in the 1930s.


30. Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, p. 163; Ashu Babu is Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Tagore described the usual insensitivity of Western professors to their Indian students, but maintained that there were and could be sensitive Western teachers as well and mentioned some at Santiniketan.


35. Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 78–82.


40. Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 89–90.


44. Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 93–103.


46. Letter of February 16, 1921, in Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, p. 98.

47. For Bose’s letters to Das, see Bose, *Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 180–86; the comment on Das’s reply is in *Indian Pilgrim*, pp. 101–102.


51. During my interview with Mrs. Das in Calcutta in 1965, she said jokingly that Subhas Bose had become closer to her than to his own mother; this was also mentioned by several members of the Bose family and some political associates; see Bose’s letters to Mrs. Das in his *Correspondence, 1924–32*, pp. 52 ff.

53. Government of India, Home Department, Political File No. 61 of 1924, "Note of the Connection between the Revolutionists and the Swarajya Party in Bengal."


56. Interview with Surendra Mohan Ghose in New Delhi, September 27, 1964.


58. Bose, *Correspondence 1924–32*, passim; unpublished notebooks kept by Subhas Bose while imprisoned which I read at the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta, numbered in pencil 1–8, especially 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8; referred to hereafter as "Prison Notebooks."


73. Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, pp. 88, 97; for Bose’s earlier view of Aurobindo Ghose, see Indian Pilgrim, pp. 53–56.

74. Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, p. 391.

75. Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, pp. 97–98.

76. For this “symbolic” political activity, see Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, pp. 3–363, passim.

77. Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, pp. 151 ff.


79. Letter of October 1, 1927, Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, p. 393; Bose describes her as the Mother of Bengal in Mission of Life, p. 123.

80. Bose, Correspondence 1924–32, pp. 299, 390, 394.

81. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 94–95, 102.

82. On the endemic factionalism in Bengal, see selections from The Bengal Administration Report 1934–35 in Mitra, IAR, 1936, I, 481–83; Subhas Chandra Bose, Correspondence 1924–32 (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 299, 390.

83. Forward, May 27, 1939. Full-Khadi probably refers to the orthodox Gandhians like P. C. Ghose; Half-Khadi to the “official Congressmen” like Kiran Sankar Roy and J. C. Gupta; King’s Own to the Bose group; CSP to the Congress Socialist Party; CP to the Communist Party; Jhowtala to the residence of Fazlul Huq; “Ranjani” to the home of Nalini Ranjan Sarker; Wellington St. to the house of Dr. B. C. Roy and Woodburn Park or Elgin Road to the homes of Sarat and Subhas Bose.

84. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 68–69.


86. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, p. 90; interview with Satya Ranjan Bakshi conducted in Calcutta, September 28, 1966 by Professor Edward C. Dimock.

87. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, p. 90.

88. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, p. 90.


90. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 95–96.


93. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, p. 96.


112. Interview with Nirad C. Chaudhuri in Delhi, September 22, 1964.
113. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, p. 120; K. P. Thomas, Dr. B. C. Roy (Calcutta, 1955), pp. 146–47; Mitra, IAR, 1929, II, 284–85.
115. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 120–23.
116. Subhas Chandra Bose, speech on taking oath of office as Mayor of Calcutta, September 24, 1930; I read this speech in the library of the Calcutta Corporation.
117. Bose, speech, September 24, 1930.
118. Bose, Through Congress Eyes, pp. 240–43; there are references in Bose’s letters to Mrs. Naomi Vetter about his interest in European city affairs, particularly Vienna; these unpublished letters are on file in the Netaji Research Bureau. Bose also visited Dublin, Rome, and numerous other European cities, always displaying an interest in civic government and experiments.
120. For an account of patronage and corruption in the Calcutta Corporation during the 1930s, see Nirad C. Chaudhuri, “The Day of Repentance, 15th August,” Now (Calcutta), August 19, 1966.
130. Interview with Surendra Mohan Ghose in New Delhi, September 27, 1964; Mr. Ghose was often a spokesman for Bengali prisoners to whom representatives of Gandhi came; he says that he always insisted, as did many other Bengali politicians, that the Bengali prisoners had to be released when
other political prisoners were; if they were not, then grave misgivings were felt among Bengalis.


140. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 111–12.


144. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 111–19; Thomas, Dr. Roy, pp. 146–47.


146. Thomas, Dr. Roy, pp. 182–88; Majumdar, Freedom Movement, III, 532–41.


149. Birla, Shadow, passim; Birla was the link connecting the Marwari network and some other businessmen to Gandhi and the Congress High Command; when support was necessary, Gandhi would contact Birla, who would in turn contact his associates. Some connections were made through chambers of commerce; for example, see Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Silver Jubilee Souvenir 1927–1951 (New Delhi, 1952),
and other chamber of commerce publications. I have looked at some of these publications which are in the private collection of Professor Myron Weiner; there are some useful comments in Myron Weiner's *The Politics of Scarcity* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 102–26, and *Party Building in a New Nation, the Indian National Congress* (Chicago, 1967), *passim*, on the role of businessmen in politics, but a systematic study needs to be done on this relationship.

150. See the following account of the Bengal Ministry crisis and the role of Birla and Sarker in Bengali politics; Birla, *Shadow, passim*.


152. Interview with Professor Niharanjan Ray, New York, February 1, 1968; Laushey, "The Bengal Terrorists," *passim* gives more complete details.


159. Even though the Government of India realized that the trials gave the communist movement publicity, officials believed that the trials also offered an opportunity to demonstrate that it was a foreign-run movement; Overstreet and Windmiller, *Communism*, pp. 67–69, 135–39, 148–51; also see Lester Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut* (London, 1935) and Philip Spratt, *Blowing up India* (Calcutta, 1955).


161. Home Department, Political File No. 11, 1923.


165. Overstreet and Windmiller, *Communism*, pp. 166–70, 567; Rusch, “Congress Socialist Party,” pp. 342–57; information about some of the Bengali Communists who worked in the Congress comes from interviews with these men conducted by Professor Donald Zagoria.


168. M. N. Roy, *Our Differences* (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 44 ff.; Borkenau, *World Communism*, p. 346; there are many references to the group in files of letters in the M. N. Roy Archives, Mohini Road, Dehradun, U. P., India, especially letters to Jay Lovestone, Ruth Fischer, and to other ex-members of the Comintern.


170. For Roy’s changed views in the 1930s, see M. N. Roy, *Letters by M. N. Roy to the Congress Socialist Party—Written in 1934*—(Bombay, 1937); see also Roy’s weekly paper, *Independent India* (Bombay, Delhi, 1937–40), passim. Roy’s experience in Europe during the period of rising fascism made him put antifascism ahead of nationalist unity and of his own success in Indian politics; my views on this point have been shaped by reading hundreds of unpublished letters by Roy for the period 1937–45 on file in the M. N. Roy Archives.


172. Interview with V. B. Karnik, in Bombay, December 24, 1964; in addition, I found copies of some of the letters smuggled out of prison by Roy.
in the M. N. Roy Archives and have reconstructed the network from information contained in the letters; details were checked with V. B. Karnik, who was a key operator in the network.

173. Roy correspondence with Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyay, Jiban Lal Chatterjee, Surendra Mohan Ghose, Bhupendra Kumar Datta, and Jadugopal Mukherjee in the M. N. Roy Archives.

177. Bose, *Through Congress Eyes*, pp. 140 ff., gives a record of some of his travels and observations; there are many comments on his travels in the letters to Mrs. Vetter in the 1930s; Hugh Toye, *Subhash Chandra Bose, The Springing Tiger* (Bombay, 1962), pp. 41–44.
182. Bose, *Through Congress Eyes*, p. 44.
183. The book was published in London in 1935 and was banned in India until 1937; it was not published in India until 1948.
184. Bose, *Indian Struggle*, pp. 250, 280, 283, 413–14. There are elements of a Marxist interpretation of Gandhi in *The Indian Struggle* as well as in the interpretation of the Bengali Gandhians by Satya Ranjan Bakshi that I have drawn on for my account of the Bengal Congress in the 1930s. A fuller and fairer interpretation would draw on accounts from Bengal’s Gandhians as well; this is not to say that Bose’s interpretation may not have considerable validity.
CHAPTER NINE. THE CRISIS OF
BENGAL AND CONGRESS POLITICS


5. Rusch, “Congress Socialist Party,” passim; see the letter exchanged between Bose and Nehru in Jawaharlal Nehru, A Bunch of Old Letters (New Delhi, 1958), pp. 317–84; letters between M. N. Roy and Subhas Bose in File on “Bose and Forward Block,” in Indian Renaissance Institute, Dehradun; also Roy’s unpublished letters to many other political associates on file in Dehradun; interview with P. C. Joshi, former General Secretary of the CPI, New Delhi, February 6, 1965; Subhas Chandra Bose, Crossroads (Calcutta, 1962), passim.


7. Prasad, Autobiography, pp. 395, 398, 413, 522; see Prasad’s report on the Bengali-Bihari dispute in The Statesman, January 18, 1939; on the opposition to the Communal Award in Bengal, see pamphlets and letters collected by Marquis of Zetland, Zetland Collection, Vols. 21, 22, India Office Library MSS. EUR. 0.609.


13. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, who handled some of Subhas Bose’s correspondence at this time, has mentioned that Bose kept few letters or records; see references to the controversy over whether Bose was an active or a passive president, Nehru, *Old Letters*, pp. 319, 339–40; Shri Ram Sharma, *Netaji: His Life and Work* (Agra, 1948), p. 226.


23. Quoted in Bose, *Crossroads*, p. 94.


30. M. N. Roy letter of February 1, 1939, in file, “Bose and Forward Block,” Indian Renaissance Institute, Dehradun; John Patrick Haithcox recounts this story in *Communism and Nationalism in India*, chapter 11, but apparently has not seen the relevant files in the M. N. Roy Archives.


33. Rusch, “Congress Socialist Party,” p. 378; I have seen no mention of the last point in government of India records or in the correspondence of the governor of Bengal, the viceroy, or the secretary of state at the time.


36. Several versions of Roy’s motions, together with the signatures of seconders and supporters of his motions and amendments are contained in the file “Tripuri Congress,” Indian Renaissance Institute, Dehradun.


43. Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windmiller, *Communism in India* (Berkeley, 1959), pp. 168–69; David N. Druhe, *Soviet Russia and Indian Communism* (New York, 1959), p. 150; *Forward*, March 25, 1939. These accounts all imply that the communists were united with the CSP in refusing to stand up against the Pant Resolution, but there was apparently some disagreement between Bengal communists and non-Bengal communists.

44. Rusch, “Congress Socialist Party,” pp. 380–81; some communists were still in the CSP at this time.

45. Much of this correspondence is contained in Nehru, *Old Letters*, pp. 317–84, and Bose, *Crossroads*, pp. 126–70.


47. Michael Brecher, *Nehru, A Political Biography* (London, 1959), p. 251; Nehru’s unwillingness to take a clear stand is evident in his public statements at the time: e.g., *Statesman*, February 4, 1939.


60. *Forward*, April 8, 1939.


63. *Forward*, April 29, 1939; earlier in the year, a writer in the *Statesman*, January 21, 1939, suggested that there were four groups: the Bose group, the P. C. Ghosh group, the Kiran Sankar Roy group, and the Congress Socialist group headed by Dr. Suresh Banerji.

64. This suggestion is partly based on my reading of *Forward* and M. N. Roy’s unpublished correspondence with several of these men during this period; Dr. M. K. Halder has made several suggestions about these factions, but I am responsible for the hypothesis about group membership.


68. Subhas Bose unpublished letter to M. N. Roy, January 14, 1940, in Roy file, "Forward Block," Indian Renaissance Institute, Dehradun.
69. Toye, Subhash Bose, pp. 61–64.
78. Kabir, Muslim Politics, p. 12.

82. Interview with Sarya Ranjan Bakshi, Calcutta, November 14, 1964.

83. Government of Bengal, *Report on Bengal*, 1932–37, pp. 1–17; this is not stated explicitly, but is implied by the elaborate steps taken for the next constitutional advance.


89. Thomas, *Dr. Roy*, p. 188.


93. Gopal, *Indian Muslims*, p. 246; a fuller account of the ministerial question will be given in a book, now in preparation, on Bengal politics in the decade before partition and independence.


95. Interview with Nirad C. Chaudhuri, Delhi, September 22, 1964; Nehru, *Old Letters*, p. 328; see the letters between Bose and Gandhi quoted below.

96. Interview with Surendra Mohan Ghose, New Delhi, March 1965.

97. From unpublished letters in the possession of Nirad C. Chaudhuri; quoted with his permission. Mr. Chaudhuri was at the time private secretary to Sarat Bose.

98. Interview with Nirad C. Chaudhuri, Delhi, September 22, 1964; see Sarker’s speech on the continuance of and necessity for Muslim supremacy in Bengal’s ministry, reported in *The Statesman*, January 21, 1939.


104. Pirzada, Jinnah’s Correspondence, p. 58.


108. Pirzada, Jinnah’s Correspondence, pp. 62–68.


111. Toye, Subhash Bose, pp. 182–83. There are quite a few Bengalis who do not believe that Bose died in the crash, and rumors circulate frequently in Calcutta that Bose is returning shortly to set Bengal’s and India’s troubles right.


113. Quoted in Chaudhuri, “Subhas Bose,” Pacific Affairs, p. 351; “Netaji,” a term meaning respected leader, was first used by Bose’s associates in Berlin.


120. Tuker, Memory Serves, pp. 286–96, 380–82.


122. See the prominence given to the role of the INA in Majumdar, Freedom Movement, III, 700–45; I have heard this version of the past from several Bengalis in Calcutta and London.

123. For example, see Arulya Ghosh, Abimsa and Gandhi (Calcutta, 1954).

124. There is a special term of abuse in Bengali for Gandhi; it is gêdošālā; the word sālā in Bengali means brother-in-law, but if you are not married to someone’s sister and call him your sālā, it is a term of abuse for obvious reasons; gêdo refers to Gandhi; the whole term might be freely translated as “Gandhi-bastard.” I heard a number of highly inventive stories about Gandhi’s sex life in Calcutta while I was living there in 1963–1965.

CONCLUSION

1. The most direct parallel to the changing position of the high-caste Bengalis is that of the Maharashtrian Brahmans; see J. A. Curran, Jr., Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics (New York, 1951); Dhanajay Keer, Savarkar and His Times (Bombay, 1950); Balshastri Hardas, Armed Struggle for Freedom (Poona, 1958); Stanley A. Wolpert, Nine Hours to Rama (New York, 1963); J. C. Jain, The Murder of Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay, 1950); John Frederick Muehl, Interview with India (New York, 1950), pp. 152–213.


4. Statesman, January 17, 1939, column of ‘An Indian Observer,’ who was B. B. Roy.