CHAPTER - II

POLITICAL EMERGENCE OF SUBHAS BOSE
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After his graduation, Bose enrolled himself for M.A. degree with Experimental Psychology as his major subject. If he had continued, undoubtedly he would have got his M.A. and would have taken up teaching in a college. He had an inclination for a teaching job. "I have the feeling," wrote Subhas from England to C.R. Das on February 16, 1921, "that on my return to my country I should be able to take up two kinds of work - teaching in college and writing for newspapers."¹

The destiny of Subhas probably, was pre-determined. His course of life changed by an allurement in the form of Indian Civil Service (ICS) Examination for which he had to proceed to England. The suggestion came from his father, who, shrewdly, wanted to keep Subhas completely away from political movements in India.

The Impact of the First World War

The first World War (1914-1918) had changed the course of the Indian national movement. The British authority in

India had used the Indian defence services and other men and materials as its ally in the war. The Moderates of India did not oppose it, while the extremists were opposed to the using of the Indian force without the express will and consent of the Indians and that also without any assurance for India. India fought the British battles in France, Mesopotamia and other places. India was bled, as Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General himself expressed, absolutely white during the first weeks of the war. It was said that the Indian troops were used not as auxiliary forces but as equals. The then Prime Minister of England, said that the Indians "were joint and equal custodians of our common interests."

Lord Morley, Lord Crew, Lord Dufferin, Lord Birkenhead, successive secretaries of State and others had the firm belief that Indians were not fit for parliamentary democracy and for self-government. The Indians were aspiring for self-government while the British ridiculed the demand for self-government as a day dream. Lord Morley wrote to Minto: "He (Gokhale) made no secret of his ultimate hope and design — India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony. I equally made no secret of my conviction that for many a day to come long beyond the short span that may
be left to us — this was a mere dream."²

The Indian National Congress at its 1915 session demanded provincial autonomy. The next Congress of 1916 aspired for some sort of dominion status, which was not acceptable to the British authority. The said Congress came forward with the Congress League scheme, which was known as the Lucknow Pact (1916), demanded provincial autonomy and partial responsibility at the centre. (These were fulfilled only under the Government of India Act of 1933). The Indian views and demands were actually ahead of times.

The Resolution of the Lucknow Congress said: "The Congress is of the opinion that the time has come when His Majesty, the King Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date;... and that in the constitution of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of unequal partner in the Empire along with the self-governing dominions."

B.G.Tilak started the Home Rule Movement at Poona in April 1916 and Annie Besant at Madras, the same year, in September, agitations and arrests followed.

². Quoted, Coupland, India a Restatement, p. 107.
The first world war outside the country and the political movements inside changed the attitude of British towards the Indian problem. In future, said Mr. Asquith, the Indian question would be viewed from a new angle of vision. The principle of self-determination said Lloyd George, was to be applied to every nation, small or big. The world war was being fought, it was maintained in general, to make the world safe for democracy. The principle of self-determination was applied to Arabs in the Turkish Empire.

The historic pronouncement of Montagu, the then secretary of state for India, in the House of Commons was made on August 23, 1917: "The policy of His Majesty's Government is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." This general policy was the key to the constitutional development of India gradually leading to independence on August 15th, 1947.

According to the spirit of his pronouncement, Lord Montagu visited India in November 1917 and stayed in India to study the Indian problems until May 1918. An account of
his stay in India is given lucidly in his An Indian Diary. In consultation with Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General, Lord Montagu drew up the Report, which is popularly known as the Montford Report or the Montford scheme, which was published in July 1918. The Moderates accepted it as a great advance over the prevailing situation. For them it was progressive and satisfactory. But the extremists found the reform proposals unsatisfactory, and unacceptable. "Ungenerous of England to offer," said Mrs. Annie Besant, "and unworthy of India to accept." Tilak said that it was "unsatisfactory and disappointing". The special session of the extremists at Bombay on August 1918 demanded "simultaneous advance both in provinces and the Government of India."

On the other hand, to the British Montford Reforms were revolutionary. They were prepared to give self-government in the local bodies only.

The Delhi Congress (1918) under the presidency of Madan Mohan Malaviya maintained the self-determination principle: "In view of the pronouncements of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world, the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive nations, this
Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the peace conference as one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied.

The year 1919 was another turning point in the career of Subhas Chandra Bose and also in the course of the history of modern India.

Political movements were mounting high in the year 1919, which "was as traumatic a year in Indian history as was 1857". The year marked the passage of the Rowlatt Act, which later caused the Jalianwala Bagh massacre, the blackest spot on the British Empire. The tension mounted and the account of the year closed with the Government of India Act of 1919 which received the Royal Assent on December 25, 1919.

"The first shock", stated Gandhiji before Broomfield who tried him in March 1922 for his seditious writings in his Weekly, the young India, "came in the shape of Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it."

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Justice Rowlatt was the Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Government of India to recommend ways and means for dealing with revolutionary crimes after the Defence of India Act, which would lapse with the end of the First World War. The Committee submitted its report in April 1918. On the lines of the recommendations of the Report, two Bills, known as Rowlatt Bills were prepared by the Government of India. One of them became a law, the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919, as the then criminal law was not adequate. The Rowlatt Act, said Surendranath Banerjee, was the parent of non-cooperation in India.

A country-wide hartal was triggered on the 30th March 1919 against this oppressive, autocratic Act. Delhi observed hartal on the same day, but in the rest of the country it was observed on the 6th April 1919 as it was postponed by the organisers themselves. There was police firing in Delhi, in which eight persons, who wanted to get the railway refreshment stall closed, lost their lives.

Gandhi left for Delhi to enquire about the police-firing. On his way to Delhi, he was arrested at Palwal on 8th April, 1919, which led to further disturbances in Delhi, Ahmedabad and in the Punjab.
Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, the prominent leaders of Amritsar were arrested during the Hartal. The public protested against it. The police answered it with firing twice. The public took revenge on Europeans who came across them. The troops were called out and the public meetings were banned on 12th April 1919. The same day a public meeting was organised in Jallianwala Bagh, in the heart of the city of Amritsar. Gen. Dyer came with his troops, and stood on the only exit and ordered firing on the meeting. According to a source 379 were killed and 1208 were wounded in the firing. It was a dark spot on the British administration.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the then Governor of Punjab and General Dyer, the military officer, were mainly responsible for this horror. Their names themselves signify today the deadly connotation. The Congress Inquiry Committee complained against them for their brutal action. The Hunter Committee, appointed by the Government of India on the other hand, opined as "an honest but mistaken conception of duty". It further said that the military officer "exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case due to a grave error of judgement."
Gen. Dyer was removed from service, but no action was taken on Sir Dwyer. Later some attempts were made to condone the conduct of Gen. Dyer also. Lord Finlay moved the motion in the House of Lords condoning Gen. Dyer's conduct. The Anglo-Indian Press even praised Gen. Dyer as the Saviour of the British rule. They even raised subscriptions for Gen. Dyer.

Though the Whites tried to whitewash the matter, it still remained an indelible black spot on the British administration, which the Indians never forget. "The Jallianwala Bagh massacre marked a turning point in Indo-British relations." 4

At the end of the First World War, Turkey was dismembered by the allied nations. Thrace was given to Greece. Asia Minor was divided between Great Britain and France. The Sultan of Turkey who was even the Khalif, head of the Islamic institution, became a virtual prisoner, which invoked agitations among Muslims throughout the world. That was known in India as the Khilafat movement, when the Muslims temporarily co-operated with the Hindus, as the Britishers became the common enemy. Enemy's enemy became a friend.

4. Ibid., p. 30.
"I discovered," said Gendhiji before Broomfield who tried him, "too, that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Muslims of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled."

At the end of the year, 1919, the Government of India Act was passed on 25th December, 1919. Dyarchy, a novel feature of the Act, was introduced at the provincial level. This was the second step in turn with the pronouncement of "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India". The first one was popular control in the local bodies, which was fulfilled in the Government Councils Act, 1909. The English approach of democratization was gradual and from bottom to the top, starting with local bodies Act of 1909, dyarchy at the provincial level under the Act of 1919; complete provincial autonomy and dyarchy at the centre under the Act of 1935; and finally, complete independence under the Act of 1947.

Gandhiji, in the beginning, welcomed the Act of 1919 as an earnest Reform. "The Reform Act" he wrote in his Young India, dated December 31, 1919, "coupled with the proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British
people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score." "Our duty is," he continued further, "not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a success."

Gandhiji even moved an amendment to the resolution of 'Deshbandhu' Chitta Ranjan Das, of assuring co-operation for and to give thanks to the British in the Amritsar Congress of 1919. "The people will so work the Reforms", the amendment said : "as to secure an early establishment of full responsible government, and this Congress offers its thanks to the Rt. Hon. E.S.Montagu for his labours in connection with the Reforms."

But Gandhiji realised later the intention of the Reforms and he became a non-cooperator. "I saw too," he said before Broomfield, "that not only did the Reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and prolonging her servitude."

The I.C.S. Episode:

Agitations, protests, horrors of the year 1919, forced the father of Subhas to send him out of the country
itself to keep him aloof from the politics. Subba was in a dilemma. "I am facing a most serious problem," he wrote to his friend, Heman Kumer Sarkar on 26.8.1919, "Yesterday the family made an offer to send me to England. I have to sail immediately. There is no chance of getting into any good university in England just at present. It is their wish that I should study for a few months and appear at the Civil Service examination."  

As an average Indian student, Subba was not having confidence in himself that he would pass the I.C.S. "It is my considered view," he continued further, "that there is no hope of my passing the civil service examination. The rest are of the view that in case I fail in the examination, I might get into London or Cambridge University in October next."  

But like any other Indian youth, Bose was eager to go to England primarily for a foreign university degree. "My primary desire is to obtain a university degree in England; otherwise I cannot make headway in the educational line. If I now refuse to study for the civil service, the offer to send me to England would be put into cold storage for the time being (and for all time).  

6. Ibid.  
7. Ibid.
Subhas was not yet clear about his future career. Just then he did not want to lose the opportunity of going abroad. "Whether it will ever materialise in future," he continued, "I don't know. Under the circumstances, should I miss this opportunity?" But, he was apprehensive at the same time that if by chance he passed the I.C.S.,! That showed even his ability and capacity to pass I.C.S. His goal was not the I.C.S., but the realization of truth. "On the other hand," he continued, "a great danger will arise if I manage to pass the civil service examination. That will mean giving up my goal in life.... I have agreed to sail for England. But I am at a loss to understand what my duty is." Subhas actually hated the I.C.S. He agreed to sail for England just because he had no other way. "I do not want to deceive myself," he wrote in another letter to the same friend, on the 21st January 1920, "and persuade myself to believe that studying for the civil service is a good thing. I have always hated it and probably I still do. In the circumstances, I do not quite understand if working for the civil service is a sign of my weakness or a good augury for the future."

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8. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p.173.
A berth was reserved for Subhas on the S.S. *The City of Calcutta*, a slow ship, which sailed from Bombay on the 15th September, 1919. That was scheduled to reach Tilbury in thirty days, but it actually took a week more. Undoubtedly the voyage was boring.

As Subhas arrived in England late, it was difficult for him to get admission in any college at Oxford or Cambridge. He tried in vain to get admission through the official adviser to Indian students. However, he got admission with the help of his friends to Fitzwilliam Hall at Cambridge. It was then a non-collegiate institution. Later, it became a college as Fitzwilliam House.

Among his Indian contemporaries at Cambridge were the late Sri N.K. Sidhanta, Sri Dilip Kumar Roy, well known poet, musician and mystic, who renounced the worldly life and he is leading actually a life of a Sanyasi in an ashram in Maharashtra (near Poona). Sri C.C. Dossai, I.C.S., another contemporary, who became a leading member of the Swatantra party after his retirement, Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, an anthropologist, and Dr. C.S. Churya, who headed the Department of Sociology, Bombay University, for many years.
Bose was impressed by the free atmosphere of England, which was known for its parliamentary democracy. The British enjoyed maximum freedom. They were free from racialism, communism, exploitation and police atrocities, etc. Bose compared the atmosphere of India and particularly of Calcutta to that of England and at Cambridge. He wanted the same free atmosphere in India and elsewhere throughout the world. In short, the free atmosphere of England had impressed him immensely.

Bose was impressed by the British sense of time and duty, in which, especially, the Indians were lagging behind. "It is a real joy," Bose wrote to his friend, "to see the various activities of the people here. Everybody has a keen sense of time and everything is done systematically. It is only here that men treat others as men in their mutual dealings." He wondered at not seeing beggars in England. "You do not see beggars," he continued further, "anywhere in this land."

Bose was impressed by the great qualities of the British, especially their optimism. "In this country, he wrote, "people possess certain qualities which really make them great. The people here are real optimists." 11 Bose

was, comparatively, a staunch critic of pessimism, fatalism
and other idleness of Indians. "In our country", he continued,
"people always bewail and bemoan their difficulties. Here
they talk more about happiness, joy and god-given light."

Subhas though hated I.C.S., studied sincerely as if
to show a sample of Indian scholarship and genius and that
too within a short period. "He had barely eight months to
prepare for it."

He had to study, nine subjects for his
I.C.S.

Subhas appeared for the I.C.S. including Political
Science, Philosophy, English Law, Modern European History,
Economics, Geography and Cartography. Subhas appeared for
the I.C.S. Examination in July 1920. The result was announced
on the 22nd September 1920. It was a great surprise to him
that he had passed the "heaven born", "strategic", I.C.S.,
examination and that too in the fourth rank. It was a record,
until then among the successful Indian I.C.S., candidates.
Satyendranath Tagore was the first to pass the I.C.S., but
Subhas was the first to have a rank at the I.C.S., examination.

Such a thumping success at the I.C.S., examination,
instead of bringing pleasure, brought pain to Subhas, as he

12. N.G. Jog, "An Indian Pilgrim 1897-1933, "A Beacon
had to serve the white British if he joined the service, and which was not in his blood. "What was an hour of glory for others, meant only a period of agony for him, and he was involved in a deep mental conflict for a long time." 13

Success at the I.C.S., examination, he thought, was not a gain. "I don't know" Subhas wrote to his brother, Sarat Chandra from Leigh-on-sea in Essex, England immediately after the result on the 22nd September, 1920, "Whether I have gained anything really substantial by passing the I.C.S. examination." 14 Subhas was not after salary, pension, nor after power and position. "A nice fat income with a good pension", he continued, "I shall surely get. Perhaps I may become a commissioner if I stoop to make myself servile enough. Given talents, with a servile spirit one may even aspire to be the chief secretary to a provincial government. But, after all is service to be the be-all and end-all of my life?" 15

Subhas was not after the ordinary worldly life but he was after the highest ideals of a national and spiritual life. "The civil service can bring one all kinds of worldly comfort," he continued, "but are not these acquisitions

13. N.G. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p. 34.
15. Ibid., pp. 95-96.
made at the expense of one's soul? I think it is hypocrisy to maintain that the highest ideals of one's life are compatible with subordination to the conditions of service which an I.C.S. man has got to accept. National and spiritual aspirations are not compatible with obedience to civil service conditions."  

He was at the cross roads. His mind was caught between the dilemma of service on the one hand and his ideals on the other. "The amount of good that one can do while in the service," again he wrote to his brother, on the 26th January, 1921, "is infinitesimal when compared with what one can do when outside it. I am now at the cross roads and no compromise is possible. I must either check this rotten service and dedicate myself wholeheartedly to the country's cause or I must bid adieu to all my ideals and aspirations."  

Joining the service was, to Subhas, a slavery. "The principle of serving an alien bureaucracy" again he wrote to his brother on the 23rd February, 1921, "is one to which I cannot reconcile myself.... The day I sign the covenant, I shall cease to be a free man." It was a surprise to Subhas to know that not a single person had resigned from the service in the cause of the freedom of the nation. "In

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p. 97.
18. Ibid., pp. 99-100.
spite of all the agitation going on there," he continued, "it still remains true that not a single civil servant has had the courage to throw away his job and join the people's movement. The challenge has been thrown at India and has not been answered yet." 19

Subhas was the first Indian to accept and answer the challenge. If Satyendranath Tagore was the first to accept the I.C.S., Subhas was the first to resign the I.C.S. Surendranath Banerjee was forced to resign from the I.C.S. That was his great sacrifice in the cause of the nation. "In the whole history of British India," he continued, "not one Indian has voluntarily given up the civil service with a patriotic motive. It is time that members of the highest service in India should set an example to members of the other services. If the members of the other services withdraw their allegiance or even show a desire to do so then only will the bureaucratic machine collapse. I therefore do not see how I can save myself from this sacrifice." 20

The Britishers were not willing to lose the services of such a rank holder. Pressures came on Subhas from all corners to accept the service. The officials and even the dignitaries used their missions to influence Subhas to

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
accept the service. Sir William Duke, Permanent Under Secretary of state for India brought pressures on Subhas through his (Subhas's) eldest brother, who was then studying for the Bar-at-Law in London. Even the secretary of the Civil Service Board, Cambridge, influenced Subhas to accept the service at least for sometime. But, on the other hand, some approved and even applauded the idea of Subhas of resigning from the service. Mr. Reddaway, Censor of Fitzwilliam Hall was one of them.

Anxious correspondence was there between Subhas and his father, who wanted to see his son as an I.C.S. officer. "Should we, under the present circumstances," pleaded Subhas with his father in a letter, "own allegiance to a foreign bureaucracy and sell ourselves for a mess of pottage?" His father gave him an ultimatum that he would not send money to refund the Government for not joining the service. Subhas was not afraid of this. He managed, somehow, to collect the amount from his friends and refunded the same.

Subhas intimated his feelings and desires to Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das in a letter to him, dated 16th February, 1921. "I have the feeling that on my return to my country I should be able to take up two kinds of work -
teaching in college and writing for newspapers. I desire
to give up the Indian civil service with clear-cut plans."21
In his another letter dated 2nd March 1921, to Shri C.R.Das,
he (Subhas) had shown his willingness to serve even in the
field of research for the Congress, adult education and
social service. His demand for his service in return was
only a bare subsistence allowance.

An ardent patriotic spirit in Bose forced him ultimately
to resign from the I.C.S., in the cause of the nation. The
day, the 22nd April 1921, on which he resigned from the I.C.S.
was the day of destiny a crucial turning point in his life.
It was like resigning from the material world itself to
serve the nation. It was, really a great sacrifice on his
part and a great test in his life.

His fellow students in England were inspired by his
resignation from the I.C.S. One of them even wrote a poem
on the occasion:

"Bullets all round him hiss
But fall his feet to kiss,
This occasion he never can miss,
To thee, O hero, we bow!
On, on the tyrants to fight!

Behold, gone gone is the night!
Trample on them in delight!
Hark! calls the new sun-glow!"22

Dilip Kumar Roy, his another fellow friend discontinued his studies for the I.C.S. and left for Germany to pursue his studies in music. Khitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, another candidate for the I.C.S., not only gave up his studies for the I.C.S., but also declined the engagement made to the grand-daughter of Satyendranath Tagore, the first Indian to join the I.C.S., thinking that he would not be able to maintain her without the I.C.S. Though he returned as an anthropologist, still he married, luckily, the same girl with whom he was engaged.

The conscience of Subhas dominated ultimately over this worldly allurement in terms of the I.C.S. "You are aware", Subhas wrote to his friend, Charu Charen Ganguly, on the same day of his resignation from the I.C.S., "that once before I sailed forth on the sea of life at the call of duty. The ship has now reached a port offering great allurement - where power, property and wealth are at my command. But the response from the innermost corner of my heart is 'you will not find happiness in this. The way to

Subhas thought that he was helpless before his conscience and at the hands of the Almighty. "Today, in response to that call," he continued, "I am sailing forth again with the helm in His hands. Only He knows where the ship will land. I have not been able to decide yet what I shall do. Sometimes I am feeling like joining the Ramkrishna Mission. At other times I feel like going to Bolpur. And, then again, I have the desire to become a journalist. Let us see what happens."

After resigning from the I.C.S., Subhas stayed in England for some months and took his tripes. At the end of June 1921, he left England for India by a ship in which Rabindranath Tagore also sailed to India.

His first encounter with the Mahatma:

Subhas landed in Bombay on July 16, 1921. The non-violent non-cooperation movement, the first of its kind in Indian history, was in full swing throughout the country during the year 1921. Mahatma Gandhi, who was earlier co-operated with the British administration in India, and

who had even welcomed the Montford Reforms by extending his respectful thanks to Mr. Montagu, became the non-cooperationist. He was at the helm of affairs of the Congress and was the chief leader of the non-violent non-cooperation movement.

The day Subhas Chandra Bose landed in Bombay, he met Gandhiji, at his (Gandhiji's) residence, Mani Bhavan. That was his first meeting with Gandhiji. The very first meeting marked the parting of ways ideologically. Differences between the two cropped up even at the very beginning of their meeting. Subhas could not clear his doubts in his talks with Gandhiji. Subhas had his own reservations about the efficacy of the non-payment of taxes, the campaign started by the Congress during the non-cooperation Movement. Gandhiji, on the other hand, had an idea that his campaign would paralyse the British administration in India. Secondly, Bose had a feeling that mere non-payment of taxes could not drive the British out from India. But Gandhiji felt that civil disobedience movement would compel the British to concede the Indian demands. Thirdly, Gandhiji had promised his followers the 'Swaraj', and that too within one year, which, Subhas thought, was impossible.
Subhas might have thought to himself that the plans and programmes of the Mahatma were ineffective and rather naive. But he did not dare say it to Gandhiji as he himself was quite inexperienced. "Though I tried", wrote Subhas "to persuade myself at the time that there must have been a lack of understanding on my part, my reason told me clearly, again and again, that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan that the Mahatma had formulated, and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of freedom."24

First impression, generally, is supposed to be the best impression. It was not so with the meeting Subhas had with the Mahatma. Subhas was neither impressed nor inspired by the Mahatma. He was not moved, particularly, by Gandhiji's plan of getting Swaraj within one year and that too through passive non-cooperation movement.

Even the Mahatma must have felt that it was difficult to convince Subhas on the issue. So Gandhiji, at the end of the meeting, advised Subhas to see C.R. Desa on reaching Calcutta. Thus, the first meeting between the two came to an end. Each probably would have judged the other in his

own manner. To Gandhiji, Subhas was a novice in politics. Subhas on the other hand, probably expected inspiration, enlightenment from Gandhiji. But he did not get any.

It is interesting to note that probably, Subhas was the only political figure then who was not inspired by the Mahatma. His contemporaries would deem it an honour, a privilege to meet Gandhiji and would normally get inspired when they meet him first. Subhas was, definitely, an exception. Subhas had his own way of thinking, living, feeling and judging men and matters.

Though Subhas was not inspired and did not like some of the ideas of the Mahatma, undoubtedly he had reverence to the Mahatma throughout his life. Subhas may not have agreed with some plans and programmes of the Mahatma, but he liked the person as such.

C.R.Das - His Political Guru:

Soon after reaching Calcutta from Bombay, Subhas met "Deshbandhu" Chitta Ranjan Das, the then Congress leader of Bengal, and found the difference between his meeting the Mahatma and C.R. Das. "During the course of our conversation I began to feel that here was a man who knew what he was about", 
wrote Subhas, "who could give all that he had and who could demand from others all they could give a man to whom youthfulness was not a short-coming but a virtue." Subhas found in C.R. Das, his political 'guru' (teacher), friend, philosopher and guide. "By the time our conversation came to an end my mind was made up. I felt I had found a leader and meant to follow him." This was the impact of C.R. Das on Subhas in his first meeting after his return from England.

Subhas had come under the spell of C.R. Das even earlier to this meeting. He used to write letters to Das from England. In his letter from Cambridge on 16th February 1921, he had praised him (Das) heartily: "You are today the high-priest of the festival of national service in Bengal". In the same letter Subhas had mentioned his idea of resigning from the civil service and getting some job in India.

Subhas had appreciation, praise and devotion for C.R. Das and to his family. Such references are made even in his letters to Dilip Kumar Roy, musician and poet of Bengal, and a Cambridge Colleague of Subhas. "When I first read the news in print I could hardly credit my eyes" wrote Subhas in his letter dated 25th June 1925 from Mandalay.

Central Jail to D.K. Roy after hearing the news of death of Q.R. Das, who died on June 16th 1925. "But alas the report is cruelly true. Ours is indeed an ill-starred nation..... if for the country the loss is irreparable, for the youth of Bengal it is cataclysmic, appalling." 28

"So versatile was his talent and so many-sided his activities, that people in different and widely separate spheres will be hard hit by the loss." Subhas wrote in his letter dated 11th September, 1925 from Mandasay Jail to D.K. Roy. "I used to criticise him by saying that he had too many irons in the fire—but creative spirits do not submit to pragmatic or logical limitations and I have no doubt that it was only the fullness of life and realisation that impelled him to attempt reconstruction in so many different spheres of our national life." 29

"...In fact I gave him my heart's deep adulation and reverent love not so much because I happened to be his follower in the arena of politics," wrote Subhas in his letter dated 9th October 1925 to D.K. Roy, "as because I had come to know him rather intimately in his private life...

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Once we lived together in Jail for eight months: for two months in the same cell, for six in adjacent ones. I took refuge at his feet because I came to know him thus through a very close relationship."  

Subhas was full of appreciation for his political 'guru' (teacher) who had sacrificed everything for the nation. "With the reckless abandon of a Vaishnava devotee," wrote Subhas in "The Indian Struggle," "he had plunged into the political movement with heart and soul and he had given not only himself but his all in the fight for Swaraj. When he died whatever worldly possessions he still had were left to the nation. By the Government he was both feared and admired. They feared his strength but admired his character. They knew that he was a man of his word."  

Subhas held Das superior to the Mahatma in clarity of judgement and in practice. "He (Das) was clear," he added, "his political instinct was sound and unerring, and unlike the Mahatma, he was fully conscious of the role he was to play in Indian politics."  

Subhas judged Das as a more practical politician than

32. Ibid.
any one else, even to the Mahatma. He knew more than any one else that the situations favourable for wresting political power from the enemy do not come often, and when they do come they do not last long. Subhas continued, "He knew also that to sponsor a settlement when public enthusiasm is at its height, needs much courage and may involve a certain amount of unpopularity. But he was conscious of his exact role, namely that of a practical politician and he was therefore, never afraid of courting unpopularity."

C.R. Das was, undoubtedly, a strong pragmatic politician of the time. "Mr. Das was", writes Hugh Toye, "a more aggressive nationalist than Mr. Gandhi, even as Bengal Congress opinion was more turbulent than that of the Congress as a whole." 33

"C.R. Das was," writes N.C. Jog, "then at the peak of his career. He was the acknowledged leader of Bengal and occupied a leading place in the national leadership that was emerging in India..... It was said that if Das earned by the thousands in a day, he also spent thousands on charity in an hour. He had the heart of a poet and the spirit of a revolutionary. His renunciation of a princely

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practice at the Bar in obedience to the Nagpur congress resolution, made a tremendous impression on the public mind. He was hailed as the Deshbandhu brother of the country.\textsuperscript{34}

The personality of C.R.Das, may be depicted in the words of D.K.Roy that Das was "strong and massive, radiating strength and kindness."\textsuperscript{35}

The Non-co-operation Movement:

Being a man of action, Bose was naturally attracted by another man of action, Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. Political apprenticeship of Subhas under him started from the day he met C.R.Das in Calcutta, after his return from England. The triple boycott of legislatures, courts and educational institutions, as a programme under the non-violent non-cooperation Movement, under Gandhiji, was then in full swing throughout the country. The first anniversary of Lokmanya Tilak's death on August 1st, 1921, was also, observed as a part of this programme with huge bonfires of foreign cloth throughout the country. "It was symbolic", writes N.G.Jog, "to burn to ashes all the dress, dirt and weaknesses in the nation."\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{34} N.G.Jog, \textit{In Freedom's Quest}, p.41.
\textsuperscript{35} D.K.Roy, Metaji - The Man, p.86
\textsuperscript{36} N.G.Jog, \textit{In Freedom's Quest}, p.41.
The public life of Subhas started during the non-co-operation movement. He was made the principal of the National College, started by C.R. Das. Subhas was also placed in charge of the Publicity Board of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. And he was the head of the National Volunteer Corps. Many were, naturally, upset and raised their eyebrows against C.R. Das for giving all these positions to Subhas, a new-comer to the Congress, and hardly of 24 years of age. Das brought down all the raised eyebrows with his firm confidence in Subhas, saying: "I can see through persons. Bose will never belie my expectations. He will be the right man to do justice to the work." 37

The Statesman, the leading Anglo-Indian paper of Calcutta, rightly remarked that the government lost a competent officer but correspondingly the Congress, the nation and the people gained the services of such an able personality.

The mission of Subhas for 'Freedom's Quest' started with his policy of complete non-co-operation with the British, but of fullest co-operation among Indians. His motto was 'unity was strength'.

37. Quoted. Ibid., p.42.
Subhas came in contact, with the prominent Congress leaders of the country, for the first time when they had come to Calcutta in September 1921, under the leadership of Mahatma. Henceforth Subhas came to be considered as a second rank leader of Bengal next only to C.R.Das. Subhas "attended", writes Hugh Toye, "Gandhi's secret conference in September 1921... for the new non-cooperation programme." 38

A hartal was observed throughout the country on 17th November, 1921, the day the Prince of Wales landed in Bombay to visit India, before the inauguration of the Montford Reforms, enumerated in the Government of India Act of 1919. Subhas participated in a hartal in Calcutta on the same day as a volunteer. "The hartal proved a thorough success, especially in Calcutta where it looked as if the government had abdicated and the congress volunteers had taken over the administration. Within 24 hours the Government of Bengal issued a notification declaring the Congress Volunteer Organisation illegal." 39

Subhas participated first in the meeting of the Bengal Prades Congress Committee, in November 1921, as a Member, and of which Shri C.R.Das was the president. This was his first political activity, as an office-bearer of the

38. Hugh Toye, op.cit., p.28.
39. N.G.Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p.43.
Congress, though earlier, he used to work as a Congress volunteer or as an ex-officio-member. A call was given by the B.P.C.C. for Civil Disobedience by batches of five volunteers each to hawk Khadi in the city. Subhas was put in charge of the same. C.R. Das's wife, son and others joined the first batch. They were all arrested. Then came the turn of C.R. Das and Subhas. They were also arrested in the same movement on December 10, 1921. That was the first "baptism" of imprisonment, an inauguration of his chain of imprisonments, eleven times in all of about ten years' sentence in toto up to his sensational escape from India on January 17th, 1941.

The trial of his case was concluded on February 7, 1922 and he was sentenced for six months simple imprisonment. "Only six months? (that also simple imprisonment?). It is a matter of great shame that I have been given only six months". That was his reaction after hearing the sentence. It is clear that he was ready for any suffering in the cause of the nation. The nationalistic spirit in him was of such a high order.

Both Das and Subhas were in the same cell for sometime at the Alipore Central Jail. Subhas served, "as a secretary, cook and valet" and even "helped Das in the compilation of
"Once we lived together", wrote Subhas in his letter dated 9th October 1925 from Mandalay Jail, to D.K. Roy, "in jail for eight months for two months in the same cell, for six in adjacent ones." Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was also a jail-mate of Subhas in Alipore Central Jail.

Mob violence at Ghouri Choura (U.P.) on 4th February 1922, in which a Police-station was burnt and about twenty one policemen were killed, changed the political atmospheres of the time. Gandhi called off the non-cooperation movement, which was in full swing throughout the country, even against the will of the Congress.

"To sound the order of retreat", said Subhas, "just when the public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity".

"We were angry", wrote Jawaharlal Nehru, "when we learnt of this stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts."  

42. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, p.73.  
Why should a town at the foot of the Himalayas be penalised, asked Motilal Nehru, if a village at Cape Comorin failed to observe nonviolence?44

The only answer of the Mahatma to all the critics was "Let the opponent glory in our humiliation or so-called defeat. It is better to be charged with cowardice and weakness than to be guilty of denial of our oath and sin against God. It is a million times better to appear untrue before the world than to be untrue to ourselves."45

As Municipal Administrator:

 Bose was released on August 4, 1922 and five days later, C.R. Das was also released. Both engaged themselves in their constructive activities that of social uplift and mass education by organising the youth of Bengal. As the Chairman, of the reception committee of the all Bengal Young Men's Conference held at Calcutta in September 1922, Subhas addressed the youth. "In thought and language, in style and delivery," wrote The Amrit Bazar Patrika, "Bose's speech at the conference was worthy of the man from whom it came."

44. H.G. Jog, In Freedom's Quest, p.45.
45. Quoted, Ibid.
Subhas earned fame and compliments from the Congress and even from Lord Lytton, the then Governor of Bengal, for his relief work in the northern districts of Bengal in September, 1922, as he was sent specially for the purpose with Dr. J.M. Das, by the B.P.C.C.

The Gaya Congress meeting held in December 1922, under the presidency of C.R. Das, was confused with 'pro-changers' and 'no-changers' - in connection with Council entry. C.R. Das, being a pro-changer, that is for council entry, pleaded for the same. As his plea was rejected by the 'no-changers', Das resigned on the spot from the Presidency as well as from the Membership of the Congress. Congress was split. The 'pro-changers' organised their own separate party, the Swaraj Party, under the leadership of C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru. Naturally, Subhas followed his 'guru' and became a Swarajist. He was given the editorship of the Bengali Katha, a journal started by C.R. Das, to popularise the party. Later, he managed the daily paper, 'The Forward', launched by C.R. Das in October 1923.

The All India Swaraj Party was inaugurated officially on January 11, 1923, at Gaya, with C.R. Das as the President and Pandit Motilal Nehru as the General Secretary. Subhas, Vithalbhai Patel, Rengaswamy Lyngar and N.C. Kelkar were
some of the prominent members of the Swaraj Party. Its first conference was held in March 1923, at Allahabad where its constitution was drafted. The immediate objective of the constitution of the party was Dominion Status for India.

The Congress also, came to accept later the plea of the Swarajists for council entry. "After considering all aspects of the question," said Moulana Abul Kalam Azad in his presidential address in the Delhi Congress, held in September 1923, "I have come to the conclusion that it is useless for us to boycott the councils and remain aloof. So, under the present circumstances, it is to our advantage to occupy as many seats in the councils as possible." That was a triumph for Das, particularly, and the Swarajists, in general.

Das and Bose were stimulated further to strengthen their organization. Bose formed "All Bengal Youth League" of being himself the president of it. In the second election (1928) to the Provincial Councils under the Government of India Act of 1919, the Swarajists swept the polls in almost all provinces especially in Bengal, as the Liberals under Surendranath Benerjee did in the first election. The Swaraj Party got its majority in Provincial councils of Bengal and Central province and it was the single largest
party in other provinces. The veterans of Bengal were defeated thoroughly by relatively unknown persons. Surendranath Banerjea, one of the pioneer Liberal leaders during the first election lost to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy; S.R. Das, cousin of C.R. Das and then Advocate General of Bengal lost to Satkaripati Roy, and Sir Milratan Sirkar, eminent physician lost to Bijoy Krishna Bose. Das, naturally, became the leader of the Swaraj Party in the Bengal Legislative Council.

Bose could not contest the election, because his name was not in the electoral roll. Otherwise, he would have entered the Bengal Legislative Council then only. But this could not come in the way of his becoming the General Secretary of the B.C.C. towards the end of 1923 and of which C.R. Das was, the President. That marked his progress and achievement in the politics of Bengal, within two years of his entering politics.

The Swarajists swept the polls even in the election to the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta, in 1924. Subhas was returned unopposed from Ward No. 22, Bowanipore area. This was the first election which he contested and in which he was elected unopposed. This speaks volumes for the personality of Subhas and his works. In November 1926, in
the third General Elections, under the Government of India Act of 1919, he was elected while in jail at Mandalay far away from India. Even in his last election in his life, in 1939 to the post of President of the Indian National Congress, in which Mahatma Gandhi's candidate, Pattabhi Siteramayya opposed him, Subhas succeeded. That is, in short, the role of Subhas in elections until his escape from India in January 1941. He did not fail in any elections in his lifetime except in the Mayoral election of Calcutta Corporation in 1927 to B.K. Basu.

Both Das and Bose changed the imperialistic atmosphere of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation and revived it with the new blood of nationalistic spirit. Das was elected as Mayor and Sayed Suhrawardy, Deputy Mayor of the Corporation. Bose, worthy of his distinctions with a fourth rank in the I.C.S., was appointed as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation on 24th April, 1924, on a Salary of Rs.3,000/- per month. Then Subhas was hardly twenty seven years old. The so-called big ones, even in the Swarajist Party, envied and obstructed the appointment, by delaying the sanction of appointment for a month. Subhas was not after money. He contributed half of his monthly salary to charity.
The Swarajist administration in the Corporation under Das and Bose, started *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, the weekly and the first civic journal in India; stopped presenting addresses to Government officials; instead launched receptions to nationalist leaders, along with other social and economic programmes.

As the Chief Executive Officer, "a role" wrote D.K.Roy, "he filled with remarkable efficiency as well as distinction."46 "Das and Bose", wrote N.G.Jog, "turned the Calcutta Municipal Corporation into a patriotic forum.... The Council chamber of the Corporation reflected the political developments in the country."47

The Swaraj Party, the idea of which germinated in the Alipur Jail under the leadership of G.R.Das and Motilal Nehru to enter the provincial legislatures and other bodies to fight from within against the imperialist government, proved worthy of its aim to offer "Uniform, continuous and consistent opposition" to Government from within. So the result was dyarchy, a novel feature of the Government of India Act of 1919, was suspended in Bengal and Central province and that was obstructed in other provinces due to

47. N.G.Jog, *In Freedom's Quest*, p.53.
Swarajists. "The Montford Reforms", wrote Zacharias, "were thus subjected to a two-fold spirit of irresponsibility by the Government no less than by the Swarajists both treating them contemptuously and as a mere make-belief." 48

Bengal, especially Calcutta, was a strong political forum for political developments during the Swarajists' administration. The political scene changed when a European was murdered by one Gopinath Saha, mistaken for Charles Tegart, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta. Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 were ready in July 1924, but were executed on October 25, 1924. A large number of leaders were arrested, even some of them under the Bengal Ordinance, including Subhas on 24th October 1924. Two Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta made allegations to justify Subhas's arrest. Subhas filed a defamatory suit against these papers, but he later withdrew the case.

Das, as Mayor of the Municipal Corporation of Calcutta, condemned the arrests, particularly of Bose. ".... Subhas is no more revolutionary than I am. Why have they not arrested me?" asked Das in his speech from his Mayoral Chair, ".... If love of one's country is a crime, I am criminal. If Subhas is a criminal, I am a criminal. Not only the

Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation but the Mayor of this Corporation is equally guilty. I am only to say that these ordinances are directed against us only to put down lawful organization." Subhas Bose's arrest under Regulation III," C.R. Das continued, "is sheer brute force on the part of the bureaucracy. One fine morning he went out on his work as the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation. He returned home and found the police force in his house. No charge was made against him. No explanation was asked from him. No reason was given but he was simply told - We have got brute force and we shall drag you to prison."

Gandhiji condemned these arrests in the Editorial in The Young India. He rushed to Calcutta with Motilal Nehru and others and protested against the arrests. "Over a hundred and fifty thousand people attended a meeting addressed by these leaders in Calcutta on October 31, 1924, to protest against arrests."

Bose was kept for about a month in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta. He continued, to function as the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. He used to see the files brought by his subordinates and even the Mayor, Das met him there. Then Bose was transferred

49. Hemendranath Das Gupta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, p. 112.
to Berhampore Jail. Orders were received on January 25, 1925 for his transfer to Calcutta, but actually the voyage was for Mandalay jail in Burma, after a night halt at the Lalbasar police station lockup. Next day, on 26th, morning at nine O'clock, the ship in which he was put left and reached Rangoon four days after. From Rangoon he was taken by train to Mandalay, of about a day's journey.

"We had a very large police escort and at every stop on our way," wrote Subhas, "they would lineup on both sides of the train. From the fuss they made one would think that we were either high state officials or wild animals."51

At Mandalay Jail:

Luckily, in a sense, Bose was promoted to the highest Jail in the hierarchy to Mandalay jail in which the lion of Maharashtra, Lokamanya Balabhadra Tilak was imprisoned for six long years during which he wrote an essay on "Bhagavad Gita", the lion of Punjab Lala Lajpat Roy, Sardar Ajit Singh and many others. "It gave us therefore," Subhas wrote, "some consolation and pride to feel that we were following in their footsteps." He was shown there the lime trees, planted by Tilak with his own hands.

"There was nothing to protect us" said Bose of his Mandalay Jail experience, "from the biting cold of winter, or the intense heat of summer, or the tropical rains in Mandalay." His fellow prisoners in Mandalay Jail were Satyendra Chandra Mitra, Purna Chandra Das, Dipin Ganguli, Satish Chakravarty, Surendra Mohan Ghosh, Madan Bhawmik and others.

Bose utilised his jail sojourn for reading and meditation. He used to write letters to his brothers and friends, particularly to Dilip Kumar Roy. Even he read books on criminal psychology and prison reforms. He discovered, on his own empirical method that murderers represented a better type of prisoners than the thieves, the worst type.

"The whole atmosphere inside a jail tends," wrote Subhas, in a letter, dated 2.5.1923, to D.K. Roy from Mandalay Jail, ".... to pervert and dehumanise a human being, and I believe this must be true of all jails, more or less. I think the majority of convicts undergo a moral deterioration while in prison." Bose thought of reforming jails in India, in its own way or, instead of following a

53. Ibid., Appendix V, p.174.
bad model – the British, even as the University of Calcutta
is a bad imitation of London."\textsuperscript{54}

"What is most urgently called for," Bose continued, 
"is a new outlook based on sympathy for the convict...
The penalising mood which may well be assumed to be the
inspiration of jail prescriptions has to give place to a
new orientation guided by a flair for true reform."\textsuperscript{55}

Jail life makes one to think of his life problems in
a philosophic mood. "Usually a kind of philosophic mood
instills strength," wrote Subhas in a letter to Dr. D.K. Roy,
"into our hearts in prison surroundings. In any event,
I have taken my station there and what little I have read
of philosophy superseded to my conception of life in general
has stood me rather in good stead here."\textsuperscript{56}

Jail life gave leisure to Bose to be introvert, which
he thought was a gain. "... the enforced solitude in which
a detenu passes his days gives him an opportunity to think
down into the ultimate problems of life. In any event,"
wrote Subhas, "I can claim this for myself that many of
the most tangled questions which whirl like eddies in our
individual and collective life are edging gradually to the

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., pp. 174-5.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 175.
estuary of a solution.... It is for this reason.... that I feel I will be spiritually a gainer through my imprison-
ment."57

Bose humbly denied when Dilip Kumar Roy described his detention as a "martyrdom." "You have given my deten-	ion," wrote Subhas in his letter dated 2-5-1925 to D.K. Roy from Mandalay Jail" the name of martyrdom.... This only testifies to the sympathy native to your character as also to your nobility of heart..... I can hardly arrogate to myself the martyr's high title.... At all events, martyrdom can only be an ideal so far as I am concerned."58

Though Bose was calm in the Mandalay Jail, politics in India were not quiet. Death of C.R.Das on June 16, 1925, which Bose came to know later about on 25th June 1925, changed the political scene of India. "The nation lost a leader and Bose a friend, philosopher and guide",59 above all his political guru. That was a great shock to Bose who was far away from relatives and friends, and from the native country itself. The only consolation he used to get was from letters, especially from Dilip Kumar Roy.

57. Ibid., pp. 175-6.
58. Ibid., p. 176.
Being a religious man, especially having faith in Goddess Durga, he used to collect funds from his fellow prisoners in Mandalay jail, and created facilities for Durga Puja in Diwali, in October 1925. He used to protest against atrocities of jail authorities with hunger strike. One such he started in February 1926 and in which he lost much of his weight and his healing was seriously affected.  

Bose, probably was the first person in Indian history who was elected to a position from behind the bars. He was put as Congress candidate for the Bengal Legislative Council from a Calcutta constituency against J.N. Basu, leader of the liberal party in Bengal, during the third general election in November 1926, under the Government of India Act of 1919. The opponent had defeated a Swarajist on the previous election in 1923, even during the Swarajist wave. The slogan was 'put Bose into get him out'. The Calcutta constituency elected Bose but could not get him released from the Mandalay jail.

Due to ill health Bose was transferred from jail to jail and ultimately was released in the same condition. Broncho-Pneumonia was suspected in the winter of 1926, then tuberculosis. He was transferred to Rangoon for medical

60. Ibid., p.60.
examination by a board consisting of Lt. Colonel Kelsall, Dr. Sunil Chandra Bose, Subhas's brother. The Board recommended his release. But he was transferred to Insein jail, the superintendent of which noted the ill health of the prisoner.

As a result of the pressure in the Bengal Legislative Council, the Government offered in the Council, the choice to Bose to go to Switzerland on his own expense and on the condition that he would not meet his family members. Bose’s reaction to this was, that he preferred even death to exile.

"I have no desire," he wrote to his brother, Sarat Chandra Bose, "to become a voluntary exile from the land of my birth...

I have tried to anticipate, the worst that may befall me if I do not accept the Government’s offer, but I have not been able to persuade myself that a permanent exile from the land of my birth would be better than life in jail leading to the sepulchre. I believe as the poet does, that 'the paths of glory lead but to the grave.'"

Bose felt deeply for not being able to meet his family. "It is not easy for a westerner to appreciate the deep attachment," wrote Bose, "which Oriental people have for their kin..... it would be typical only of a western mind to presume that because I have not married, therefore, I have no family and no attachment to anyone."
Orders were issued to transfer Bose to the Almera jail in the United Provinces, he left the Insein jail in May 1927 and sailed by a boat for Calcutta. Before arrival in Calcutta, he was examined by a Medical Board consisting of Sir Nilmatan Sarker, Dr. B.C. Roy and Major Bingham, the Governor's physician. The Board urged strongly for his immediate release, without heeding to the police pressures. There was no other way for the Government except his release. Bose was released on May 16, 1927 after two years, six months and twenty one days of detention without trial.

The impact of the first world war, the Home Rule Movements and the Montagu's Pronouncement prepared the ground for the political emergence of Subhas Bose. The horrors of the year, 1919, with the passage of the Reallatt Act upto the climax of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre reused the young revolutionary to avenge the British. No allurement on earth could move him from his mission of life. His father tried to keep him aloof from politics by sending him to a foreign country. This attempt instead of scolding him down, inspired him to be a fierce fighter. Though Bose passed the I.C.S., with a respectable rank, he resigned it. His political career was heralded with this sacrifice.
His public life was full of such sacrifices, until he sacrificed his own life in the cause of the nation.

Bose's revolutionary and activist role started with a disagreement with Mahatma Gandhi, the then undisputed monarch of the Congress. He found his political guru (teacher) in Deeshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das, a renowned revolutionary of Bengal.

Bose served his native city as the Chief Executive officer of the Calcutta Municipal Corporation and he also inspired those around him to revolt against the British. The result was his long exile in the Mandalay jail, which schooled him for his further heroic role in the national movement. The political emergence of Bose was thus a saga of great sacrifices and heroic deeds.