

Extremist Phase 2 (1905–18) (Revolutionary Terrorist Movement, Ghadar Movement, Home Rule Movement)

By mid-1908, the Swadeshi Movement had died down and the next major attempt for a nationwide mass movement came only after the First World War. The intervening years saw the emergence of three major political trends—Revolutionary terrorist Movement, the Ghadar Movement and the Home Rule Movement. All of these contributed in their own way to the furthering of feelings of nationalism. The beginning of the first trend, i.e. revolutionary terrorism, got merged with the end of the mass phase of Swadeshi movement. The other two, the Ghadar and the Home Rule Movements, synchronised with the years of the First World War.

REVOLUTIONARY TERRORIST MOVEMENT

The reasons for the rise of revolutionary terrorism in India are largely similar to the ones that gave rise to Extremist nationalism. As a movement, it emerged with real force only after 1908 and may be aptly called as a secret child of the Swadeshi Movement. It was adopted by a generation of highly motivated nationalist youth who found all other avenues of political expression blocked or frustrated; the common political aim of all revolutionaries everywhere in the country being—Freedom from the British rule.

Reasons for the Rise of Revolutionary Terrorist Movement

The following factors mainly contributed to the rise of revolutionary terrorism:

1. Failure of Moderate Methods

The 1905 Bengal partition was forced in the teeth of moderate protest. A group of nationalists had now realised the futility of praying and petitioning to the government. They were convinced with the Extremists' critique of moderate politics and sneered at the political mendicancy of Congress moderates.

2. Failure of the Extremists to give a Positive Lead to the Youth

The Extremists had rightly emphasised the need to go beyond praying and petitioning and advocated the need for a more militant program. They had put forward the ideas of boycott and passive resistance. They had aroused the youth for direct action and self-sacrifice.

Yet, the extremists were unable to give a practical expression to these ideas. They had also failed to organise any effective body that could direct the revolutionary energies of the youth in a positive direction. Unsurprising, such youth found recourse in the 'politics of the bomb'.

Once again, even as the extremist leadership praised the heroic activities of the revolutionaries, they failed to educate them about that in a vast country like India, only a peaceful mass movement could be successful against the imperialist power and not violent individual actions, however heroic. They not only failed to oppose the notion of revolutionary terrorism, some like Aurobindo Ghose even encouraged it.

Moreover, the youth had participated actively in the Swadeshi Movement in the hope that the Extremist methods of boycott, swadeshi and passive resistance would lead the country to Swaraj. Instead, the Swadeshi Movement not only failed in achieving the goal of Swaraj, it could not even reverse the partition of Bengal.

3. Violent Repression of the Swadeshis

Another factor that contributed to the rise of revolutionary terrorism was the brutal repression of the Swadeshis by the government. The Congress split in 1907 facilitated this further and the government launched an all-out attack on the extremists.

Thus, with the failure of moderate methods, inability of the extremists to give a positive lead to the people and violent repression of constructive Swadeshis and extremists, the desire to meet force with force and violence with violence naturally came to the forefront. Finding all avenues of peaceful protest blocked, patience of the Bengali youth had run out as far as mass movements and open politics was concerned. There was a group of nationalists, who, having been aroused into the nationalist struggle, were unable to tame themselves into oblivion and were now ready to take up arms against the hated British officials.

Methods of the Revolutionaries

The Revolutionaries believed that Western Imperialism could be countered by Western methods of violence alone. Hence, they took to the cult of the revolver and the bomb. They formed secret societies, recruited young persons and trained them in values of **Action** and **Sacrifice** for the freedom of the country.

These revolutionary terrorists based their style on the lines of Irish terrorists and the Russian Nihilists and resorted to assassinations of unpopular officials, heroic individual acts, secret societies and political robberies (popularly called Swadeshi dacoities). Though they did believe in the final necessity of an armed mass revolt to overthrow the imperialist forces, they were aware of the enormity of the task. Subverting the loyalty of the army was equally daunting and they were left with only one choice for immediate action—individual heroic action. With this, they aimed to terrorise the British into submission, remove the fear and inertia of the people and consolidate the feelings of nationalism.

A General Survey of Revolutionary Activities in India

Revolutionary Activities Prior to 1908

Even though revolutionary terrorism emerged as a major trend only after 1907–08, some sporadic activities were visible even earlier—

- In 1897, first act of revolutionary terrorism was carried out when the **Chapekar brothers** (Damodar and Balkrishna) assassinated two unpopular British officials at Poona.
- In 1904, **Abhinav Bharat** and **Mitra Mela**, secret societies of revolutionaries, were formed by VD Savarkar and his brother Ganesh.
- Other prominent revolutionary groups were **Yugantar group** in Calcutta and **Anushilan Samiti** in Dacca.
- During the Swadeshi movement (1905), many prominent newspapers advocated revolutionary terrorism like **the Sandhya** and **the Yugantar** in Bengal and **the Kal** in Maharashtra.
- During the Swadeshi movement, a political pamphlet **Bhavani Mandir** was published and was penned anonymously by Aurobindo Ghosh. It carried an article by Barindra Kumar Ghose, containing a detailed plan for organising a centre for revolutionary activities. Barin also published **Vartaman Rananiti**.
- Pamphlet **Mukti Kon Pathe** (Which way lies salvation) urged the Indian soldiers to supply arms to the revolutionaries.
- In 1907, unsuccessful attempts were made on the life of Lt. Governors of Bengal and Eastern Bengal.

Revolutionary Activities After 1908

The launch of the revolutionary movement with real force is said to have begun only when, in **April 1908**, **Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose** threw a bomb at a carriage, which they believed was occupied by the unpopular British Magistrate Douglas Kingsford, district judge of Muzaffarpur (now in Bihar) and ended up killing two English women travelling in it. On seeing the impending arrest, Chaki shot himself dead. Khudiram was arrested and later hanged, in what came to be known as the Muzaffarpur Conspiracy Case.

The violent repression of the Swadeshis triggered a spate of assassinations, secret societies and political robberies. Soon Bengal emerged as the main centre of revolutionary activities spearheaded by Anushilan and Jugantar societies. Maharashtra, Bengal and Punjab and United Provinces emerged as the main provinces of revolutionary activity. During 1908–18, an estimated 186 revolutionaries were either killed or convicted.

Revolutionary Activities in Maharashtra

- Chapekar Brothers and Rand Murder Case (Poona, 1897)
- Savarkar Brothers (Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Ganesh Damodar Savarkar)
 - Mitra Mela (1899) and Abhinav Bharata Mandal (1904)
 - Veer Savarkar and activities at Indian House, London (1906)
 - Nasik Conspiracy Case (December 1909)

In 1879, early revolutionary activities were organised by the **Ramosi Peasant Force** led by Vasudev Balwant Phadke which aimed to overthrow the British Rule by instigating an armed revolt.

As per the Sedition Committee Report 1918, the first instances of revolutionary movement were observed in Maharashtra, particularly among the Chitpavan Brahmins of Poona district. The forefathers of these Brahmins had served as the Peshwas (Ministers) of the rulers of Maharashtra. The Peshwa rule, or Chitpavan government, was overthrown by the East India Company at the time of Lord Hastings. They had retained their love for Swaraj and yearned to return to power someday.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin, popularised the Ganapati and Shivaji Festivals in 1893 and 1895 respectively, and dispersed the values of Swaraj in the air of Maharashtra. He also supported revolutionary activities through his papers Mahratta and Kesari. Bombay, Poona and Nasik emerged as the main revolutionary centres in Maharashtra.

Chapekar Brothers and Rand Murder Case (Poona, 1897)

The Rand murder case is also known in Indian history as **the first political murder** of Europeans. During the summers of 1897, bubonic plague raged in Poona in severe epidemic form. To deal with the situation, a Special Plague Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of WC Rand, an Indian Civil Services Officer, and British troops were deployed comprising mainly of British officers. The troops employed harsh measures including forced entry into houses, forced examination and stripping of persons including women by officers in public, evacuation to segregation camps, destruction of personal possessions, etc., which were considered tyrannical by the local populace and complaints were ignored by Rand.

Tilak wrote inflammatory articles in his papers Kesari and Maratha, "Plague is more merciful to us than its human prototypes now reigning in the city." Quoting the Gita he wrote that no blame could be attached to anyone who killed an oppressor without any thought of reward.

Following this, on 22 June 1897, Rand and his young military escort Lt. Ayerst were shot dead by the Chapekar brothers (Chitpavan Brahmins), Damodar and Balkrishna. The brothers were caught, tried and hanged. Tilak, on his part, was charged with incitement to murder and for preaching disaffection against the Raj and sentenced to 18-months imprisonment.

Savarkar Brothers (Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Ganesh Damodar Savarkar)

Mitra Mela (1899) and Abhinav Bharata Mandal (1904)

In 1899, at Nasik, the Savarkar brothers—Vinayak and Ganesh, had set up a revolutionary secret society called Mitra Mela while Vinayak Savarkar was still a student at Fergusson College Pune. It was one of several such societies that had emerged in Maharashtra during that time with the aim of overthrowing the British rule through an armed revolution. In 1904, in a meeting attended by several political activists, Vinayak Savarkar renamed Mitra Mela as Abhinav Bharata, on the lines of Mazzini's Young Italy. Vinayak Savarkar was greatly impressed by the Italian revolutionary Mazzini and his techniques of secret societies and guerrilla warfare. In 1906, Savarkar also wrote

Mazzini Charitra which was a translation of Mazzini's writings. Savarkar's revolutionary propaganda led to a few assassinations, including that of William Wyllie in London and AMT Jackson at Nasik.

Veer Savarkar and activities at Indian House, London (1906)

In 1906, VD Savarkar upon graduating from Fergusson College, availed of Shyamji Krishna Varma's fellowship and left for London to study law, taking accommodation in India House. India House was a thriving centre for student political activities in London and was organised by an expatriate, Pandit Shyamji.

Savarkar soon founded the '**Free Indian Society**' to help fellow Indian students to work for India's freedom through a revolution (by any means), a guerrilla war along the lines of the Revolt of 1857. Savarkar's views on the revolt were published in a book, **The Indian War of Independence, 1857**, and he became one of the first writers to interpret the events of 1857 as 'First War of Independence', what the British preferred to call a 'Sepoy Mutiny'.

In the book, he condemned British rule in India as unjust and oppressive. The book was banned throughout British India; however, it was widely smuggled and circulated, and gained immense popularity among young Indians. Madame Bhikaji Cama, another expatriate Indian revolutionary circulated the book in France, Germany and Netherlands.

Meanwhile, Savarkar continued to study revolutionary methods and even learnt the art of bomb-making from a Russian revolutionary and circulated a pamphlet on bomb-making and guerrilla warfare.

On 1st July 1909, London, **Madan Lal Dhingra** (a protégé of Savarkar) shot dead **Col. William Curzon Wyllie**, political aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State for India. Following the assassination, the British authorities were swung into action. Madan Lal was caught and hanged. Savarkar was arrested and deported to India and sentenced to transportation for life in the Nasik Conspiracy case. Shyamji left London and settled in Paris and the activities of Indian House in London had to be wound up.

Note: '**Grave Warning**' was a pamphlet that was widely distributed in London.

Nasik Conspiracy Case (December 1909)

On 21st December 1909, **AMT Jackson**, the District Magistrate of Nasik was shot dead by a 17-year-old young boy, **Anant Kanhere**. It is believed that Kanhere was upset with Jackson for insulting Ganesh Savarkar (elder brother of VD Savarkar) by committing him to trial. Subsequent investigation into the Nasik conspiracy revealed the existence of Abhinav Bharat Mandal and the role of Savarkar brothers. Apparently, the Browning pistol used in the assassination of Jackson had been dispatched by Savarkar from London. Charged of murder, Vinayak Savarkar was sentenced to life imprisonment and deported to Andamans (1910).

Note: Jackson was an Indologist and widely read on Indian history and culture, which had earned him his nickname, Pandit Jackson.

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883–1966): VD Savarkar, popularly known as Veer Savarkar was a lawyer, freedom fighter and an atheist who denounced religious orthodox beliefs of all kinds. Born as a Chitpavan Brahmin in a village near Nasik, he earned the epithet 'Veer' after he heroically led the defence of his village from a Muslim mob attack. As a young student, he was greatly inspired by the Swadeshi movement and the militant nationalism of Lal-Bal-Pal.



While serving prison term in Nasik conspiracy case, Savarkar began focusing his energies to writing and wrote *Hindutva*: who is a Hindu?, becoming the first person to coin the term '**Hindutva**' and described a Hindu as a patriotic inhabitant of Bharatavarsha (thus going beyond religious identity). In this sense, his vision of India was that of '**Hindu Rashtra**' and '**Akhand Bharat**'. His critics point out that to Savarkar, Hindu was a cultural and political identity to the exclusion of Muslims and Christians. He also wrote—Transportation for life, Kale Pani and Gandhi Gondhal (Gandhi's confusion), a political critique of Gandhi's policies. Denied pen and paper, Savarkar wrote on prison walls with thorns and pebbles and even memorised thousands of lines of his literary work.

In 1937, with the grant of provincial autonomy, Savarkar was finally released from jail and the same year got elected as President of the Hindu Mahasabha (1937–43). During the Second World War, he opposed Quit India Movement, supported British war efforts with the aim of providing military training to the Hindus and gave the slogan, "Hinduise all politics and Militarise Hindudom".

Madan Lal Dhingra (1883–1909): Dhingra was a revolutionary independence activist. Dhingra left for England in 1905 for studies and came in contact with independence activists like Shyamji Krishna Varma and VD Savarkar, who were all deeply enraged over partition of Bengal. While studying in England, he shot dead **Col. William Wyllie**, considered as one of the first acts of revolutionary terrorism in the 20th century. After the assassination, he was tried and hanged. Earlier, he had been disowned for his political activities by his father, who had even published his decision in the newspaper in this regard. Today, he is widely remembered as a heroic revolutionary who laid down his life for the freedom of his motherland.



Revolutionary Activities in Bengal

- Anushilan Samiti (1902)
 1. Dhaka Anushilan Samiti (1905–06)
 - Barisal Conspiracy Case (1913)
 2. Jugantar or Yugantar (April 1906)
 - Muzaffarpur Conspiracy and the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case (1908)
 - Indo-German Plot

Pramathanath Mitra (1853–1910): He was a Bengali lawyer, nationalist and founding member of Anushilan Samiti.



Anushilan Samiti (1902)

Anushilan Samiti was the main revolutionary organisation in Bengal which propagated revolutionary violence as means of ending British rule in India.

By 1900, Calcutta had emerged as the nerve centre of organised political activity and many young students and nationalists had begun to meet in secret societies which promoted a culture of physical and moral strength. In 1902, Anushilan Samiti (literally meaning 'body-building society') gradually emerged from a conglomeration of local gyms or akharas. During this time, there were three societies in Calcutta working under the umbrella of the Samiti—one founded by a Bengali student Satish Chandra Basu and promoted by the Calcutta Lawyer P. Mitra, second led by Sarla Devi and a third one led by Jatindranath Banerjee (Niralamba Swami) and Aurobindo Ghosh. Ghosh was one of the strongest proponents of militant nationalism at that time. With the efforts of Aurobindo and his younger brother Barindranath Ghose (Barin), Anushilan Samiti spread like wildfire throughout Bengal. The journal *Jugantar*, founded by Barin along with **Bhupendranath Datta** and others, emerged as a major mouthpiece of the Samiti leaders (and later lent its name to the Calcutta chapter of the Anushilan Samiti).

The partition of Bengal in 1905 further stimulated the radical nationalist sentiments and the Samiti now came to comprise of two independent arms.

1. Dhaka Anushilan Samiti in East Bengal (centred at Dhaka)
2. Jugantar group in west Bengal (centred at Calcutta)

1. Dhaka Anushilan Samiti (1905–06): A branch of Anushilan Samiti, it was initially set up as a group of 80 under the leadership of **Pulin Behari Das**. It spread like wildfire throughout East Bengal and emerged as a highly organised secret society with over 500 branches in Dhaka. It broke up with the Jugantar group owing to differences with Aurobindo's approach. The activities of the Samiti came to a temporary halt after the Barisal Conspiracy Case.

Barisal Conspiracy Case (1913): It was a trial of 44 Bengalis accused of inciting rebellion against the Raj. The police authorities Barisal, a district in the south-eastern corner of Bengal, had reported that it had seized documents that carried a proposal of the Anushilan Samiti to incite the Indian troops and kill the British in large numbers. Five of the accused including Pulin, were transported to the Cellular Jail in Andamans to serve long terms of imprisonment and the Anushilan Samiti was banned.

During the First World War, the Dhaka Anushilan Samiti decided not to participate in the Indo-German plot. Pulin was released in 1918 and refusing to accept the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi, he founded the **Bharat Sevak Sangha** in 1920 and resumed revolutionary activities. In this way, the Samiti continued to exist in an underground manner.

Pulin Behari Das (1877–1949): He was the founder President of the Dhaka Anushilan Samiti. In 1906, Pramathanath Mitra along with Bipin Chandra Pal toured the newly created province of East Bengal and Assam. In a speech, Mitra asked those to step forward who were willing to lay down their lives for the freedom of their motherland, and Pulin stepped forward. Later, he was chosen to organise the Dhaka branch of the Anushilan Samiti. In 1908, the Samiti led by Pulin organised the sensational **Barrah dacoity**, which was carried out in broad daylight at the residence of the zamindar of Barrah.



Cellular Jail in Andamans

Rash Behari Bose (1886–1945): He was a revolutionary leader, chief organiser of the Ghadar Revolution and later the INA. During the Alipore Bomb Case trials (1908), he fled to Dehradun. Following the Delhi conspiracy Case (1912), he was again forced to go into hiding. During the First World War, he became extensively involved with the Ghadarites who planned a mutiny in India during the war years. But the government came to know of the plan and succeeding in suppressing the efforts. Rash Behari escaped and reached Japan in 1915. There he survived with the help of Pan-Asian supporters; married a Japanese lady, acquired Japanese citizenship in 1923 and even introduced Indian-style curry in Japan! During the Second World War, Bose persuaded the Japanese authorities to support the Indian cause for freedom. In March 1942, Rash Behari convened a conference in Tokyo and established the **Indian Independence League**. He was awarded by the Japanese government with the 'Order of the Rising Sun'.



A dinner party given to Bose by Japanese leaders

Bhupendranath Datta (1880–1961): He was a revolutionary and the hot-blooded younger brother of Narendranath Datta (Swami Vivekananda). He was a member of the revolutionary society founded by P. Mitra, became the editor of the *Jugantar Patrika* (1906) and became a close associate of the Ghosh brothers.



2. Jugantar or Yugantar (April 1906): Jugantar or Yugantar was a revolutionary group formed by the inner circle of Anushilan Samiti and was headquartered at Calcutta. **Barin Ghosh** (younger brother of Aurobindo Ghose) **Bagha Jatin** were the main leaders. Others included **Bhupendranath Datta** and **Rash Behari Bose**. Barin and Bagha also formed a Maniktala group which collected arms and manufactured bombs at a garden house in Maniktala suburb of Calcutta (Maniktala bomb factory).

The Jugantar group also sent some members abroad for political and military training. One of the first batches, comprising **Surendra Mohan Bose**, **Guran Ditt Kumar** and **Tarak Nath Das**, was sent to North America. The batch became extremely active among the Hindu and Sikh communities in the USA who provided the nucleus for the future Ghadar Party.

Hemchandra Kanungo (or Hem Das), a senior member of Jugantar, was sent to Paris for military training under a Russian Revolutionary in exile there. After returning to Calcutta, he joined the Maniktala group.

Muzaffarpur Conspiracy and the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case (1908)

Muzaffarpur Conspiracy-On 30 April 1908, **Prafulla Chaki** and **Khudiram Bose** threw a bomb at a carriage, which they believed was occupied by the unpopular British Magistrate Douglas Kingsford, district judge of Muzaffarpur (now in Bihar) and ended up killing two English women travelling in it (Muzaffarpur Murders). On seeing the impending arrest, Chaki shot himself dead while Bose was tried and hanged in what came to be known as the Muzaffarpur Conspiracy Case.

Khudiram Bose (1889-1908): One of India's youngest revolutionaries, Khudiram was inspired by Aurobindo's lectures, and had joined the Anushilan Samiti.



Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case (or the Maniktala bomb Conspiracy Case)- The Muzaffarpur Conspiracy Case led to a series of government searches. The Maniktala bomb factory was also discovered and several revolutionaries were arrested including the **Ghosh brothers—Barindra and Aurobindo**. The trial came to be known as the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy Case (or Alipore Bomb Case).

During the trial, Bagha Jatin took over the leadership of the Jugantar group, which now turned against persons who were helping the authorities in conducting the trial. When the revolutionary **Narendra Gosain** turned approver, he was shot dead in jail. In February 1909, the Public Prosecutor who was conducting the prosecution of assassins of Gosain, was shot dead in the Calcutta High Court premises. And in January 1910, a Deputy Superintendent of Police Samsul Aslam, who was conducting the Alipore Case, was shot dead while leaving the Calcutta High Court. Several including Bagha were arrested in connection with the **Samsul Aslam case**. Though released in this case, he was immediately re-arrested with regard to the **Howrah-Sibpur conspiracy case (1910-11)**. Bagha and other were charged of conspiring to wage war against the King and tampering with the loyalty of Indian soldiers (mainly the Jat regiment posted in Fort William). While lodged in Howrah jail awaiting trial, Bagha counted on the outbreak of First World War to start an uprising with the help of native soldiers. In 1911, Bagha was released in the absence of proper evidence.

In verdict of the Alipore case though Barin Ghosh was sentenced to death, the sentence was later reduced to life imprisonment and he was deported to Cellular Jail in Andaman in 1909. Aurobindo was initially put under solitary confinement in the Alipore jail but was later acquitted, having been successfully defended by **Chittaranjan Das**.

Indo-German Plot

During the First World War, Jugantar group (led by Bagha Jatin along with **Rashbehari Bose**) also planned a revolt against the British with the help of Germans known as the **Indo-German plot**.

Importation of German arms and ammunition was arranged via some Indian revolutionaries residing in Germany (particularly **Virendranath Chattopadhyaya alias Chatto**) and an all-India insurrection backed by a mutiny in the Indian Armed Forces was planned. Fund raising for this Indo-German conspiracy was done by Jugantar by carrying out a series of dacoities, known as '**taxicab dacoities** and **boat dacoities**'. However, the plot leaked out and the police surrounded Bagha as he was waiting for a German arms delivery at Balasore. A gunfight ensued; Bagha was wounded and caught and later succumbed to his injuries. In this way, the German Plot was foiled.

During the period 1906-17, in Bengal alone, the number of dacoities stood at 110 and over 60 cases of attempts at murder as per the Rowlett Committee Report.

Flashforward: During the First World War, the Revolutionaries were severely repressed and their movement temporarily declined after 1918. However, in late 1919 and early 1920, most of them were released under general amnesty as the government wanted to create an atmosphere of compromise for reception of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The Reforms were rejected by the Congress and the Non-cooperation Movement was launched under Gandhi. At this juncture, Gandhi, along with CR Das, met many revolutionary terrorist leaders and requested them to join the non-violent struggle or at least to suspend violent terrorist movement for some time. Consequently, many of these leaders attended the Nagpur session of the INC and joined the Congress (Jugantar party also supported Gandhi in the Non-Cooperation Movement. However, one section under Sachindranath Sanyal remained active and later founded the HRA in north India.)

But this union was only short lived. The sudden withdrawal of the non-cooperation movement caused much disappointment with Gandhi's leadership and his non-violent struggle. Attracted neither by the parliamentary politics of the Swarajists, nor by the patient constructive work, once again the revolutionaries turned to the cult of the bomb. Old revolutionary leaders revived their organisations. New ones emerged from the ranks of enthusiastic non-cooperators such as Sukhdev, Bhagwati Charan Vohra and Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee (During this phase, the Jugantar group got involved with the Chittagong armoury raid. It was only in September 1938 that the Jugantar group finally merged with the Congress).

Barindra Kumar Ghosh (1880-1959): Barindranath Ghose, popularly known as Barin Ghosh was a journalist and a revolutionary, fonder member of Jugantar (a Bengali revolutionary outfit) and was the younger brother of Aurobindo Ghosh. Born in London, he returned to Calcutta in 1902 and began organising revolutionary groups in Bengal with the help of Jatindranath Mukherjee (Bagha Jatin). Soon he began publishing a Bengali weekly **Jugantar (1906)** and the **Jugantar group** followed. Barin and Bagha also formed a **Maniktala group** which collected arms and manufactured bombs at a garden house in Maniktala, near Calcutta. Barin was tried in the Alipore/Maniktala Bomb Case and deported to Cellular Jail, Andamans (1909-20). Released in 1920 during a general amnesty, he returned to Calcutta and started a career in journalism.



Bagha Jatin (1879–1915): born as Jatindranath Mukherjee, he was a Bengali revolutionary, founder member of Anushilan Samiti (1900) and Jugantar party of Bengal. In 1906 in his native village, Jatin found himself face to face with a **royal Bengal tiger**. Though he himself got painfully injured, he managed to kill the tiger with a khukuri. Impressed by his heroism, the Bengal Government honoured him with a silver shield with the scene of him killing the tiger engraved on it. Since then, the epithet 'Bagha' has stuck with him. In 1908 in Darjeeling, he helped establish a branch of Anushilan Samiti, called the **Bandhab Samiti**. Shortly before the outbreak of First World War, he met the German crown prince in Calcutta who promised him help against the British. Thus, Jatin emerged as the brain behind the German plot. However, the plot leaked out and Jatin was surrounded and caught; grievously injured, he died in Balasore hospital (1915).



Revolutionary Activities in Other Provinces

Punjab

In the Punjab, revolutionary activities are traced back to **1907 Punjab Unrest**, a period also known as the beginning of the Freedom moment in Punjab. The unrest was built up mainly around the Punjab Colonisation Act of 1906.

Context to the Punjab Colonisation Act of 1906—Since 1885, the British government took up the task of constructing canals to draw water from the Punjab Rivers and irrigate the arid land of western Punjab and colonise it. This was expected to boost commercial production in canal colonies and remove demographic pressure. The Chenab Colony was the largest of the nine colonisation projects and one of the worst affected by the Act; water from Chenab was to be taken to Lyallpur (now in Pakistan). The government had earlier promised to allot free land and persuaded several ex-servicemen and peasants to settle in the new canal colonies. But once they did, it passed the new Colonisation Act (Amendment) 1906 which provided that the property of a person shall be transferred to the government in case the person died without leaving any heirs, evoking severe public reaction in Punjab.

The affected people first approached the well-known Congress leader and lawyer, Lala Lajpat Rai for help but later accepted the leadership of Sardar Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh).

Sardar Ajit Singh and Bharat Mata Society (Anjuman-e-Muhibban-e-Watan, 1906): In 1906, Ajit Singh had already organised a secret society named Bharat Mata Society called Anjuman-e-Muhibban-e-Watan in Urdu to organise patriots who wished to go beyond the moderate methods of the Congress. With members like Mahashay Ghasita Ram and Sufi Ambaprasad, it was already preparing to re-enact 1857 on its 50th anniversary in 1907!

Sardar Ajit Singh and Pagdi Sambhal Jatta Movement (1907): Assuming leadership of the movement to oppose the Colonisation Act, Ajit Singh organised mass rallies and gave fiery speeches. In March 1907, at a rally in Lyallpur, Banke Dayal introduced the song 'Pagdi sambhal Jatta Pagdi sambhal oye, henceforth the movement came to be known after it.

However, the government acted promptly, arresting and deporting Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh to Mandalay in May 1907. Nonetheless, both men were released under immense public

pressure in November the same year. After their release, Ajit Singh fled to Persia while Lala Lajpat Rai left for USA (Ajit Singh remained in exile for the next 38 years and returned to India only in March 1947, breathing his last on 15 August 1947, the day India got independence!) Other leaders such as **Lal Chand Falak** and **Bhai Parmananda** were also arrested and imprisoned. Consequent to government repression, Ajit Singh and other associates like Lal Chand, Bhai Parmanand, Lala Hardayal, Sufi Ambaprasad grew into full-scale revolutionary terrorists.

Delhi

Delhi Conspiracy Case (1912): On 23rd December 1912, Rash Behari Bose and Sachin Sanyal organised a daring attempt and a bomb was thrown on **Viceroy Lord Hardinge** in Chandni Chowk, Delhi, killing his attendants. 13 people were arrested and tried in what is known as the Delhi Conspiracy Case (1912). Dina Nath became government approver under pressure. Four persons were hanged, these were—Master Amir Chand, Awadh Bihari, Bal Mukund and **Basant Kumar Biswas**. Rash Behari Bose fled to Japan.

Madras

Vanchinathan Iyer (or Vanchi) was a Tamil revolutionary who assassinated British officer **Ashe** (the district collector of Tirunelveli) responsible for firing at a crowd that was protesting the arrest of the Extremist leader VO Chidambaram Pillai. Vanchi shot Ashe at point blank range when Ashe's train had stopped at Maniyachi station. After the assassination, Vanchi took cover in the station toilet and committed suicide by shooting himself. Vanchi was a close associate of VVS Aiyar who led the Pondicherry Branch of VD Savarkar's Abhinav Bharat Society. Both Vanchi and VVS were members of **Bharatha Matha Association**.



Name board at Maniyachi Railway Station in Tamil Nadu. It shows the now-renamed Vanchi Maniyachi Station in honour of

Revolutionary Activities Outside India

Shyamji Krishna Varma (1857–1930): He was a lawyer, journalist and a revolutionary leader. An admirer of Dayananda Saraswati and Herbert Spencer, he believed in Spencer's dictum, 'Resistance to aggression is not simply justified, it is imperative'.



Kranti Teerth (Mandvi, Kutch) is a Varma Memorial

London, Shyamji Krishna Varma and India House: Shyamji was a native of Kathiawar and a disciple of Dayanand Saraswati. He later went to Cambridge University and also qualified for the Bar. After his return from London, he pursued a brief legal career in India and even served as a Diwan of some Indian princely states, but soon decided to return to England and work for India's liberation from British rule.

In Feb 1905, Shyamji founded the **Indian Home Rule Society** in London, also known as the **India House**, to serve as a residence for Indian students and promote nationalist views. The establishment of India House was supported by Dadabhai Naoroji (the then President of British Committee of INC) and Bhikaiji Cama (then the private secretary of Naoroji).

He also started six scholarships of Rs. 1000 each for qualified Indians to visit foreign countries. Soon, the India House became a centre of Indian activities in London and rapidly developed into one of the most prominent centres for revolutionary Indian nationalism outside India. Revolutionaries such as **VD Savarkar**, **Hardayal** and **Madanlal Dhingra** also became members of India House. He also published a monthly journal, **The Indian Sociologist** which was a noted platform for anti-colonial views and was banned in India as 'seditious literature'.

In 1909 in London, Madanlal Dhingra assassinated Col. William Curzon Wyllie and the London police was swung into action. Dhingra was hanged, Hardayal moved to USA and VD Savarkar was arrested and deported to India. Shyamji himself escaped to Paris and thus India House had to be wound up.

USA, the Ghadar Movement: In November 1913, the Ghadar Party was founded at San Francisco USA by the firebrand revolutionary from Punjab, **Lala Hardayal**. His active supporters were **Ram Chandra** and **Barakatullah**. The party published a weekly paper, the Ghadar (Rebellion), named after the Revolt of 1857. The paper propagated pro-independence and anti-British ideas. Soon the British complained and the US authorities launched proceedings against Hardayal, leaving him with no option but to leave the United States. (Read in detail about the Ghadar Movement later in this chapter).

Germany, Berlin Committee: During the World War-I, other Indians abroad united in Germany and set up the **Indian Independence Committee at Berlin** in 1915, also known as the Berlin Committee for Indian Independence with the full backing of German Foreign Office. The lead role was played by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (alias Chatto) and also included Lala Hardayal and Bhupendranath Datta. The objectives of the Committee included inciting rebellion among the troops, supplying explosives to Indian revolutionaries and even organising invasion of British India.

Paris and Berlin, Madame Bhikaiji Cama: In 1905, Bhikaiji Cama relocated from London to Paris and together with Singh Rewabhai Rana and Munchersah Burjorji Godrej, she co-founded the **Paris Indian Society**. Cama also wrote and distributed revolutionary literature **Bande Mataram** (in response to the Crown ban on the poem Vande Mataram) and later **Madan's Talwar** (in response to the execution of Madan Lal Dhingra). These weeklies were smuggled into India through the French colony of Pondicherry.

Madame Bhikaiji Cama (1861-1936): Cama was born in a well-off Parsi family in Bombay and later emerged as a prominent figure of the national movement. She was married to Rustom Cama, a pro-British lawyer but the alliance was not a happy one and she diverted her energies towards social work. During the 1897 Bubonic Plague, she assisted in the relief and contracted the disease herself and left for Britain for medical care. In 1907, she participated in the Second Socialist Congress at **Stuttgart, Germany**, and unfurled what she described as the '**Flag of Indian Independence**'. The flag later served as a template from which the current flag of India has been created.

In 1908, as she was preparing to return, she came in contact with Shyamji Krishna Varma and through him, met Dadabhai Naoroji (then the President of the British Committee of the INC). She worked for Naoroji as his private secretary for some time and later moved to Paris. In 1909, when Madan Lal Dhingra assassinated Col. William Curzon Wyllie, the British authorities asked for Cama's extradition but the French refused.



Other prominent revolutionaries active outside India included Raja Mahendra Pratap, Abdul Rahim, Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Champakaraman Pillai and Sardar Singh Rana.

Government Response

In order to meet revolutionary activities, the government of India passed several repressive legislations including-

- The Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act 1907
- The Explosives Substances Act 1908
- The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908
- The Newspaper (Incitement to Offences Act) 1908
- The Press Act 1910
- The Defence of India Rules 1915

Decline of the Revolutionary Trend

After 1918, the revolutionary activities came to a temporary halt due to several reasons.

- Stern government repression along with a series of draconian laws
- Lack of popular response
- The World War-I ended and the government released all political prisoners arrested under the Defence of India Act
- Discussions began on the new Constitutional Reforms (Government of India Act 1919) which generated an atmosphere of compromise
- Gandhiji arrived on the national scene and emphasised on non-violent means which also halted the pace of revolutionary activities.

On account of the very nature of revolutionary terrorism, it could be taken up by only a handful of individuals while the masses still awaited a form of political action that could accommodate their weaknesses while utilising their strengths simultaneously.

Second Phase of Revolutionary Terrorism: The second phase of Revolutionary Terrorism in India began after the failure of Non-Cooperation Movement. Old and new revolutionary organisations erupted in Bengal as well as northern India.

In **October 1924, at Kanpur**, a meeting of revolutionaries from all parts of India was called with the aim of organising an all-India body. The meeting was attended by senior revolutionaries such as Ramprasad Bismil, Sachin Sanyal, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and young revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Chandra Shekhar Azad, Bhagvati Charan Vohra and Shiv Varma. The deliberations resulted in the formation of **HRA** or Hindustan Republican Army or Association.

GHADAR MOVEMENT

In June 1914, the First World War broke out between Great Britain, France, Russia and Japan on one side (joined later by Italy and USA), and Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey on the other side. The years of the war gave a new lease of life to the national movement in India.

Britain's difficulty was seen as India's opportunity by many nationalists. They felt that Britain would be preoccupied with war issues in Europe and would not be able to attend fully to the nationalist challenge in India. Two groups that tried to take advantage of Britain's difficulty during this time were—the Ghadar revolutionaries based in USA and the Home Rule Leagues of Tilak and Annie Besant in India.

Who were the Ghadar Revolutionaries?

The Ghadar revolutionaries were mainly Punjabi immigrants settled in the West Coast of North America since 1904, particularly USA and Canada. Many of them were landless, debt ridden peasants mainly from Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur. Many of them were also ex-soldiers who had also served in the British Indian Army and had acquired the confidence for emigration. Pushed out of their homeland by economic crisis and lured by promise of better life, they had set out to these foreign lands.

However, when they reached Canada or USA, the welcome was not what they had expected. Many of them were refused entry; others had to face the hostility of white labour force who resented the competition they offered. The Secretary of State for India also supported restrictive immigration laws here as he considered close interaction between Indians and Whites quite undesirable and damaging to British prestige.

By 1908, effective restriction on Indian immigration into Canada had been put in place. Another disabling legislation was the **Alien Land Law** which prohibited Indians from owning land in the US. Such discriminatory policies of host countries moved the Indian emigrants into a flurry of political activity. They were convinced that they were relegated to an inferior status in America as they were citizens of an enslaved country. Hence, they decided to organise themselves with the aim of securing India's freedom from the British rule.

Tarak Nath Das, an Indian student, emerged as one of the first leaders of Indian community in North America and understood quite well that while the British encouraged emigration of Indian labourers to places such as Fiji (where they were needed by British planters), they discouraged their emigration to North America where they ran chances of coming in contact with modern ideas of freedom and liberty.

Early Activities of the Ghadarities

- In 1907, **Circular-e-Azad** (Circular of Liberty) was published by Ramnath Puri, a political exile, which extended support to the Swadeshi Movement.
- **Free Hindustan**, a paper, was started by Tarak Nath Das.
- **Swadesh Sevak Home** in Vancouver was set up by GD Kumar on the lines of India House in London. Kumar also started a paper in Gurumukhi by the name of Swadesh Sevak, asking the Indian troops to rise in revolt. Consequently, Tarak Nath and GD Kumar were soon driven out of Vancouver and in 1910, they together founded the **United India House in Seattle** (USA) where weekly meeting of Indian labourers were organised.
- In 1913, Bhagwan Singh, a Sikh priest, visited Vancouver in Canada and fired the imagination of his audience by openly preaching violent overthrow of British rule.

Such early activities aroused national consciousness and created feeling of solidarity among immigrant Indians in North America. And when they failed to arouse any sympathetic response from the host government, the simmering discontent grew into a revolutionary movement.

Formation of Ghadar Party

Lala Har Dayal (1884-1939): Lala was a revolutionary leader, a key leader in the formation of the Ghadar Party, an intellectual who had turned down a career in the Indian Civil Service. He was born in Delhi in a Punjabi family and graduated in Sanskrit from St. Stephen's College, Delhi. In 1907, he wrote a letter to the Indian Sociologist in which he explored anarchist ideas. The letter and other harsh articles he wrote in leading newspapers criticising the British rule brought him under police surveillance. In 1909, he moved to Paris on the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai and worked as editor of Vande Mataram. However, not finding happiness there, he wandered and started leading an ascetic life, eating boiled food, sleeping on floor and meditating in seclusion. A missionary of the Arya Samaj, Bhai Parmanand persuaded him to go to the USA.

In California in the USA, Har Dayal came in contact with the emigrated Sikh farmers and learnt about their mistreatment at the hands of the Canadians and the British governments. The first decades of the 20th century saw large scale emigration from Punjab to Pacific Coast of North America owing to economic depression and agrarian unrest in Punjab. To meet this influx, the native governments had passed a series of legislations, giving rise to anti-colonial sentiments in the emigrant community.

Subsequently, Har Dayal set up Guru Gobind Singh Sahib Educational Scholarship for Indian students with the help of Tarak Nath Das and others and even set up a residence for these students in USA, on the lines of India House of Shyamji Krishna Varma. When Basant Kumar Biswas threw a bomb on Viceroy Lord Hardinge (Delhi, 1912), it convinced him that revolutionary spirit was still alive in India; he visited the **Nalanda Club comprising nationalist students** and thoroughly rejoiced.



Pacific Coast Hindustan Association (Portland, May 1913)

The Indian community in North America had begun to feel the acute need for a central body and a leader. Consequently, in May 1913, **Lala Hardayal**, a political exile from India, assumed the leadership and founded the Hindi Association in Portland, also known as the Pacific Coast Hindustan Association. At the first meeting of the association, **Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna** (Ghadari Baba) was elected the President, Lala Hardayal the General Secretary and Pandit Kanshi Ram Maroli the Treasurer. Hardayal's active supporters were **Ram Chandra** and **Barakatullah**. Other prominent persons attending the meeting included Bhai Parmanand and Harnam Singh Tundilat.

At the meeting, Hardayal stated: 'Do not fight the Americans, but use the freedom that is available in the US to fight the British, you will never be treated as equals by the Americans until you are free in your own land; the root cause of Indian poverty and degradation is British rule and it must be overthrown, not by petitions, but by armed revolt; carry this message to the masses and to the soldiers in the Indian army; go to India in large numbers and enlist their support.' Hardayal's ideas were immediately applauded.

Further, at the meeting, a sum of \$10,000 was collected and decision was taken to set up a headquarter by the name of **Yugantar Ashram at San Francisco**, and to start a free weekly paper, **the Ghadar** (Rebellion) named after the Revolt of 1857. The paper propagated pro-independence and anti-British ideas.

Hindustan Ghadar Party (November 1913)

Later, in November 1913 at San Francisco, the name of the Hindi Association was changed to the Hindustan Ghadar Party. The party was said to have active members in other countries as well, such as Japan, China, Philippines, Malay, Singapore, Thailand, South Africa and Mexico.

Other prominent Ghadarites included Baba Gurmukh Singh, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Rahamat Ali Shah, Bhai Parmananda.

Sohan Singh Bhakna (1870–1968): He was a revolutionary and founding President of the Ghadar Party. He was born in a village north of Amritsar and was proficient in Urdu and Persian. After a brief stint in nationalist activity and agrarian unrest in Punjab, he sailed for the US and reached Seattle in 1909 and found work as a labourer in a timber mill near the city.

Abdul Hafiz Mohamed Barakatullah (1854–1927): Born in Itwara Mohalla Bhopal, Maulana Barakatullah was a revolutionary who fought for the freedom of India from foreign land. He came in contact with Lala Hardayal and Raja Mahendra Pratap (son of Raja of Raja of Hathras) in England and became a founder member of the Ghadar party in San Francisco. On 1st December 1915, he became the **first Prime Minister of the Provisional government of India** established in Kabul with Raja Mahendra Pratap as its President. With the aim of seeking support for freedom of India, Maulana travelled to



several countries and met several contemporary leaders including Kaiser Wilhelm II, Lenin and Hitler.

Kartar Singh Sarabha (1896–1915): a Sikh revolutionary and one of the youngest members of the Ghadar Party (at age 17), he was executed at Lahore in 1915 for his role in the Ghadar Movement when he was only 19.



Ghadar Ideology

- The Ghadar party pledged to **wage revolutionary war against the British in India**. The Ghadarites firmly believed that the British rule could be overthrown only by means of an armed revolt. They felt that Indians could never be accepted as equals abroad so long as they were enslaved in their own country. They believed that the Indian migrants must carry this message to India and spread it among the masses, particularly the Indian troops. Driven by this ideology, the Ghadarites launched a massive campaign in North America visiting farms and factories where Indian immigrants worked.
- The ideology of the party was also **strongly secular**. Sohan Singh Bhakna had declared, 'We were not Sikhs or Punjabis. Our religion was patriotism'.

The Ghadar Paper

The Ghadar paper was launched on 1 November 1913 from San Francisco. Its first issue was in **Urdu**, and its **Gurumukhi** version came a month later.

The aim of the Ghadar paper was loud and clear, 'Ghadar' meant revolt. The caption on its masthead read '**Angrezi Raj ka Dushman**' (meaning an enemy of British Rule).

The Ghadar paper declared, 'Wanted brave soldiers to stir up Rebellion in India. Pay-death, Price-martyrdom; Pension-liberty, Field of Battle-India.'

Further, the front page of each issue carried '**Angrezi Raj ka Kacha Chittha**', i.e. an expose of British rule, consisting of 14 points enumerating the negative effects of British rule. In this way, the chittha was a critique of British rule and included issues such as high land revenue, drain of wealth, increasing poverty, recurring famines, heavy expenditure on army, low expenditure on education and health, policy of divide and rule, etc. Lastly, it also pointed out the solution in the form of another Revolt.

The Ghadar was widely circulated in North America. It also reached the Indian immigrant community as well as Indian regiments stationed in Hong Kong, Philippines, China, Malay states, Singapore, Trinidad and the Honduras. It was sent to India as well. The paper generated tremendous response and contributions were raised. Most popular were the poems published in the Ghadar which were put together in the form of a collection called **Ghadar di Goonj**, often recited and sung in



Ghadar di Goonj, a collection of ghadarite nationalist literature first published in the USA, banned in India in 1913

Indian gatherings. The poems gave the message of revolution and unity of Indians, particularly Hindus and Muslims.

'No pundits or mullahs do we need
No prayers or litanies do we need recite
These will only scuttle our boat
Draw the sword; it is time to fight.'

Addressing the Punjabis and Sikhs, the Ghadar also urged them to make up for their pro-British role during 1857, shed the image of a loyal soldier (carefully cultivated by the British) and instead rise up to their earlier image of 'Lions' who fought ferociously against oppression. They were urged to become a rebel with the only aim of gaining freedom for India.

'Why do you disgrace the name of Singhs?
How come! You have forgotten the majesty of 'Lions'
People say that the Singhs are no good
Why did you turn the tides during Delhi mutiny?
Cry aloud. 'Let us kill the Whites'
Why do you sit quiet shamelessly?
Let the earth give way so that we may drown
To what good were these thirty-crore born?'

Main Events during Ghadar Movement

The movement was influenced by three major events that took place 1914—the escape to Switzerland of Lala Hardayal, the Komagata Maru case and the outbreak of First World War.

1. Hardayal's Escape to Switzerland: In March 1914, Hardayal was arrested by the US authorities on pretext of spreading anarchy though it is widely believed that the measure was instigated by the British. He was released on bail and decided to jump bail and escape to Switzerland.

2. Komagata Maru Case: For some years now, Canada had imposed strict restrictions on Indian immigration. Its law forbade entry to all except those who made a continuous journey from India to Canada—'direct passage in their own ship' (this law was formulated keeping in mind that there were no shipping lines that offered such a route).

In November 1913, the Supreme Court of Canada had allowed entry to 35 Indians who had made a continuous journey. Encouraged by this judgment, Gurdit Singh, an Indian contractor living in Singapore, decided to charter a ship and carry to Vancouver, Indians living in East and South East Asia.

Thus, a Japanese ship named Komagata Maru, carrying 376 Indians (351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Muslims) began its journey to Vancouver. At Yokohama, in Japan, Ghadarites visited the ship, gave lectures and distributed Ghadar literature. On the other hand, the press in Vancouver warned

of the 'Mounting Oriental Invasion' and the Canadian government prepared itself to meet the challenge.

On its arrival, the ship was not allowed to land in Vancouver. To fight for the rights of the passengers, a 'Shore Committee' was formed in Vancouver led by Hussain Rahim, Sohan Lal Pathak and Balwant Singh. Protest meetings were organised, funds were raised and revolt against the British in India was threatened. A powerful campaign was carried out in the USA led by Barkatullah, Bhagwan Singh, Ram Chandra and Sohan Singh Bhakna. Yet, Komagata Maru was forced out of Canadian waters.

On its way back, First World War broke out and before the ship could reach Yokohama, the British government passed orders that no passenger be allowed to disembark anywhere on the way, but only at Calcutta. This triggered immediate resentment among Indian community.

On 27th Sep 1914, the ship reached Budge Budge, Calcutta. The harassed passengers resisted the hostile attitude of the police which escalated into a clash resulting in the death of 18 passengers. Two hundred and two were arrested and the rest ran away. This created widespread discontentment in Punjab and political dacoities erupted in the districts of Jalandhar, Amritsar and Ludhiana.

3. Outbreak of the First World War: The outbreak of the First World War was the most significant event that affected the Ghadar movement. The Ghadarites saw it as once in a life time opportunity to make use of Britain's difficulties. A special meeting of the Ghadar leaders was called and the party issued its *Ailan-e-Jung* (or Proclamation of War) which was circulated among Indians living abroad. The Ghadar activists urged people to return to India in large numbers and foment a revolt. The biggest weakness, the lack of arms, was to be met by winning over the Indian soldiers. Prominent leaders toured Japan, Philippines, China, Hong Kong, the Malay States, Singapore and Burma and tried to persuade Indians living there.

These efforts met with tremendous success and hundreds of emigrant Indians offered themselves and their belongings to the cause of the nation. With this began the exodus to India and several revolutionaries arrived in India by mid of 1914.

Last Attempts to Rise in Revolt

The government of India received the returning immigrants with the new ordinance—Ingress into India. The immigrants were thoroughly scrutinised and of the estimated 8000 who returned, nearly 3000 were detained. Yet many activists succeeded in reaching Punjab.

One among the first to reach Punjab safely was Kartar Singh Sarabha, a young student who had joined the Ghadar Movement in USA. He, along with other Ghadar mobilisers toured villages, distributed party literature and worked hard to urge the people to rise in revolt. They also tried to spread the message of Ghadar among the soldiers and engineer a mutiny. But their efforts met with lukewarm response. The mood in Punjab in 1914 was very different. The Chief Khalsa Diwan called the Ghadarites 'apostates or fallen Sikhs' and fully supported the British in crushing them. Lack of a central leadership also frustrated Ghadar efforts. In all, Punjab was not prepared to embark upon the Ghadar adventure.

One last attempt to rise in revolt was made in 1915, when Sachin Sanyal and Vishnu Ganesh Pingley roped in Rash Behari Bose, the Bengali revolutionary who had shot into fame after his daring attack on Viceroy Hardinge. Rash Behari arrived in Punjab in January 1915 and assumed the leadership. The date for an armed revolt in Punjab was fixed as 21 February 1915. But once again the government came to know of the plan and succeeding in suppressing the efforts.

Government Repression

First Lahore Conspiracy Case (1915): In the aftermath of the failed Ghadar conspiracy, the trials were held at Lahore by a special tribunal set up under the Defence of Indian Act 1915. The government came down heavily upon the Ghadarites—42 of them were put to death and 200 sent to long terms in prison. Thus, the government succeeded in beheading an entire generation of nationalists in Punjab and the Ghadar Movement was effectively crushed in India. Many of them after their release founded the **Kirti and Communist Movements in Punjab**.

Note: the Second Lahore Conspiracy Case was the trial of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru in 1931.

Kirti Kisan Sabha: Meaning Sabha (party) of the kirtis (workers) and kisans (peasants), the Kirti Kisan Sabha was established on 12 April 1928 with a view to organising small agriculturists and industrial workers and other low-paid urban labour, for revolutionary activity. The Sabha owed its origin to the Kirti movement started by **Bhai Santokh Singh**, a Ghadar leader who had spent two years in Moscow studying Soviet methods of village propaganda. The Sabha was fostered and, to some extent, funded by the Ghadar Party.

Other Indian revolutionaries abroad including Hardayal, united in Germany and set up the **Indian Independence Committee at Berlin**. The objectives of the Committee included inciting rebellion among Indian troops, supplying explosives to Indian revolutionaries and even organising invasion of British India. Raja Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah tried to enlist the aid of Amir of Afghanistan. Both these attempts proved abortive. It seems, violent rebellion to overthrow the British rule was not fated to see much success.

Revolt at Singapore: Inspired by the Ghadar activities, 700 men of the 5th Infantry at Singapore revolted under the leadership of Jamadar Chishti Khan and Subedar Dundey Khan. The revolt was also bitterly crushed.

Evaluation of Ghadar Movement

Success or failure of a movement depends on the yardstick we choose. If the yardstick of success is the achievement of the immediate stated goal of a movement, then all major national struggles such as the Swadeshi (1905–07), the Non-Cooperation (1920–22), the Civil Disobedience (1930–34) and the Quit India (1942) would have to be termed as failures. But if the yardstick for the success of the movement was whether it led to the growth of nationalist ideology, arousal of the people and their training in political action, emergence of new methods of struggle, and spread

of modern values of liberty, equality and democracy, then the Ghadar Movement was definitely a success and has many achievements to its credit.

Achievements:

- The Ghadar activists were successful in popularising nationalist feelings among a large number of Indians in India as well as abroad.
- They raised a cadre of highly motivated individuals who were willing to give up all for the cause of their nation. Individuals like Hardayal and Sohan Singh Bhakna became folk heroes whose stories of courage continued to inspire generations afterwards.
- Ghadar ideology was deeply secular and democratic in content. So much so that, some historians consider the secular outlook as the most important achievement of the Ghadarites. Despite the fact that most of them were Punjabi Sikhs, they never betrayed any communal tendencies. In fact, any concern to religion was seen as narrow-minded and unworthy of revolutionaries. Several non-Sikhs and non-Punjabis were readily accepted as leaders—Hardayal was a Hindu, Barakatullah a Muslim and Rash Behari Bose a Bengali Hindu. They were able to see that the labelling of Sikhs as a martial race was a creation of the British and they tried hard to counter it.
- The Ghadar mobilisers adopted Bande Mataram as their slogan rather than any religious greeting such as Sat Sri Akal.

Sohan Singh Bhakna (the Ghadari Baba): 'We were not Sikhs or Punjabis, our religion was patriotism.'

Weaknesses:

- The biggest weakness of the Ghadar Movement was their miscalculation regarding the readiness of the people. They went ahead with Ailan-e-Jung without examining the readiness of their own army. They had received tremendous response from the immigrant community which misled them into believing that the vast masses in India were in a similar state of readiness.
- They also underestimated the might of the British rulers. With the result that they faced brutal government repression; an entire cadre of nationalist leadership of Punjab was eliminated. Had it not been so, the Ghadarites, with their deeply nationalist and secular tendencies, would have played an important role in checking the rise of communalism that was to divide India in later years.

Opinions

Madanlal Dhingra: 'Neither rich nor able, a poor son like myself can offer nothing but his blood on the altar of mother's deliverance. May I be reborn of the same mother and may I die in the same sacred cause, till my mission is done and she stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God.'

Tilak (the Kesari, 1897): '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..God has not confined upon the foreigners the grant

inscribed on a copper plate of the kingdom of Hindustan..Do not subscribe your vision like a frog in a well; get out of the Penal Code and enter the extremely high atmosphere of the Srimad Bhagavad Gita and consider the actions of great men.'

Subhas Chandra Bose: 'the ultimate object of the revolutionaries is not terrorism but revolution and the purpose of the revolution is to install a national government.'

HOME RULE MOVEMENT (1916–18)

In 1914, when the First World War broke out, the Indian National Congress decided to support the British in their war efforts as a matter of duty as well as a bargaining tactic to get concessions later.

However, readers already know that at the time of the War, Britain's difficulty was seen as India's opportunity by many nationalists. The two groups that tried to take advantage of Britain's difficulty during this time were the Ghadar revolutionaries based in USA and the Home Rule Leagues of Lokmanya Tilak and Annie Besant in India. We have just seen the rise and fall of the Ghadar Movement and its historic contribution in the freedom struggle. A less dramatic but more effective role was played by the Home Rule Leagues.

Factors Leading to the Rise of the Home Rule Movement

A number of factors began to stir the political scene in India and set the stage for the rise of the Home Rule Movement. These included:

Outbreak of the First World War

The Home Rule Movement began in the background of the First World War when a section of nationalists believed that 'Britain's difficulty is India's opportunity'.

Moreover, the war left a deep impact on Indian economy and society. It affected different classes differently. For the poor, it meant increased poverty—War time demands created a heavy shortage of agricultural products and other products of daily use. This meant inflation and heavy taxation. The war time miseries made the people desperate to join any movement against the government.

For the rich industrialist, the war was an opportunity to make fortunes. The war created economic crisis and shortage of industrial goods in Britain, for which it had to depend on Indian industries. In this way, the war promoted the advance of Indian industries, the momentum of which the industrialists wanted to preserve even after the war. Thus they were eager to organise themselves and support any nationalist movement. In this way, the war created a **wave of nationalism** among different sections of Indian society and consequently, the war years became the years of intense political activity in India.

Further, the war, involving struggle among imperialist powers over new colonies, also destroyed the myth of racial superiority and exposed their lust for trade and territories. The American President **Woodrow Wilson** had said that the war was being fought 'to make the world safer for

democracy'. In Europe, in one country after another, democratic institutions were set up. Thus, the war provided **impetus to democratic forces and urge for self-government all over the world**, including the colonies of European empires.

Disillusionment with the Reforms of 1909

The Moderates felt disillusioned with constitutional reforms of 1909 that thoroughly failed to satisfy the nationalist leaders. Many of them were now convinced that the government was unlikely to yield any real concessions unless popular pressure was brought to bear upon it.

Repression of the Ghadar Movement

The bitter repression of the Ghadar Movement had also aroused the feeling of resentment against the British rule

Tilak's Release from Mandalay and Efforts for Re-entry into Congress

On 16th June 1914, Tilak was released from Mandalay jail in Burma, where he had been imprisoned for six years, and he returned to India, an India that had changed much. Aurobindo Ghosh, the firebrand swadeshi, had taken sanyas; Lala Lajpat Rai had left for USA and the Congress was yet to recover from the Surat Split and repression of the swadeshis.

Tilak's first priority now was to get himself and other extremists readmitted into the Congress, from which they had been thrown out in 1907. Tilak had never been happy about the Congress split and he was well aware of the significance of a united Congress. The disunity in Congress was thoroughly used by the British, the Extremists were bitterly repressed and the Moderates were conveniently fooled with the bait of 1909 constitutional reforms. The national movement itself had come to a halt since the split in 1907 and many in Congress now were favourably inclined towards the return of the Extremists. Moreover, the Congress had become a symbol of national movement in the minds of the people and its sanction was desirable for any political activity.

Tilak declared, with the aim of convincing the Moderates as well as the government of his good intentions—'I may state once for all that we are trying in India, as the Irish Home Rulers have been doing in Ireland, for a reform of the state of administration and not for the overthrow of the government; and I have no hesitation in saying that the acts of violence which had been committed in different parts of India are not only repugnant to me, but have, in my opinion, only unfortunately retarded to a great extent, the pace of our political progress.'

Tilak also pledged loyalty to the Crown and urged all Indians to assist Britain in its hour of difficulty.

Annie Besant's Entry into Indian Politics

At the same time, **Mrs. Annie Besant**, then President of Theosophical Society, decided to expand her activities and build up Home Rule Movement on the lines of Irish Home Rule League. For this, she too realised that the sanction of the Congress was a pre-requisite. Also needed was the active cooperation of the Extremists as well as the Muslim League. Consequently, she joined the

Congress, began urging the Moderates to accept Tilak and his Extremist men back, and worked to build consensus between the Congress and the Muslim League to support a home rule movement in India.

Annie Besant (1847–1933): was a British theosophist, women's rights activist, supporter of Irish and Indian self-rule. She was married to a clergyman, but her anti-religious views led to separation and she joined the National Secular Society. However, in 1890 she met Helena Blavatsky and subsequently joined the Theosophical society.



She had come to India from England in 1893 as part of her theosophy related work. In 1898, she played a key role in the establishment of **Central Hindu College, Banaras** which later became the nucleus of Banaras Hindu University (1916). In 1907, she became the **President of the Theosophical Society**, whose international headquarters were in Adyar, near Madras. She increasingly became involved in Indian politics and joined the INC. In 1914, during the First World War, she built up **Home Rule Movement** on the lines of Irish Home Rule League, leading to her election as **President of the Congress in 1917**.

Formation of the Two Leagues

In December 1914 Congress Session, the efforts for re-entry of Extremists failed.

However, Tilak and Annie Besant decided to revive nationalist activity on their own and simultaneously exert pressure on the Congress to re-admit the Extremists. Both began their political activities but Tilak was careful not to alarm the Moderates in any way. Their efforts paid off and finally in December 1915 Congress session, it was decided that the Extremists be allowed to join the Congress. This was also made possible partly with the passing away of Moderate leaders Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta in 1915 who were most strongly opposed to the Extremists' return.

Annie Besant also succeeded in taking a commitment from the Congress that it will start a program of educative propaganda and reviving local level Congress Committees by September 1916. Failing which, Besant will feel free to set up her own League.

Tilak's Home Rule League

Post Congress decision of readmitting the Extremists, Tilak took the lead in setting up the Home Rule League in **April 1916 at Belgaum** during the Bombay Provincial Conference. **GS Khaparde** was a founding member of Tilak's League.

To spread the message of home rule, the league was organised into six branches—one each in Central Maharashtra, Bombay city, Karnataka and Central Provinces and two in Berar. It published pamphlets in Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada and also in English. But the most important role in gathering the support of the people was played by Tilak's lectures during his tour of Maharashtra.

Explaining the demand for home rule, he said, 'India was like a son who had grown up and attained maturity. It was right now that the trustee or the father should give him what was his due.'

It was during this agitation that Tilak gave the slogan, '**Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it.**'

Readers may note that there was a positive change in Tilak's speeches now—there was **no trace of any religious appeal**. He stated, "Alienness is not connected with religion, trade or profession; it is a question of interests. He who does what is beneficial to the people of this country, be he a Mohammedan or an Englishman, is not alien."

Further, his ideas were free of any linguistic chauvinism or even caste bias. He argued in favour of formation of states on linguistic basis and education in vernacular. Do the English educate their people in French language? He asked.

He frontally opposed untouchability and urged Brahmins to be tolerant to the non-Brahmin demands. Tilak declared- 'If a God were to tolerate untouchability, I would not recognise him as God at all.'

Soon the government tried to suppress Tilak's movement and he was served a show-cause notice. Tilak was defended by a group of lawyers led by **Mohammad Ali Jinnah**. He lost the case in lower court but the High Court exonerated him in November 1916. Encouraged by the court's decision, Tilak now went on to declare that Home Rule now had legal sanction. He further intensified his propaganda and by April 1917, his league had registered 14,000 members.

Annie Besant's Home Rule League

The Congress failed to keep its promise of starting a program of educative propaganda by September 1916 and reviving local level Congress Committees. Thus, Annie Besant announced the formation of her **All India Home Rule League in September 1916 in Madras**, with George Arundale as the Organising Secretary. Sir S. Subramania Aiyar agreed to serve as the honorary President.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer (1842–1924): Also known as the '**Grand Old Man of South India**', he was a lawyer, jurist and was one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress and led the Madras delegation to its first session at Bombay. He became the first Indian to serve as the Chief Justice of Madras High Court (in 1899, 1903 and 1906). Deeply interested in religion and spirituality, he founded the Dharma Rakhana Sabha (1908), the Suddha Dharma Mandala and joined the Theosophical Society. In September 1916, he became a founding member of the All India Home Rule League set up by Annie Besant in Madras. When, in June 1917, Besant was arrested, he gave up his knighthood in protest.

Even earlier than this, some of Besant's impatient followers could not wait till September and had already setup Home Rule groups. **Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Shankerlal Banker** and **Indulal Yagnik** had started the Bombay paper **Young India** and also set up an All India Propaganda Fund to publish pamphlets.

The League published pamphlets in English and Indian languages to explain the demand for self-rule. From her headquarters at Adyar, Annie Besant along with her lieutenants—**Arundale, CP Ramaswamy Aiyar** and **BP Wadia**, brought out the newspapers '**New India**' and '**Commonweal**'. Arundale wrote a column on 'Home Rule' in New India, urging the members to promote political discussions and debates and persuade people to join the movement. New members who joined the league included: **Jawaharlal Nehru** in Allahabad, B Chakravarti and J Bannerjee in Calcutta.

Two hundred branches of Besant's League were established. But the strength of the League could not be judged by the mere number of branches as many of them were inactive. Besant's league was more loosely organised than Tilak's as three members could form a branch. The membership to Besant's League also increased at a slower pace.

Program of the Leagues

Both the leagues worked with the aim of achieving home rule or self-government for India. For achieving this aim, both the leagues carried out intense propaganda all over the country in favour of the demand for the grant of Home rule. This aim was to be achieved by promoting political education and discussion through propaganda including public meetings and lectures, holding conferences, organising classes for students on politics, circulation of pamphlets, press campaign, collection of funds and organisation of social work, setting up libraries containing books on national politics and discussing with friends about the need for self-rule and persuading them to join the movement.

Their objective was to educate the people and unite the country under one common aim. The leagues functioned independently as the Congress was not in a position to adopt such a radical program.

Since the Leagues were only implementing more vigorously the long advocated Moderate program of political education, they enlisted the support of many Moderates. Members of Gokhale's Servants of India Society, though not permitted to become members of the leagues, extended their support in large numbers and toured the country propagating the demand for home rule.

In Annie Besant's words, the reason why the two leagues did not merge was that, 'some of his followers disliked me and some of mine disliked him. We, however, had no quarrel with each other.' The two Leagues avoided any friction by demarcating their areas of operation-

- Tilak's League- in **Maharashtra (excluding Bombay city), Karnataka, Central Provinces and Berar**
- Annie Besant's League- in the **rest of India, including Bombay city.**

Joseph "Kaka" Baptista was another prominent activist of the Home Rule Movement from Bombay.

1916, Lucknow Congress Session

The Lucknow session of the Congress was an opportunity for the Home Rule Leaguers to present their strength. The Leaguers were urged to get themselves elected as Congress delegates and flood the Lucknow session. Tilak's League started a **special train** known as the 'Congress Special' or the 'Home Rule Special' to carry delegates from Western India to Lucknow, thus establishing a new Congress tradition.

- **Re-union of Moderates and Extremists:** The Lucknow session marked the re-union of the Moderate and the Extremist parties after the Surat Split in 1907. Congress President Ambika Charan Mazumdar extended a warm welcome to the Extremists. In his address,

he stated, "Both the wings of the Indian National Party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers..."

- **Congress-League Pact:** It is also known as the **Lucknow Pact**, it was a pact signed between the Congress and the Muslim League. It was made possible with the joint efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant, much against the wishes of important leaders like Madan Mohan Malviya.

Under the Pact, the Congress accepted the controversial provision of separate electorates for the Muslims. The parties also jointly came up with the Congress-League Scheme and the 'Nineteen Memorandum'. When Tilak was accused of yielding too much to the Muslim demands, he answered, "When we have to fight against a third party, it is very important that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of political creed." Considering that such a response came from an orthodox Hindu leader and writer of ancient religious texts, the opposition gradually faded away. (Refer to Special Note on Lucknow Pact at the end of the chapter).

- **Tilak's demand for Congress Working Committee turned down:** At the Lucknow Congress, Tilak had made a significant demand for the formation of Congress Working Committee, to be responsible for carrying out day-to-day work and for implementing Congress resolutions with the objective of giving Congress the machinery to carry out continuous political activity for sustained agitations. This demand was turned down by the Moderates.
- **Joint Meeting of the Home Rule Leagues:** After the Congress session ended, a joint meeting of the two leagues was held under the same canopy. Tilak and Annie Besant addressed a gathering of more than 1000 delegates.

Government Repression Fires Back

Soon the government decided to take action against the movement. The Madras government came up with the harshest measures and banned students from attending political meetings. In June 1917, Besant, Arundale and BP Wadia were arrested, attracting nation-wide protests.

Angered by the arrests, Sir S. Subramania Aiyar renounced his knighthood. Some of those also joined the home rule movement, who had until now maintained distance. Most prominent among them were- **Jinnah, Surendranath Bannerjee** and **Madan Mohan Malviya**. Thus, once again, government efforts to silence the nationalist efforts gave further fillip to the movement as people's participation intensified.

In July 1917 at the AICC meeting, Tilak advocated passive resistance if the government refused to release the leaders arrested. As directed by Gandhiji, Shankarlal Banker and Jamnadas Dwarkadas carried out a signature campaign of 1000 men willing to defy the internment orders and march to Besant's place of detention.

Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, wrote- 'Shiva cut his wife into fifty-two pieces only to discover that he had fifty-two wives. This is what happens to the government of India when it interns Mrs. Besant.'

Government Adopts a Soft Line and Montagu Declaration

On seeing the intensification of the movement, the unity of the Moderates and the Extremists and the coming together of the Congress and the Muslim League and the psychology created by the War, the government decided to adopt a soft line as indicated by the historic declaration of Montagu in the British House of Commons on 20 August 1917.

The Montagu Declaration stated: 'the policy of His Majesty's government...is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.'

Now compare this statement by Montagu with that of Morley given in 1909 where he had categorically stated that the constitutional reforms of 1909 were not meant to lead to self-government in India. Montagu declaration was a definite advance over the stand taken in 1909 with the net effect that now the **demand for self-government or home rule could no longer be treated as seditious**.

However, this does not mean that the British were going to grant self-government anytime soon. An accompanying part of the statement also mentioned that the nature and timing of reforms would be decided by the government alone. Thus, Montagu kept enough room for continuous postponement of home rule in any true sense for the Indians.

In September 1917, Annie Besant, now at the height of her popularity, was released as a consequence to the change in attitude of the government.

In December 1917 Congress Session, **Besant was elected President** on Tilak's insistence.

Decline of Home Rule Movement

During 1918, the Home Rule movement gradually petered out. Several factors were responsible for the decline.

- The Moderates lost interest in the movement as they had again been distracted with the bait of fresh reforms.
- They also felt intimidated by the increasing talk of civil disobedience among the League leaders.
- In July 1918, the Reforms Scheme was published which further divided the nationalists—whole some wanted to reject them, others wanted to give them a try.
- Annie Besant herself could not take a definite stand and remained inconsistent on both the issues—the issue of reforms as well as the issue of civil disobedience. Tilak was consistent in his stand and considered the reforms unworthy, but there was little he could do given the change in attitude of the Moderates and Besant's indecisiveness.
- Tilak himself left for England at the end of 1918 in matter of a libel case he had filed against **Valentine Chirol**, the author of **Indian Unrest**. In this way, the movement was essentially left leaderless.

Valentine Chirol was a British journalist and author who had described Bal Gangadhar Tilak as the 'father of Indian Unrest' in his book 'Indian Unrest'. Objecting to the above comment, Tilak brought up a civil suit against him in London. The case was later dismissed by the King's Bench.

Significance of Home Rule Movement

- The most remarkable achievement of Home Rule Movement was the change in British attitude and acceptance of the demand for Home Rule as a legitimate demand which could no longer be treated as seditious. This change in policy was reflected in the Montagu Declaration, which marked a distinct advance over the position taken in 1909.
- Another significant achievement of the Home Rule Movement the creation of a rich cadre of nationalist workers including the likes of Jawaharlal Nehru, who were now ready and trained to take up leadership role in future struggles.
- The Home Rule activists had also extensively toured Indian towns and villages, narrowing the urban-rural divide in national politics.
- The movement succeeded in popularising the idea of Home Rule, which had now become a commonplace thing.
- The movement played a significant role in arousal of people in political action and furthered national sentiment.
- The movement also saw the reunion of Moderates and Extremists with the efforts of Tilak and Annie Besant and revived the Congress as an effective instrument of national movement.

Yes, it is true that the leaders of the Home Rule Movement were unable to translate this agitation into a real mass movement, yet their achievements were tremendous and the movement prepared a ready ground over which the next and final stage of the struggle could be build—a stage of mass movements shaped by the unique character and personality of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Special Note on Congress-League Pact

The Congress: League Pact, also known as the Lucknow Pact was signed between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League during the joint session of both the parties held in 1916 at Lucknow. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, then a member of both, the Congress as well as the Muslim League, was himself the mastermind and architect of this pact. Due to this role of Jinnah, he was called "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" by Sarojini Naidu.

Earlier, in December 1915, the annual session of both the parties were held at Bombay. This was for the first time, that their annual sessions coincided at the same place and time.

The Muslim League had been witnessing gradual changes and its younger members were now inclined to bolder politics. Despite government efforts to appease the Muslims (Morley-Minto reforms), the gulf between the two was steadily growing wider. The League was also shedding its previous limited Aligarh school of thought and growing closer to the Congress tone and thought due to several factors.

- In 1911, the British annulled the partition of Bengal, annoying those Muslims who had been shown the dream of a separate political state.

- In 1912, Lord Hardinge's government refused the setting up a University at Aligarh with powers of affiliating colleges all over India.
- Outside India, Britain had refused to help Turkey (then ruled by the Khalifa who claimed politico-religious leadership of all Muslims) in the Italian and the Balkan Wars (1911–13).
- In 1912, at the Calcutta Session of the Muslim League, it agreed 'to work with other groups for a system of self-government suited to India, provided it did not come in conflict with its basic objective of protection of interests of the Indian Muslims'.
- Muslims were also angered by wartime repression by the government. In 1914, the government had suppressed the publication of *the Al-Hilal* (of Abul Kalam Azad) and *the Comrade* (of Maulana Mohammad Ali).
- The government had also interned the Ali brothers—Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. Hasrat Mohani and Abul Kalam Azaad were also arrested.
- Further, Muslims could not have remained untouched with the aspirations generated by the World War.

Understanding reached: It was agreed that Muslim League and Congress together will present joint scheme of constitutional reforms before the government while the Congress will accept Muslim League's demand for separate electorates.

Joint demands of the Congress and the League-

1. The government will provide for self-government in India at an early date.
2. Muslims should be given one-third representation in the central government.
3. There should be separate electorates for all the communities until a community demanded joint electorates.
4. A system of weightage to minority political representation (giving minorities more representation in the government than is proportional to their share of the population) should be adopted.
5. No bill concerning a community should be passed if the bill is opposed by three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislative Council.
6. The Executive should be separated from the Judiciary.
7. The salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs should be paid by the British government and not from Indian funds.
8. Of the two Under Secretaries, one should be Indian.
9. Half of the members of Imperial Legislative Council should be Indians.
10. The number of the members of Central Legislative Council should be increased to 150.
11. At the provincial level, four-fifth of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected and one-fifth should be nominated.
12. The size of provincial legislatures should not be less than 125 in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
13. The term of the Legislative Council should be five years.
14. Members of Legislative Council should themselves elect their president.
15. All members, except those nominated, should be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise.

Positive Outcomes of the Pact-

- Immediate impact of the unity achieved at Lucknow was tremendous and evoked great political enthusiasm.
- The British felt intimidated and adopted a soft line of appeasement, culminating in Montagu declaration with the net result that the demand for self-rule could no longer be treated as seditious.
- It was a major effort from the Congress to ally minority fears regarding Hindu-domination

Negative Outcomes of the Pact:

- The Pact did not involve the Hindu and Muslim masses.
- It accepted the controversial principle of separate electorates, thus giving recognition to the Leagues' communal politics—the notion that Hindus and Muslims were separate political entities with separate political interests. This was a major landmark in the development of the two-nation theory.
- It undermined the role of secular, nationalist Muslims.
- Concessions to one community soon prompted other communities to seek similar concessions.
- The demand of giving minorities more representation in the government than is proportional to their share of the population—not only recognised communal representation but also recognised communal privileges.
- The demand stating-No bill concerning a community should be passed if the bill is opposed by three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislative Council—introduced communal-veto.

The INC leaders thought that they were sacrificing their seats in the legislature for the greater cause of the nation. In their zeal, they did not realise that the Pact ensured the resurgence of communal politics in India in future years and the unity achieved at Lucknow proved short lived.



Previous Years' Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. Who was the leader of the Ghadar Party? [UPSC 1998]

- (a) Bhagat Singh
- (b) Lala Hardayal
- (c) Bal Gangadhar Tilak
- (d) VD Savarkar

2. Where were the Ghadar revolutionaries, who became active during the outbreak of the World War I, based? [UPSC 2005]

- (a) Central America
- (b) North America
- (c) West America
- (d) South America

3. Annie Besant was [UPSC 2013]

1. Responsible for starting the Home Rule movement
2. The founder of the Theosophical Society

3. The President of the Indian National Congress

Select the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) Only 1
- (b) 2 and 3
- (c) 1 and 3
- (d) All of these

4. The Ghadr (Ghadar) was a [UPSC 2014]

- (a) revolutionary association of Indians with headquarters at San Francisco.
- (b) nationalist organisation operating from Singapore
- (c) militant organisation with headquarters at Berlin
- (d) communist movement for India's freedom with headquarters at Tashkent



Previous Years' Questions – Main Exam

1. Discuss the growth of revolutionary terrorism with special reference to its ramifications in Maharashtra, Bengal and

Punjab till the first decade of the 20th century. [UPSC 1991]

2. 'The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was signed without regard for its consequences.' Elucidate. [UPSC 1993]
3. Explain the part played by Annie Besant in the Home Rule movement. [UPSC 1994]
4. Examine the causes and nature of extremism in Indian politics in the early part of the present century. [UPSC 1997]
5. How did the terrorist movement gather strength in countries other than India? [UPSC 2000]
6. Write short notes: Ghadar Party [UPSC 2001]
7. Trace the growth of the Indian Home Rule Movement in Britain [UPSC 2002]
8. Write about: Bhavani Mandir. [UPSC 2005]
9. Several foreigners made India their homeland and participated in various movements. Analyse their role in the Indian struggle for freedom. [UPSC 2013]



Practice Questions – Preliminary Exam

1. Examine the following reasons with regard to the decline of the revolutionary movement after 1918-
 1. Lack of popular response.
 2. Stern government repression along with a series of draconian laws.
 3. Release of all political prisoners arrested under the Defense of India Act.
 Which among the above was/were the correct reasons for the decline? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 only
 - (d) 1, 2 and 3
 2. The Indian National Congress supported the British during First World War because-
 1. It considered it as duty
 2. It hoped to get concessions later
 3. Discussions for the next constitutional reforms had begun
 4. All of the above
 Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 4
 3. Which of the following newspapers were brought out by Annie Besant?
 1. Commonweal
 2. Young India
 3. New India
- Choose the correct answer from the following options.
- (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 1 and 3
 - (c) 1 only
 - (d) 1, 2 and 3
4. Consider the following statements with regard to the Lucknow Congress in 1916-
 1. The Lucknow session marked the re-union of Moderates and the Extremists and was presided over by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
 2. The Congress-League Pact was signed with the efforts of Madan Mohan Malviya and Annie Besant.
 Which of the above statements is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) both
 - (d) neither
 5. Consider the following statements-
 1. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the mastermind behind the Lucknow Pact.
 2. Due to this role of Jinnah, he was called "the Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity" by Annie Besant.
 Which of the above statements is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) both
 - (d) neither

6. 'Abhinav Bharat' was a _____.
 - (a) A voluntary group working for Swaraj
 - (b) A secret society of revolutionaries
 - (c) A newspaper published by a group of nationalists
 - (d) A pamphlet published to spread the message of freedom
7. Consider the following regarding Komagata Maru Case-
 1. Komagata Maru was a Singaporean ship carrying 376 Indians to Vancouver.
 2. It was chartered by Gurdit Singh, an Indian contractor living in Singapore.
 Which of the above statements is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) both
 - (d) neither
8. Canada had put in place restrictive immigration laws in 1908 because of the following reasons-
 1. The white labor force resented the competition offered by immigrant Indians.
 2. The British considered close interaction between Indians and Whites as damaging to British prestige.
 3. The British authorities feared that in America, Indians ran chances of coming in contact with modern ideas of freedom and liberty.
 Which of the above reasons is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 1 and 2
 - (c) 2 and 3
 - (d) 1, 2 and 3
9. Consider the following statements-
 1. Mitra Mela was a home rule group organised by followers of Tilak.
 2. Sandhya in Maharashtra and Kal in Bengal were newspapers that advocated revolutionary terrorism.
 3. Anushilan Samiti was a revolutionary group active in Dacca.

Which of the statements given above is/are incorrect? Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 and 2
 - (b) 1 and 3
 - (c) 2 only
 - (d) 3 only
10. Which of the following was not one of the weaknesses of the Ghadar Movement?
 - (a) The Ghadarites miscalculated the readiness of the people.
 - (b) They underestimated the might of the British rulers.
 - (c) There was a lack of central leadership.
 - (d) The social base of Ghadar Movement was narrow and remained limited to Punjabis and Sikhs.
 11. Consider the following statements with reference to Chapekar brothers-
 1. The Chapekar brothers were behind the first political murder of Europeans.
 2. They shot dead several British officials deployed at Nasik.
 Which of the above statements is/are correct? Choose the correct answer from the following options.
 - (a) 1 only
 - (b) 2 only
 - (c) both
 - (d) neither
 12. Which of the following factors contributed in the growth of popular support for the Home Rule Leagues?
 1. The world war had created a wave of nationalism among different sections of Indian society.
 2. The Second World War had started and people had begun to feel the burden of wartime miseries.
 3. The bitter repression of the Ghadar Movement had aroused the feeling of resentment against the British rule.

Choose the correct answer from the following options.

- (a) 1 only
- (b) 1 and 3
- (c) 2 and 3
- (d) 1, 2 and 3

