Chapter-IV

Women in Revolutionary Movement

The words outburst of the revolutionary' spirit against the British rule seems to be more appropriate so far as the commencement of India's freedom struggle was concerned. This, in fact, began with the War of Independence in 1857 while spreading anti-imperialist in many cities and towns of northern India which witnessed the fighting of soldiers, peasants and princes against Company's rule. However, a few women who are not well known in the history of Indian freedom struggle equally fought and also sacrificed their lives not only in the same revolt but also in armed struggle to be carried out during the second and third decades of the 20th century.

Among such warrior ladies in 1857 were Hazrat Mehal of Oudh who not only inspired the Indian soldiers to rise and revolt against the British imperialism but also appeared on the battle field to enthuse the soldiers inspite of numerous difficulties and setbacks. Hazrat Mahal "never lost heart and moved amongst her men and spirit that deserved better success." Her commitment, in the same context, may be noticed at the statement of her opponent Sir Huge Rose who was so impressed by her indomitable courage that he describes her as "the best and the bravest of the leaders."

Another women who rose to prominence in 1857 was Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi who also not only encouraged
soldiers to flight but organized clever strategies during the revolt of 1857 known as the first battle of freedom movement of India. She needs to be seen in relevance to a prize of Rs. 20,000 declared on her head by the Governor-General. She fought to the last breath and died in the battlefield. Equally important role was played by Rani of Ramgarh who also fought against the British. Tace Bai of Jalour also joined the rebels in fighting against the British. Besides, there were some other women who indirectly supported the cause of India’s freedom struggle. For example, Thakurani of Budri contributed a large amount of money to the ‘rebel’ and Rani Digambar Kaer joined the ‘rebels’ in fighting against the British, whereas Rani Tikri added fortification for the protection of Tikar.

The canvas eagerly intending to exhibit the scenario of freedom struggle was expected to change the faces of fighting leaders who belonged to the common masses along with the same revolutionary spirit and zeal just after an interval of 15 years. While starting from Maharashtra, their mission based on revolutionary approach not only spread over states like Bengal and Punjab, but also abroad i.e. western countries like Britain, America, France, Germany, Canada etc. What is significant to tell here is that if some revolutionaries like Chapekar brothers were influenced by revolutionary ideology of native leaders like Lokmanya Tilak, Surya Sen of Bengal, popularly known as Masterda, and his compatriots Ananta Singh, Kalpana Dutt, etc. looked up Dan Breen, the Irish freedom fighter, as their ideal. Besides, some of them being influenced by
Russian Revolution also prepared to adopt revolutionary methods and Lenin as their ideal. An attempt has been made in the present chapter to make a thorough examination of their efforts along with the consequences faced by them in order to understand their contribution towards India's freedom struggle.

MAHARASHTRA

The revolutionary trend in the freedom movement (after the revolt of 1857) began with the work of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke who is hailed as the first revolutionary of India in 1870. It has been suggested that the beginning of such trend resulted from hatred to British rule which was shared by a few Chittapavan-Konkanasth Brahmins from the Peshwa period. The seeds of revolutionary notion, in fact, were practically sown in the minds of young boys between 1895-1998 by the Chapekar brothers who were greatly inspired by the revolutionary activities of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke.

The three sons of Hari Vinayak Chapekar of Puna viz. Damodar (born in 1869) Balkishan (born in 1873) and Vasudeo (born in 1879) who being Chittapavan-Konkanastha Hindu Brahmins were brought up as devout to Hinduism. As a consequent, they could not tolerate their religious feelings hurt by the British rule either directly or indirectly. Their anger further multiplied when the Christian Missionaries began to convert Hindus into the Christianity.
As three Chapekar brothers began to grow they started thinking to free the motherland from the British slavery by acquiring physical strength. Their preparation for possessing good health, they ran twenty miles daily without any halt between Pune and Chinchwad. It is significant to add here that their brahmanhood while coming in their way proved as an obstacle to join army and thus left no other option but to serve the motherland in their own way. Their physical exercise became a talk of the town and attracted other like minded youths also to join their mission.

Besides, Lokmanya Tilak’s writings and speeches further paved a way for inspiring the Chapekar brothers to such an extent that they began to imbibe military skills. From 1980, they started storing weapons and by 1895, sixty one weapons were collected by them. In 1898, Damodar Chapekar had formed a large club of boys who used to go on Parbatti outside Poona and practice stone throwing with some ulterior objects either as rioters or revolutionaries. The continuity of their such efforts ultimately resulted into the formation of revolutionary organization entitled the *Aryadharm Pratibandh Nivarak Mandali*. The main aim of the organization was to carry out secret and underground activities against the British.

Though the Chapekar brothers alongwith the other members of their organization encourage the others to spread the revolutionary activities in various parts of the country. However, they did not have an opportunity to enter into the revolutionary movement by 1896. It was the
plaque and epidemic which, in fact, provided them this opportunity in 1896 when the police authorities started harassing the victims taken to segregated camps, the reckless burning of public property, the outrage perpetrated on women raised an anger of Chapekar brothers against the Britishers. Besides, the countless miseries of the famine and the plight of the plague stricken masses and the excesses committed by the soldiers and officers further infuriated the Chapekars. As a consistent, the bitterness of Chapekars burst out on Sir Walter Charles Rand who was appointed as head of the Plaque Committee. His behaviour and attitude towards Indians was also responsible as he had never taken into consideration the religious and emotional sentiments of the people, their self respect and need for privacy.

While going ahead, the Britishers even celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victorian's rule on 22 June 1897 causing a further hatred among Chapekar brothers towards British. Hence, Sir Charles Rand became victim of their plot as he was shot dead by them on the same date at night at Ganeshkhind, Pune. The three brothers were well prepared to face the consequences and showed no sign of fear when they were hanged in Yeravda prison in Pune in 1898 as Sir Rand succumbed to his injuries a few days later.10

The Chapekar Widows – Silent sacrifiers:

The remarkable sacrifice made by the Chapekar brothers proved to be the harbinger of the impending
revolutionary movement in India. But it resulted into a great setback to their family which lost their parents shortly thereafter. The three widowed young wives – Durgabai Damodar, Yamunabai Balkirshan and Sitabai Vasudeo, living in orthodox Hindu Widowhood, had to face tortures and victimization. The silent sufferings of these women remain unfocused, unattended, unshown and unidentified. They had to undergo tremendous stress and strain from 22nd June 1897 to 18 April 1998 as they were not allowed to visit their husbands in the Jail. They did not even have photographs of their husbands.

Since the two younger widows alongwith children of the family were shifted to Chinchwad to Ganeshpant Chapekar for the children’s education (who educated them upto vernacular final level) the entire responsibility fell on Durgabai Damodar who was only twenty five years old at that time. The fear of the British Raj dominated the mind of the common people to such an extent that all types of contact including the last rites of Yamunabai was avoided. Some of the Chapekar families even changed their Surnames in order to save themselves from the wrath of British oppression.11

Yamunabai and Sitabai did not live very long; it was Durgabai, an iron lady, who shouldered the entire responsibility of the family. She was tonsured (removal of hair) and ate only once a day. She was also branded as “Pandharya Kapalachi” (of evil fate) by the caste Hindus. However, during their hardship, they were financially and
morally supported by Lokmanya Tilak, Dadasaheb Khaparde from Amravati, the Vanmali Trust of Dadar and others. Veer Savarkar had a very high regard for the family. Acharya Atre, Sudhir Phadke and others also rendered self-assistance to the Chapekar family. What is significant to comment here is that though they sacrificed their lives with mere 'rebel sentiments' devoid of any ideological or organized support the revolutionaries like Veer Savarkar and Subhash Chandra Bose were undoubtedly inspired by the Chapekar brothers.

Yesubai Savarkar – A Silent Sacrifier:

Yasoda alias Yesubai, born in 1885 in the Phadke family at Jimbakeshwar near Nasik, was married to Ganesh alias Baba, the eldest son of the Savarkar family, who were *watandar* (land lords) of Bhagur near Nasik town.

The two elder brothers Ganesh and Viyanak (Veer Savarkar) while forming the *Abhinav Bharat*, a secret revolutionary organization at Nasik, were continuously involved in such activities against the British rule. As a consequent, the eldest brother Babarao Savarkar was arrested by police in Mumbai in March 1909 under the charge of “instigating to overthrow his Majesty’s government” by publishing and circulating patriotic books and poems and thereafter, sentenced to life imprisonment in the Andamans.

Similarly, the very next year i.e. in March 1910, Veer Savarkar was arrested in London and was brought to
Mumbai. He was tried in two different cases—one, the famous Nasik Conspiracy Case and the other the Jackson Murder Case. He was also sentenced to life imprisonment for fifty years in the Andamans. The youngest one Narayan Rao, though being a Congress man, was also sentenced to six months imprisonment in the same Nasik conspiracy case.15

Yesubai who never participated in a revolutionary activity but being influenced by the thinking and actions of her husband and his brothers, she realized the importance of their work. As a result, She decided not only to encourage them with her quiet support but also contribute them her own bit as well. She took the pledge to use only {Swadeshi} goods and also formed a women's group in Nasik, i.e., *Atmanishtha Yuvati Sangha*.16

Yesubai helped the families of revolutionaries who had been arrested. She lived with great fortitude and courage during the period when her husband and his brothers were in prison. As everything of house, including vessels, was confiscated by the police on the order of the court as she had to stay with Rambhau Datar’s family17 (Baba Rao’s friend) because of her maternal uncle’s refusal to take her into his house. During this period, Veer Savarkar’s associate and senior colleague and supporters of Indian revolutionaries abroad such as Madam Cama sent thirty rupees every month for the Savarkar family from Paris.18

She continuously had to face insulting behaviour of the people who usually passed humiliating comments on
her as the "wife of a prisoner" and "a burden of the maternal family." She was not even invited to women's celebrations like *haladi*, *kumkum*, etc. Yasubai not only tolerated all this but also stood firmly by the family members of other revolutionaries who were suffering the same fate.

She got some relief only after she was settled with Narayan Rao's family who after becoming a doctor from Calcutta settled in Mumbai. Thereafter, she appealed the government that she should be allowed to meet her husband in the cellular Jail in the *Andamans*. But her appeals were turned down. In 1918, she fell ill and began having hallucinations of her husband's return from the jail. She repeatedly would ask Shantabai (Dr. Narayanrao's wife) to go and do the *arti* to welcome Babarao and bring him in. Lastly, Dr. Narayanrao received a permission letter on 8 February, 1919 from government for allowing her to meet her husband but she had already passed away exactly three days earlier i.e. on 5 February, 1919. A life of about thirty-four years, thus, came to a tragic end.

So far as her contribution to India's Freedom Struggle is concerned she, infact, played a wonderful supportive role for her husband and his brothers and their associates. Her contribution had three aspects; namely, the practice of *swadeshi*; facing the police raids; and her role in the activities of the women's groups, i.e., *Atmanistha Yuvati Sangha*.19

As a fighter for the sake of *swadeshi*, she stopped consuming even sugar as in those days, sugar used to be
imported. She was so firm on her principles that she refused to wear imported bangles on her swollen hands at the death bed as the *swadeshi* bangles were in small size. Shantabai Savarkar prepared bangles of black beads strung with thread for her which she wore till the end.

Many a times, police had to take action against Yashubai for having an objectionable things like bomb manuals, books and other literature including some weapons like knives or pistols, etc. which were banned by the government. She often played a significant role in anticipating the police raids, hiding some of the things in safer places or in neighbourhood houses, or sometime destroying them. She did all this with cool headed and courage. Two following instanced may be cited here in this context. In June 1908, when Vishwanathrao Kelkar, a member of *Abhinav Bharat*, was sent by Babarao to this house after his arrest in Bombay, she successfully hid and destroyed a lot of objectionable material in the same evening with the help of Vishwanathrao and others. Some of the material was also kept in the house of Aba Darekar alias Poet Govind and a few books were burnt by her. In this way, they had already completed the inevitable job just half an hour before the raid was made at the house by the Police.

In another instance, she had to undertake the job very confidently when Babarao was arrested in 1909. She was required to destroy the bombs that lied in Barve's possession, a member of *Abhinav Bharat* and resident of Kothur village. She got the work done by sending message
through Ganpatrao Joglekar, one of Veer Savarkar's classmates who had arrived Nasik that day to meet Savarkar's family to find out any help if they needed at that time. Thus, the bombs were destroyed well in time by the police.²⁵

The significance of Yeshubai's role, infact, may be judged from one more incidents wherein she failed to hid or destroy the objectionable material. It happened in 1909 when Narayanrao could not reach her intime because he was detained by the police after hearing the conversation between Babarao and him on the way at Nasik when the police was bringing Babarao to his house for investigation. As a consequent, the police took into their custody a number of items and documents. They got an address-book also in which there were many names and addresses of almost all the members of Abhinav Bharat. This address-book later on came in handy to build up the Nasik Conspiracy case.²⁶

Beside, her great support to her husband, his brothers and members of Abhinav Bharat, she also made efforts to make Atmanistha Yuvati Sangh a success. It was due to her efforts that the activities of this organization increased. She oftenly went bare foot around Nasik in order to propagate the use of swadeshi among women. She also consoled the wives, sisters and mothers of the members of Abhinav Bharat who were arrested and imprisoned in the Nasik Conspiracy Case. The women of her organization i.e. Atmanistha Yuvati Sangh frequently met each other in order to boost up their morale, sing
patriotic songs. All the songs were composed and published by Babarao for which he was sent to the Andamans jail. These songs survived due to these women despite government's ban on reading and publishing them. Thus, Yeshubai's role though might be limited essentially providing support to the male members of the family who devoted all their lives to the cause of nation.

It is significant to note that she went much beyond from the traditional family responsibilities. It was due to her supportive efforts that Savarkar brothers could kindle the revolutionary fire within the hearts of the youths in surrounding the Nasik area for lighting the torch of freedom in these parts of India.

BENGAL

A careful study of most active male revolutionaries reveals that initially the females had no role to play other than that of sympathizers and supporters only to revolutionary activities performed through various organizations. To pinpoint, it may be said that prior to 1920, there was neither a radical organization exclusively for women nor a formal recruitment of women into revolutionary samitis as well as no mingling of sexes on equal footing. So far as the foundation of revolutionary organisations in Bengal is concerned, it was in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth when a few men (like Chaibakar brothers of Maharashtra) began to conspire against the British Raj without involving women.
The credit for beginning a revolutionary organization like *Anushilan Samiti* goes to Barrister Pramatha Nath Mitra along with Barindra Kumar Ghose, both belonging to Calcutta where they were seeking to channelize the activities of restless young men along revolutionary lines.\(^{28}\) Another revolutionary organization, with a name *Surhid Samiti* was established at Mymen Singh in 1901.\(^{29}\) Similarly, the *Yugantar Samiti* which developed as a federation of revolutionary groups by relentless efforts of Jatin Mukherjee known among revolutionaries, as *Bagh Jatin* or *Jatin Bagh* meant Jatin the Tiger as well as Jatin Da.

Jatin belonged to Kustea sub-division in Nadia district. Before plunging into revolutionary movement, he had already been continuing secret programmes as a short hand typist in Bengal secretariat.\(^{30}\) The activities of the *Yugantar* not only spreaded but accelerated in India and abroad by Narender Nath Bhattacharya (Naren) later on known as M.N. Roy. He was born in 1887 at Arbelia in 24-Parganas. The organizations within revolutionary circles were called as *Dals*, as the basic unit of militant actions operated secretly under a *Dada*, the leader of the group, along with his *Chelas*, a team referring to disciples, *Gurubhai*, (coreligionist) a follower of the same spiritual guide and *Cheladhara* meant one who snares *Chelas* (children) i.e., a kidnapper.

The different *Dals* has their *adda* or rendezvous sports where they would talk armed politics and moot suggestion for future actions. These *addas* usually
continued to be shifted from place to place in order to escape from police arrests. Once the members of their *adda* became known to the police, they had to keep on moving for safer places.\(^{31}\)

It is obvious that almost 90 percent of the revolutionaries who came into these organizations belongs to the higher castes of Bengal, such as Brahman, Vaidya and Kayastha and most of them were between 16 and 30 years old. These high castes formed about 5.6% of the total population of Bengal who had been attending the schools and colleges and they were counted as literate.\(^{32}\) It is further added that about 45 percent of the convicted revolutionaries were students and teachers.

It has been suggested that there had been a long-standing association of violence with the cult of Shakti in Bengal and it was predilection for Shaktism and awareness. Many Bengali political leaders of earlier times had used violence for political ends in nineteenth and twentieth century. Interestingly in the writings of these leading figures of the nineteenth century, historical situations in which violence was used were recounted and idealized.\(^{33}\)

For the revolutionaries, the practice of physical culture and inculcating Hindu doctrine was inevitable. Among the physical exercises, the members practiced *lathi* or club-play and also target shooting whenever they could obtain pistols and ammunition. The eminent revolutionaries *Guha* and Nirad C. Chaudhary while...
testifying with their own statement described that the military drilling was generally practiced. For the liberation of India they took to militant operation as a pious mission for getting justice as told in the *Bhagavad Gita*.

The first arrest of Narender Bhattacharya (Naren) of the *Yugantar Samiti* for the first robbery at railway station of Chingripota, a rail road station near Kodalia, Six hundred rupees were looted by them to testify their activities. When Narender was put to trial in the court of Deputy Magistrate of Sealdah, he was holding a most ‘seditious manuscript’ and a book on ‘modern warfare’. Two types of literature, infact, was published and circulated by the revolutionaries i.e. theoretical and religious texts, like the *Bhagavad Gita* or *Bhawani Mandir* or practical manual - how to make bomb or conduct welfare. The former, as Professor Richard Park has suggested, were often in English, and was for more educated revolutionaries, while the latter was in Bengali.

The revolutionary organizations like *Yugantar Samiti* and *Anushilan Samiti* began to speared there activities nearby regions alongwith the establishment of their branches at local level. Dealing with separate assignments, they were named as “Finance department,” “Violence department” and the “Foreign department”. The “Finance department was to collect money keep records and protect the money.

As far as the tussels and conflicts on different issues within *dals* were concerned there is no material to analyse
their differences in this regard. However, a mutual understanding among *dadas* of different organizations over the distribution of loot or theft, pistols and ammunition can not be denied because of their common goal. The Sedition Committee Report testifies the same while keeping account of at least 44 out of 50 mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of mauser ammunitions looted from Rodda and Co., (a firm of gunmakers in Caucutta) were distributed to at least a different revolutionary groups in Bengal. It further states that the pistols thus distributed were used in 54 cases of dacoity and murders subsequent to August 1914.38

The Bengali women, initially inspired by kinship nexus of patriotism, earned the name for their state (plunging into armed struggle as missionaries) as the ladies of the first province in changing the women’s role and perception in freedom movement. This movement was started during the partition of Bengal in 1905 by Curzon. It included not only mothers and sisters of revolutionaries but also attracted the girl students like Kalpana Dutta and Priti Waddadar, etc.

They fought with guns, hand grenades and bombs as harbinger like missionaries of their militant organizations, with person like Surya Sen as Vanguard against colonialism for their esteemed national cause. All this contributed by them was accomplished in accordance with passive role model in both private and public domains.

Various traditional usages like early marriage, premature motherhood and *purdah* system, pressure of
joint family network, female illiteracy and lack of socio-political knowledge were such obstacles which could not be decisively overcome by them. Besides mental agony, they had to face inevitable social ostracism as well as political harassment. Actually, “Political radicalism and social conservatism for women, “tended to go hand in hand.”

Among various outside (in the revolutionary field) restrictions such as male perspectives, rigid rules and regulations and mode of operations, elements of strict secrecy within the groups, a puritanical emphasis on brahmacharya, rigorous intra-organisational discipline and dangers were involved in direct operations that hampered them in various ways to prolong revolutionary activities alongwith male-flok.

In the first phase of the movement, i.e. first decade of twentieth century, the women were not allowed by dadas to directly participate in the revolutionary activities, their role remained limited as grihi-sabhyas on the periphery of the revolutionary organizations. What were they allowed to perform were the role of mothers, aunts, sisters and sister-in-laws in a compartmentalized social structure to be maintained in such a male-female entanglements atmosphere.

Though they made their level best in rendering their services to inspire and create the feelings of patriotism within or outside the kinship nexus. For example, Smt. Sarojini Devi, widowed sister of Satish Chandra Mukherjee
(later Swami Prajananda Saraswati), and preceptress of Charankavi Mukundadas, inculcated patriotism in youths of both sexes in Barisal. Similarly Jatindranath Mukherjee of the Yugantar was supported by his elder sister Binodebala Devi, with the words: "Let me not hear that the lion is caged."

Radharani Devi, mother of Jibantara Haldar of the Anushilan enjoyed by a neighbour to restrict the activities of her 'recalcitrant birdie' retorted: "If all the mothers restrained their sons, who would work and die for the motherland?" Significantly, the all Tippera Zilla Rajnaitik Sammelan held at Comilla in February 1907 which was chaired by Bipin Chandra Pal was attended by a large number of women who applauded his radical orchestral introduction.

Another notable incident occurred when two hundred ladies paid homage to Bhubneshwari Devi, mother of Bhupendernath Dutta of the Yugantar, on 24 July 1907 when he was convicted for the publication of two seditious articles in Yugantar (16 June 1907). "You never got any recognition for being Vivekananda's mother", joked Bhupendernath after his release, "but you got a public reception for being my mother." Further, the rising popularity of Suprabhat among urban middle class women also reflect their substantial interest in the revolution as its editor Kumudini Mitra published autobiographies of revolutionaries, inflammatory poetry and articles on the revolutionary women the world over. "Great today the
immortal deadly death," she published, "let the ashes from the pyre ornament thy fiery body."46

The most remarkable contribution made by devoted mothers of the revolutionaries during the first decade of twentieth century was providing shelter to 'absconders', giving them financial help, and hiding their arms and ammunition etc., as they were not allowed to perform the revolutionary activities in the field. One of such daring lady was Jagatlara Devi, mother of Narendramohan Sen of Anushilan at Narandia, Sonargaon, Dacca, who gave asylum to fugitive revolutionaries at her residence, inspite of repeated police harassment and searches.47

Similarly at Sutrapur, Dacca the mother of another Anushilan revolutionary, Pratulchandra Ganguly, Bagalasundari Devi not only gave shelter but also helped 'absconders' free by scaling backyard walls during police raids. While testifying the same, Pratulchandra himself wrote, "my mother continued to assist revolutionaries with shelter, food and money."48 Besides, Kailashbasini, wife of Jatindralochan Mitra of Beadon Row, Calcuttan was a woman of extraordinary courage. She hid Mauser pistols on her body in the guise of a garbhabati and threw live cartridges into a steaming pot of dal in order to evade the arrest of her son Hemlochan Mitra, an activist of Yugantar. She got it done successfully without taking her husband into confidence.49

The study of the contemporary research materials like Government circulars, Proceedings of Home Department,
diaries of revolutionaries, newspapers and journals etc. reveal numerous daring women who were involved in wider range of revolutionary activities in Bengal during the second decade of twentieth century. Since the militant activities were on rise, the shelter to 'fugitives' usually required to be accomplished. Interestingly, the women did not lag behind in making all feasible efforts in Zenanas as *Grihakartris* to meet out the demands as well as couriers, sometimes in disguise.

The performance of Nanibala Devi, a Brahmin childwidow, daughter of Suryakanta Banarjee of Bally, Hawarah, is noteworthy in this regard. While pretending to be wife of a condemned activist, Ramachandra Majumdar of *Yugantar*, lodged at Presidency Jail, she successfully gathered information about Mauser pistols from him. Not only this but she gave shelter also to 'fugitives' in Riksha and Chandannagar. As a consequent, she had to become absconder but arrested later on at Peshawar and convicted as the first and only woman state prisoner under Regulation III of 1818 (1917).

The credit for becoming first women rebel who was sentenced to two year's rigorous imprisonment under the Arm Act (1917) goes to Dukoribala Devi, wife of Phanibhushan Chakravorty of Jhaupara Birbhum. Even being mother of two infants, she became involved in *Atmammati Samiti's* Rodda operation owing to which she was convicted. Durgamani Paine, mother of Nishikant Paine of Chhabipur, Barisal, sheltered *Anushilan* 'absconders' at Dacca without her son's knowledge. Since
she was interned by the police she fled to her native village to die as social outcast.53. What is significant in regard is that such cases adequately intend to reply those who may assume that being ignorant and apolitical, these women were drawn into politics of violence through family linkages for the protection of their kith and kin. They, infact, were quit aware of the dire consequences of their actions entailed within and outside the families.

Further, there might be numerous hindrances in their way like orthodox familial tradition, male centric socio-political values in the name of so called martiality as well as complexities and technicalities involved in revolutionary struggle which, of course, did not permit them to adopt an overt role. However, their covert or passive role within and outside the families in no way was less significant to those of active male revolutionaries during the early two decades of twentieth century.

Women in Organised Struggle:

The involvement of women in freedom struggle through the extremist societies/smitis started with a molecular minority first time in 1920s. While opting the creed of violence as an effective weapon against British Raj, they plunged into agitational politics without a proper leadership like Gandhi, though they recognized the significance of the mass character of Gandhian movements:

We respected Gandhi's great role in mass awakening but failed to find a single instance in history of
Swaraj-won through non-violence. Freedom had to be seized by force not obtained by mutual concessions.\textsuperscript{54}

The earlier revolutionary organizations directly or indirectly opened a new chapter in the field of militant politics. Besides, the emergence of female organizations also during the same decade may further be noticed as a new development in this regard. In Dacca, Leelavati Nag with twelve others of the Dacca University founded the Deepali Sangh in 1923 which was later absorbed into Anil Ray's revolutionary Sree Sangh. She, thereafter, still leading the organization emphasizing the full development of women in order to prepare them for inclusion in revolutionary cell structure.

Significantly, besides participation in the revolutionary activities, the members of this organization also participated in social work programmes for the removal of overall disabilities of women educational, social, economic and political – became essential for women's involvement in revolutionary activities. This dual role model visualized women's emancipation for social bondage as well as freedom for political tutelage.\textsuperscript{55} The other organizations which included women in their militant activities were Bengal volunteers (BV) organized by Hemchandra Ghosh and Chattogram Revolutionary Party (CRP) led by Surya Kumar Sen.

Apart from the above bipalbi (revolutionary) organizations, the enthusiastic and mature student leaders most of whom being well read and influenced by the
revolutionary study material dealing with Russian Revolution of 1917 and revolutionary incidents took place in contemporary Ireland also floated students organizations in Bengal. For example, in Calcutta, post-graduate students of the Calcutta University, Kalyani Das, Surama Mitra and Kamala Das Gupta pioneered the establishment of Chhatri Sangh (1928). It aimed at the political, intellectual and physical growth of its members for full-fledged participation in student movements against the Raj at part with male counterparts. Similarly, Comilla Chhatri Samiti under Pratibha Bhadra and Parul Mukherjee, Tripura Zilla Chhatri Sangh led by Santi Ghosh and Barisal Shakti Bahini of Santisudha Ghosh helped in the dissemination of radical thoughts through published literature in distant muffasil belts.

These associations, by selective recruitment and rigorous training, brought women to the threshold of direct revolutionary operations. They were particularly active in Bengal Dacca, Comilla and Chittagong being the stormy centers.

In the 1922, a major outbreak taking place in Bengal Provincial Congress decisively helped the 'absconders' and underground revolutionaries in their rejoining public life. The formation of Swaraj Party within Congress by C.R. Das (after his resignation as Congress President on 31 December 1922) alongwith Moti Lal Nehru, etc differed with Congress leadership on the revolutionary activities. While opening the gates of Congress Party provided opportunity to the revolutionaries wherein they could have
sufficient time and space to expand their polices and area of operation. The Swarajist leaders who in fact differed in principle with Gandhi's policy of Non-cooperation wanted to bring out the rapid collapse of diarchy system through the entry into the legislature with a majority. The Swarajist leadership wanted to use the opportunity through a policy of obstruction in the legislature.  

The Swaraj Party was a minority, challenging faction within Congress and an organization running candidates for legislatures outside the purview of the Congress. The Swarajists were called the "Pro-Changers", while the Gandhians were labelled as the "No-Changers or Whole-Hoggers" terms which had to do with the attitude of party or faction towards the Gandhian programme.

It is significant to add that when the delegates to attend All India Congress Committee annual session four important revolutionaries namely Amerendra Chattarji (ex-absconder) Upen Banerji (ex-convict) Bepin Ganguli (ex-convict) and Satyen Mitter (ex-dentue). Contested election in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Satyen Mitter, Bepin Ganguly, Bhupati Mazumdar (ex-state prisoner), Gopen Ray (ex-convict) and Amarendra Chattarji, while Monoranjan Gupta (ex-state prisoner) was one of the Assistant Secretaries. On the Executive Council of this Committee were Gopen Ray, Amarendra Chatterji and Bepin Ganguly. Most of these individuals at the time of their election appeared to have held anti-council entry desired to serve their own ends is apparent from the fact that C.R. Dass gained them over to his side before or at
the Gaya session of the Congress in December, 1922. How C.R. Das gained their support was, at that time, a mystery, for it was known that his policy had little chance of success at the Gaya Congress, but information subsequently received indicates that he entered into a definite pact with these revolutionaries. In April 1923, the 24 Pargana police learnt; “the Swaraj Party...had agreed to cooperate with revolutionaries as long as the latter abstained from overt acts and that as soon as revolutionary methods were adopted the Swaraj Party would stand aside and would not interfere”.60

The aim and objective of revolutionaries to move into the Congress organization was simple to understand that they wanted help to build a party that was not merely a Calcutta affair, but had some roots in every district of Bengal. Their same motive is testified by a Government Intelligence Report of 1924 which gleans that the revolutionaries aimed at control of the Bengal Congress and had made certain agreements with C.R. Dass secretly.61

Apart from the differences emerging within Congress, another decisive factor was the opening of various institutions which could pave further a way in accelerating the revolutionary activities. Since the beginning of girls education a new outlook and vision began to developed among the girl students. A good number of institutions were established for the growth of girls education. It is noteworthy that the earliest established girls school in Bengal was Barasat Girls’ school founded by the Peary
Charan Sircar and others in 1847 and the first school was founded by John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune in May 1849 in Calcutta popularly known as Bethune School.\textsuperscript{62} By the efforts of the leaders national education movement since 1905 began to increase rapidly. According to official statistics, 190 national secondary and higher educational institutions were operating in Bengal during 1921-22 with approximately 15000 students including both male-female.\textsuperscript{63} It is further added that by the years 1927, thirteen percent of female population of school going age was studying in Bengal.\textsuperscript{64}

The second decade of the twentieth century was such a time in the history of Bengal when female educated youth power was available to be deployed as a recruited missionaries in organizations already engaged in militant politics. To the revolutionary leadership, education became a necessary pre-requisite for women recruits selected for training as professional activists. Extremist ideology spread rapidly through private conservations, circulation of prohibited literature and contacts between newly recruited revolutionaries i.e. Chelas and dadas of the dals.

Among the educational institutions that pioneered female activist leadership in Calcutta, Bethune collegiate school was the \textit{alma mater} of rebel recruits. Radicalism in Bethune college reached at a high peak when a successful \textit{hartal} on 3 February 1928 took place and also in the Government College for women in support of All India Simon Commission Boycott Programmes.\textsuperscript{65}
Other schools and Colleges of Calcutta that emulated Bethune college in a more restricted form included Scottish Church Collegiate School, Victoria Institution, Diocesan College and Brahmo Girls' School. In the East Bengal, within the precincts of Faizannissa Girls' School, Comilla, Dr. Kastagir Girls’ School, Comilla, Dr. Kastagir Girls's School, Chattogram and Eden High School, Dacca, newly recruited 'rebels' therein came to support nationalist activities.66

The first demonstration of female militant students occurred in the mementous session of the Calcutta Congress in December 1928 when 128 female volunteers who formed the Women's Volunteer Crops under the overall inspiration of Subhash Chandra Bose. This Crops under the leadership of Col. Latika Ghosh, paraded in public in full uniform.67 The participation of female students in students' politics had become so prominent by this time that in May 1929, the Chhatra Sammelan of Chattogram was converted into Chhatra-Chhatri Sammelan in order to accommodate girls students, thus, signifying equality of the sexes in political protest movements.68

It is further reported that more than 1,000 women attended the All Tippera Students Conference held in May 1931 under the leadership of Subhash Chandra Bose who while openly the conference declared that brave youths should resort to violent methods as a political weapon. He further added in his fiery speech that 'every man and woman, especially womenfolk, to carry daggers'.69
Although the repression by government of Bengal carried on simultaneously since 1923 onwards but the commitment as well as high morale of experienced *dadas* of the organizations *(dals)* and enthusiasm inculcated among the new comers *(Chelas)* mainly from above discussed educational institutions always forced the balance to tilt in favour of rebels. However, the significant political events which exposed British repression in its extreme like the martyrdom of Jatin Das (1929), the police assault on the students of the Presidency College (1930), and the Hijli incident (1931), the female student community of Bengal worked for the extremist politics.70

What is significant to be noted is that the trend of female’s joining into revolutionary organizations resulted into the emergence of self-confident and organized women power on radical nationalism. Further, it also raised question on some social aspects to some extent like joint family nexus and tradition gender perspectives etc.

**Overt Revolutionary Raids:**

Since various revolutionary organizations had grown in 1930s (the second phase of revolutionary movement of Bengal) wherein young women joined in a great number required to discharge their duties as per the strategy and ideology of their concerned group.

The *Anushilan*, for instance, insisted upon character building and their involvement in intra-organisational networks for all-India uprisings. On the other hand, the
leadership of the Yugantar Samiti encouraged women participation in individual acts of violence. And Leelabati, the leader (after the merger of her organization Depali Sangh into Sree Sangh) laid stress on the full development of women in order to prepare them for inclusion in revolutionary cell-structures.\textsuperscript{71} Whereas, the Bengal Volunteers (B.V.) led by Hemchandra Ghosh involved in preparing the women revolutionaries by propagating through Chalar Pathe, published by the Benu Group (1929). Their ideology may be simply assessed by the caption of its first issue which depicted a ferociously beautiful unshackled woman: "Today the drama of destruction has begun!"\textsuperscript{72}

The idealistic approach of Surya Kumar Sen of the Chattogram Revolutionary Party (C.R.P.) to female recruitment stemmed from an intense desire to hold up women revolutionaries an example to other women:

I want the women of India to stand by the side of men with district identity and equal rights. Let the example of ...(female) courage and extreme self sacrifice resuscitate them.\textsuperscript{73}

The credit for giving equal membership to women in the party cadre first time in the history of revolutionary organizations in Bengal goes to the Shree Sangh leadership including Anil Roy and Leelabati Nag.\textsuperscript{74} Going ahead the, Anushilan Samiti, the Yugantar group, C.R.P. and Bengal Volunteers even developed women cells within their organisations in order to give them some sort of autonomy
so that they could carry their role at their discretion as per need of the time. In this regard, Ramesh Acharya of Anushilan, Akhil Nandi and Rasillal Das of the Yugantar, Purnendu Dastidar of the C.R.P., Nikhunja Sen of the Bengal Volunteers played a significant role in implementing a social equilibrium within their respective organizations. As a result, women revolutionaries, themselves took initiatives in the formation and launching of their task forces in the Samities.

Besides, the female leaders within their frontal organizations played a decisive role in motivating and recruiting the young girls, for both overt and covert activities, to their respective dals comprised of Prafulla Nolini Brahma of the Comilla Yugantar, Protibha Bhadra of the Comilla Anushilan, Indumati Singh of the C.R.P., Renuka Sena of the Sri Sangh and Kamla Das Gupta of Bengal Volunteers. For admission to organization, a physical and mental of aspiring girl was conducted before her training.

The recruitment work was generally made either by organizations like the Deepali Sangh, the Chhatri Sangh, etc. or by individual in school/colleges, libraries, hostels etc. It is interesting to note that within women cell of the organizations the principle of hierarchy worked, the cell in-charge were fully responsible to the leader of their respective groups/associations which in turn directly had to be accountable to the dada of the there respective dal.

It was the attitude of dadas and their top associates towards their female counterparts by which each cell
operated on respect, confidence and comradeship. Each type of duty assigned to members within cell-structure was considered equally important and was discharged as per specific schedule and strict discipline under their respective leaders.

Though the work load might usually, overlapped, however, the concerned activist had to discharge it within time. For example, Kamala Chatterjee (Yugantar) who was incharge of recruitment assisted in underground party work also and Indumati imparted physical and moral instruction to newcomers of the C.R.P., Prafulla Nolini Brahma specialized in target shooting to train women of the Comilla Yugantar; Kalpana Dutt (C.R.P.) experimented with gun-cotton for the preparation of explosive; Renuka Sen Gupta, Anupama Basu and Helena Bal acted as caretakers of Sree Sangh Armoury; Bakul Dutta (Sree Sangh) and Bimal Protibha Devi collaborated in political dacoities at Bhawanipur and Manikotlla; Sushasini Ganguly (Yugantar) sheltered Chattogram ‘fugitives’ at Chandarnagare in 1930.

The women revolutionaries did not remain confined only to their cells but also extended their activities towards the establishment of all-Bengal interparty connections to build up united struggle against the foreign rule. The prominent ones who worked for joint venture Santisudha Ghosh who was at a work for unity among the Deepali Sangh, the Chattri Sangh and the Saktibahini; Bimal Pratibha Debi of the Yugantar was associated with all most all the revolutionary organizations in Bengal and
Kalpana Dutt, (C.R.P.) participated in many of Surya Sen’s dynamic schemes starting with the Chittagong Dynamite Conspiracy and Preeti Waddadar herself led in Pahartali Club raid. Ujjala Mazumdar (B.V.) worked in the assassination attempt on Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal at Darjeeling on 8 May 1934. As a result, she was condemned to life imprisonment. Similarly, Parul Mukherjee (Anushian) who was directly involved in inter-provincial Titagarh Conspiracy Case, absconded for four years until she was arrested on 20 January 1935.

All such overt revolutionary actions sufficiently indicate that women of Bengal were increasingly participating in all round revolutionary activities during thirties of the twenty century.

So far as the position of women within party either as an Independent leader of the group or as associate was concerned, the male compatriots usually kept them second in command, instrumental but not as determining figure(s). The only exception of Leelabati Nag who successfully elevated to the apex position of the Sree Sangh may be taken as a unique instance wherein a woman was independently in command of a revolutionary group in India. Ever her female counterpart revolutionaries of world fame like Vera Figner of Russia, Rosa Luxemburg of Germany, Constance de Markievicz of Island acted as equals of their male compatriots but never obtained an opportunity to hold independent charge.

Interestingly, Leelabati’s leadership was challenged by some male associates within her organization. She
successfully took up the challenge and proved her deserving capability. Even setting aside her social work, she completely dedicated herself to strengthen the organization in various ways. These included for making indigenous bombs, collection of arms and ammunitions, creation of party arsenals, fund-raising campaigns, establishment of secret asylums, circulation of seditious pamphlets, rapid expansion of the branches of the Samitis and co-ordination of diverse revolutionary groups.83

Police record testifies that her organization the Sree Sangh was involved in undertaking more than twenty-six daring exploits from 1930 and 1932 and it had developed as one of the most dangerous terrorist organisations of Bengal.84

A neo-emerged female stuff well trained as well as fully committed to militant nationalism seemed to be always ready in discharging their duties assigned by their organizations in the service of motherland. Their overt participation in direct act of violence during those years of thirties proved, infact, a landmark in the history of women’s contribution to the national cause.

The Chattogram Yuba Bibroha in April 1930 may be seen as a first of its similar actions where in a clear intension of women rebels is indicated to change the earlier mind-set about the image of Indian women. Thereafter, Santi Ghosh and Suniti Chowdhary (Yugantar), two girls in their teens, both students of Faizunnisa girls’ school shot dead G.B. Stevens, District Magistrate of
Comilla, on 14 December 1931. They were arrested and given life sentences. Bina Das, daughter of Beni Madav Das (who had been a teacher of Subhash Bose) of Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, was a student of Diocesan College, Calcutta, and did not belong to any organization also proved herself a revolutionary in true sense.

On 6 February 1932, when Sir Standby Jackson, the Governor of Bengal (being Chancellor of Calcutta University) was delivering the convocation address at University, Bina Das rose from seat, took a few steps and shot at the Governor. The shot whipped past Governor's ear. Though she was caught but continued to fire till her ammunition was exhausted. For her, the post of Governor was a symbol of authority and power which represented a system that had kept enslaved three hundred millions of her countrymen and country women for long period.

Chittagong Armoury Raid, Dynamite Conspiracy and Pahartali Club Raid:

The heroic deeds of revolutionary women reached at the peak when two prominent activist girls of C.R.P. viz. Kalpana Dutt and Preeti Vaddadar transformed the individual armed activities into a strategic and well organized raids on British establishments. For that purpose, they choose the military and other administrative centers, police barracks, telegraph offices, clubs and court premises, etc. where the British bureaucrats, other officers and employees visited in a good number so that the foreigners could face an enormous loss of both lives and
property. The two prominent revolutionary girl students of Bethune College, Calcutta, had undergone a multi-facet training while carrying overt raids conducted by their compatriots under the dynamic leadership of their dada Surya Sen popularly known as Masterda. Preeti being lucky enough got opportunity to lead independently a group of eight male compatriots to Pahartali club raid.

Kalpana Dutt infact, had come from Chattri Sangha to C.R.P. founded in 1918 by Surya Sen, Anant Singh and Ganesh Ghosh. After remaining in detention from 1924 to 1928 under Regulation III of 1818 or Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, they joined the District Congress with Surya Sen as Secretary for their clandestine meetings and plans. So far as the ideology of their organization was concerned, Suryasen had got inspiration from Irish revolution or the Easter Week rebellion in Ireland that is why he named his organization as the “Indian Republican Army, Chittagong Branch” after the Irish Republican Army. He himself was President and considering Dan Breen as his ideal usually kept his book “My Fight for Irish Freedom” with him. Their programme was “to do and die” as against Gandhi’s “do or die”.

As per plan, the Chittagong Armoury was raided by the party on 18 April, 1930, at 10 in the evening led by Surya Sen alongwith other simultaneous attacks upon the telegraph office and police barrack thus paralyzing the district administration. At the same time, a leaflet was broadcasted all over the town in which Gandhiji had given a call to break the laws and so they would break the law of
treaon. Another leaflet was also broadcasted pertaining to the object of the raid and disclosing the terrorist party named Indian Republican Army, the Chittagong Branch with Masterda as its President. In the raid, the Union Jack was burnt down and the national tricolour flag was hoisted by Surya Sen was and saluted by the revolutionaries.92 In the action, Anant Singh and Ganesh Ghosh were captured and faced trial with many others but Masterda absconded.93

Kalpana joined C.R.P. through Manoranjan Ray (a leader of C.R.P. living in Calcutta) when Surya Sen alongwith other was planning to release of those in jail by blowing up the jail walls by the explosion of dynamite. She, being science student, was given the task of preparing gun cotton and other explosives to be used in famous Dynamite Conspiracy.94 She prepared it at her home in Sripur village with the formula sent to her by Anant Singh.95

Her parents assumed that she was carrying out practical experimental work. Some of that huge explosive was smuggled into jail and kept buried there. Some of it was also buried at some important road crossings and centers all over the town. However, their plan failed because police were extremely watchful and alert, interrogating and detaining suspected trouble markers. Arms, electric wires, explosive, daggers, etc. were unearthed inside and outside the jail and dynamite sticks were found buried in court premises. Eight revolutionaries were tried in the dynamite conspiracy which began before a
special tribunal. Kalpana, however, escaped from the arrest due to lack of concrete evidence against her.

It was Kalpana Dutt who introduced Preeti Waddadar to Surya Sen. Thereafter, both girls were continuously involved in a lot of revolutionary actions which included encounters with police and military on more than one occasion. Both had to lead jointly as per scheme the famous attack on a European Railway Club at Pahartali which was visited by British officers and their wives for drinks and dancing every Saturday night. However, a week prior to the attack, Kalpana was arrested when she was on her way to meet Surya Sen dressed in a male attire.

24 September, 1932, was one such Saturday when eight boys attacked the club with bombs and gun shots under Preeti’s leadership. Though all the boys went back unhurt but Preeti never came back as she immolated herself but consuming potassium cyanide and collapsed dead—about 10 yards away from the club House. A splinter wound on her breast had soaked her shirt in blood.

In this way, she became first martyr in the cause of revolutionary struggle in Bengal. Kalpana on hearing her martyr by a D.I.B. Inspector was upset at the loss of her friend and wished they had been together out alive. Within a couple of days after getting released on bail Kalpana became fugitive in December 1932. On February 12, 1933 she alongwith Surya Sen and others led an encounter with police at Gairala village when Surya Sen was arrested because of betrayal by a neighbour. In May
1933, she planned to rescue Surya Sen but failed. An attempt on May 19, 1933, while in a shelter at Gahira village at an encounter with military force, she ultimately decided to surrender as witnessing the killing of many innocent persons. In the trail which began on 15 June 1933, Surya Sen, Tarakeshwar Dastidar were sentenced to death but the Special Tribunal did not give her a death sentence since she was a woman and of young age.

After six years, in May 1939, due to special efforts made by her father who appealed to Gandhi, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Reverend C.F. Andrews, Kalpana was released. Therefore, she went back to Chittagong and started working for Communist Party.

**Captain Laxmi Sehgal and Rani Jhansi Regiment of I.N.A.**

Captain (Dr.) Laxmi Sehgal was born in 1914 with a golden spoon in mouth was brought up and educated in western environment as her father Swaminathan being Barrister lived in a friend circle of various British officers. It would not be wrong to say that she acted as a heroin in INA activities in South-East Asia during II World War. In her early days she considered Gandhiji as an angel and donated her jewellery to Indian National Congress as she was influenced by her mother who was a true Gandhian. However, she later on tilted towards socialism after coming in Suhansini Chattopadhyay's contact. Suhashini (a communist and named in the course of trial of Meerut Conspiracy Case) had come to stay with Laxmi's family for the time being on the invitation of her mother.
It was against that background that the idea of joining the *Azad Hind Fauj* and accepting Netaji’s leadership appealed to her despite her mother never liked Subhash’s approach in regard to freedom movement of the country. After serving for a short at Victoria Cross Hospital at Madras as a gynaecologist, she sailed to Singapore on 11 June 1940 on the invitation of her friend as there was no lady doctor there.

On the formation of *Indian National Army*, out of the prisoners by Japanese in Singapore, Laxmi not only joined it but also urged the doctor friends in the British Army to join *I N.A.*

The arrival of Netaji in South-East Asia and the charge of the *I.N.A.* as well as Indian National Plan of forming a women’s wing of *Azad Hind Fauj* (a changed names of *I.N.A.* by Netaji) was taken by him changed the whole scenario. Dr. Laxmi who had already decided to dedicate her life for national cause was now enchanted and excited on hearing Netaji’s plan to develop *Rani Jhansi Regiment* of *I.N.A.* She immediately decided to present a guard of honour to Netaji by twenty rifle-bearing women on the occasion. Thereafter, she collected twenty women trained them with the help of a *havaldar* from *Azad Hind Fauj* presented the guard of honor to Netaji.

He was so impressed by her leading capacity at the time of its inauguration on 22 October 1943 that he himself asked her to lead the regiment. As its commander, it is noteworthy, and due to her commitment,
the number of female cadets grew day by day and soon reached to a hundred. And when a camp was organized with Netaji's assistance, despite disagreement of Japanese with an idea of a women's regiment, the number of cadets further rose to five hundred within three weeks. She was also given another responsibility i.e. the portfolio of Minister for Women and Children in the *Arzi-Hukumat Azad-i-Hind* i.e. Provincial Government of Free India announced by Netaji on 27 October 1943.\(^\text{106}\) Besides, the chairmanship of Indian Independence League was also given to her.

The other eminent women who actively contributed to *Rani Jhansi Regiment* included Manavati Arya, Kesar Kaur (havildar), and Narayani Ammal.

On shifting the headquarters of the Azad Hind Government from Singapore to Rangoon, Laxmi also had to leave for Rangoon where she built up the *Platoon* of the *Rani Jhansi Regiment*. She also used to train the women to help and organize things for daily military use like preparing bandages from old *sarees*, dry fruit packets, etc. She also got an opportunity to participate in a *guerrilla platoon* commanded by colonel Shah Nawaj khan, the first March towards Imphal. The first batch of women's regiment had proceeded to war front and Laxmi alongwith two other officers and ten soldiers set out for Maymo to join the platoon.

After traveling two days by military trucks, she joined the *platoon* and continued with training and practice for
two months. In the battle, she hardly saved herself along with her female cadets by jumping into a trench when the enemy planes attacked their camp in broad daylight as the women platoon did not have anti-aircraft guns. After the fall of Imphal, she also played a role of doctor on the battle-front when a number of soldiers were suffering from malaria and dysentery because of sudden heavy rain on Indo-Burmese border.

On returning back to headquarters, she set a small hospital for the army at Ziawadi which was supposed to be a no war zone but it vanished away on account of heavy bombardment. After sending back her nurses, she proceeded to work with fellow doctors. While on the way to headquarters, she had to face bombing but finally reached Kalawa where she was arrested along with her fifteen colleagues. She had to pass a harsh life of a prisoner continuously walking for three months through jungles without proper food and bath. Her clothes were muddy, torn all over and smelt foul due to perspiration. She along with her colleagues were taken to Rangoon.

She was taken to the house of one of her Burmese acquaintances and allowed to visit other known persons after one month. After some days, she was permitted to start medical practice in a private dispensary which turned into a meeting place for the members of Azad Hind Fauj. As a result, all the members celebrated the anniversary of the founding of the Azad Hind Fauj. They had a flag salutation programme. On publishing an article on the programme together with the photographs by the Calcutta newspaper,
Deshbhakt\textsuperscript{108} the British administration got alert. She was again put under house arrest. One morning she was taken away is an air force plane. When it crossed the Indo-Burmese border, the officer sitting next to her stood up and informed that she had been released. She had returned India after six years but it was not the India of her dreams.

**UTTAR PRADESH**

Like Maharashtra and Bengal, the soil of Uttar Pradesh also did not lag behind in producing its sons and daughters for adopting anti-colonial attitude through the language of pistols and bombs. Wrapped in the ideology of socialism, their actions particularly in northern India aimed at not only to destroy the British Raj with its own sources but also to give a counter challenge to the hegemony of the 'feminised' Gandhian Congress movement as the only legitimate movement for the political liberation of the country.\textsuperscript{109} While preferring to be called as Krantikaris against Gandhiwadis, they carried on their movement as the second strand in accordance with the revolutionary ideology under the banner of a prime organisation, the *Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (H.S.R.A.)*.

Interestingly the leadership of this party not only added the word socialist to express the aim of this organization later established connections with the Communist Party of India (CPI) in 1928.\textsuperscript{110} Founded by Ram Prasad 'Bismil' and Sachindernath Sanyal (the
dedicated and committed revolutionaries) in 1924, this organisation became famous along with the Kakori Robbery Case accomplished on 9 August 1925. However, the organisation got a severe setback after the trial of its main leaders including Ashfaqulla Khan, Roshan Singh, Rajender Lahiri and Ram Prasad 'Bismil' who were hanged by British government while others were sent to the jails.

It would have been unfortunate on the part of H.S.R.A. leadership that they did not rather could not recruit the female activists at least at a countable number. Family support, in fact, in anyway for violent activities was very important. Since women were not supposed to do 'anything outside the four walls', 'Also in those days neither girls nor wives could do that their parents and husbands did not like respectively'. Significantly, in contrast to Gandhi's non violent satyagraha where the women enjoyed both leadership and family support, there was no chance for them in revolutionary strand. However, a few who joined the movement by hiding their involvement from family ultimately had to face repercussion.

Whenever their covert activities were disclosed, the extended families particularly in-laws, disowned their daughter-in-law. For example, Raj Kumari Gupta had to face the same fate when her in-laws even published an item in the local news paper Vir Bharat saying that 'We have no relationship with her'. Though much is not known about her revolutionary activities, what is significant to add is that, she was in-charge of supplying the revolvers to
the men during the operation of Kakori robbery. As she herself told, "I hid the revolvers in my underwear and wore *khadi* clothes on top. My three years old son accompanied me." Interestingly, she and her husband Madan Mohan Gupta were members of the Congress Working Committee and also worked very closely with Chander Shekhar Azad, a well known revolutionary and leader of the *H.S.R.A.*

Another revolutionary woman who in fact was an Irish lady by birth but she was known as Savitri Devi. She was a divorcee and ran a Montessory School at Allahabad after she settled there. It seems that she remained in regular touch with some members of the *H.S.R.A.* Yashpal, a leading Hindi novelist of the period, who being a member of this organisation was a declared absconder and was given shelter by Savitri Devi in her house. On January 22, 1932 when the police raided the house, both were arrested from her house. She being of high moral, however, did not disclose any of names or informations about 'Yashpal's friends and their activities as well as mission. After trial, she was declared guilty of harbouring an absconder and of concealing two revolvers. As a consequent she was sentenced to five year's rigorous imprisonment. After her release from prison, she died of cancer, unwept, unsung and unhonoured.

Another remarkable example of women's commitment towards the revolutionary mission may further be corroborated in regard to the Hindi speaking belt. The *Benares Youth League*, a revolutionary organisations like *H.S.R.A.*, whose activities were centring round Benaras
also recruited some young women for the national cause. A leading newspaper of the then time gleans in regard to the Benaras Bomb Case that bomb making materials were recovered from the house of two young women associates, Mrs. Mrinalini and Radha Rani Debi, both from a middle-class background. Both of them were activists of the Benaras Youth League and had earlier taken part in picketing. However, being disappointed on the Gandhian non violent programmes, they joined militant politics. The third person accused in the similar case was Jogmaya, a young girl, who was daughter of Mrinalini. All the three apprehend under sections 4 and 5 of the Explosive Substance Act and Section 19F of the Arms Act.

PUNJAB

The role of the Punjab revolutionaries to the national movement deserves to be recorded back to the Kuka movement founded by Guru Ram Singh in 1871. He trained his disciples in religio-political framework at Bhaini Saheb as his headquarter. The Kukas (Namdhari Sikhs) had to stand bravely against tyranny and injustice, and the protection of cow and poor were the tenets of this sect.

When the Kukas started killing a number of butchers at Amritsar, Malaud, Raikot and Malerkotla, Government started action against them. At Sherpur (Patiala), a campaign was started against them in which 50 were shot dead 16 were publicly hanged. The Indian Princes, rulers of the Cis-Sutlej had joined their forces with British police. Their Guru Ramdas along with his 12 lieutenants was
deported to Rangoon via Allahabad where he passed away in 1885. They had recruited a number of women also as their disciples. Among them Bibi Attari who regarded herself as the ‘Spiritual Wife’ of Guru Ram Singh attempted to establish herself at Bhaini Sahab and used to preach the tenets of the sect. She kept on receiving letters of Guru Ram Singh wherein he even enquired about the Kabul war between England and Russia.

The other important women attached to Kuka movement were bibi Bholi, a relative of Guru Ram Singh, Inder Kaur and Khem Kaur who witnessed the tragic encounter between the Kukas and the state police at Malerkotla in January 1872 in which 49 Kukas were blown off by cannons. Similarly, Lachhmi of Rawalpindi provided shelter to the Kuka revolutionaries and helped them in hiding their bags at the time of emergency.

Individual Activities:

The revolutionaries activities in Punjab, infact, started during the first decade of 20th century on individual bases. Sarla Devi Ghosal of Bengal turning into Sarla Devi Chaudharani after her marriage to Pandit Ram Bhaj Dutt Chaudhary of Lahore in 1905 was instrumental in establishing link between the revolutionaries of Bengal and Punjab. She had played a significant role in the formation of one revolutionary organisation i.e. Surhid-Samiti (founded at Mymen Singh in Bengal) in 1901 as a benevolent institution to the revolutionary activities. After settled down at Lahore, her house was regularly visited by
revolutionaries of both the provinces—Ajit Singh, Sufi Amba Prasad from Punjab, Mitra, Mrs and Mr. Biswas, Sita Charan from Bengal etc.\textsuperscript{121} She started collecting 'Revenge Fund' to secure the release of the Lala Lajpat Rai and others under trial.\textsuperscript{122} Owing to her revolutionary activities she was put under surveillance by the state government.\textsuperscript{123} In 1919 she converted to Gandhian ideology and adopted non-violence ideals.\textsuperscript{124}

Another daring woman Satyawati Talwar, wife of Ram Saran Das Talwar of Kapurthala, set an example of faith and loyalty in the name of 'friendship' for the sake of revolutionary mission. Persuaded by her husband to stay with Rashbehari Bose (eminent revolutionary of Bengal) as his wife in a rented house at Lahore for some days and she abided by the required emergency. Both stayed together for sometime as 'husband-wife' and evaded the police suspicion. Though both of them did not understand the language of each other yet she did not disclose anything about themselves.

When Bose left Punjab after completion his mission, she went back to Kapurthala and joined her family.\textsuperscript{125} This daring act based on a highest mutual consent between husband and wife, which even evaded the aspects of sacrilege and a sin to their traditional family values may be seen as unequivocal manifestation of human beings whereby national cause stands above the relationship.

There was another Punjabi woman Ram Rakhi wife of a revolutionary Bhai Bal Mukand of Lahore. While going
ahead than Yeshubai Savarkar of Maharashtra, she sacrificed her life in the same way by which her husband was tortured to death by the Punjab police in the jail. Her husband was detained in jail for participating in Lord Hardinge Bomb case in 1912. Ram Rakhi saw a specimen of the black jail bread mixed with sand as his food and a dark hot cell for his sleep as shown by him after her enquiry about the same. After that meeting she also started leading the same life style and eating bread mixed with sand and adopted the floor as her bed till her death. Not only this, but she permanently sat in a bridal dress on the rostrum in her house never to rise again, when her husband Bhai Balmikand was hanged.126

Organised Struggle:

The sudden withdrawal of Non-Cooperation movement by Gandhi in February 1922, left for the youths and students of Punjab no other option but to join the Naujawan Bharat Sabha. It was founded by Bhagat Singh and others in 1926 with an idea to prepare such frustrated youths-students for armed struggle.127 Some of other founder members of this revolutionary organization were Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Sukhdev, Chhabil Das (Principal of National College, Lahore) Ram Chander, Ganpat Rai, Yashpal and JaiDev.128 Its branches, where at men and women between 18 and 35 years having faith in its ideology to be required.129, were established at Lahore, Ludhiana, Jullundhur, Montgomery, Jaranwala and Gujranwala130
In 1928, Kartar Singh Sarabha (a martyr in the first Lahore Conspiracy Case) Day was celebrated by Naujawan Bharat Sabha in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, to arouse the nationalist feelings among public. On the occasion, the portrait of the martyr was covered with a Khaddar cloth with its borders sprinkled with blood donated by Durga Devi and Sushila Mohan. On 20 October 1928, the members of Naujawan Bharat Sabha organized a procession at Lahore to boycott 'Simon Commission' which was led by Lala Lajpat Rai.

It is well known that in the lathi charge on procession, the Superintendent of Police J.A. Scott himself attacked Lala Lajpat Rai with lathi as a consequent he succumbed to death on 17 November 1928. It was Durga Devi who herself offered to kill J.A. Scott in the meeting of revolutionaries held in second week of December 1928 at Mozang House, Lahore in order to take avenge of death of Lajpat Rai. But she was refused by Chander Shekher Azad saying that women should not be assigned such risky tasks.

On 17 December 1928 after murdering J.P. Saunders, Assistant Superintendent of Police mistakenly shot in place J.A. Scott by the team of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Chander Shekhar Azad. Thereafter, the party needed the financial help. Durga Devi Vohra gave an amount of 500 rupees to Sukhdev for their help. She successfully "escorted Bhagat Singh and Rajguru alongwith her small child, Sachinder, in making their escape from Lahore to
Calcutta. She had impersonated herself as wife of Bhagat Singh and Rajguru as their domestic servant.

In Calcutta, Bhagat Singh was given shelter by Sushila Mohan who had already happened to be there in the town. Similarly, Smt. Ralli Devi, mother of Sukhdev, and her adopted daughter escorted Chander Shekhar Azad and Kishori Lal out of Lahore to Delhi. Both of these ladies returned back to Lahore as Durga Devi had come back from Calcutta after leaving Bhagat Singh there. They also lived with other revolutionaries for some time in a rented house in Mozand in order to create a family environment so that the police suspicious could be evaded.

In 1929 before Delhi assembly bomb explosion on 8 April, both Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt took the blessings of Durga Devi and Sushila Devi on getting smeared their foreheads by the blood of both ladies from their fingers at Kudasia Bagh, Delhi. Bomb factories were set up by the revolutionaries at some places like Agra, Lahore and Saharanpur. The bombs used by them were not only made by these revolutionary ladies but also smuggled by them for male revolutionaries. Nikko Devi of Peshawar was a trained supplier of arms to them.

In Delhi factory, Sushila, who had taken bomb making training, made bombs-shells in a gunny bag from Rawalpindi to Lahore and handed over the bag to Dr. Leelawati in order to evade the police detection. Dr. Leelawati took it to Bhagwati Charan Vohra who had set up a bomb factory in a rented house in Kashmiri
Building. Parkasho was another revolutionary member of their party who made bomb in a rented house in Delhi. On getting clue, the police raided the Lahore factory on 15 April 1929 in the absence of Durga Devi’s husband and discovered one live bomb, eight bomb cases, chemicals, bomb making formula, one Webley Scott pistol, photo of B.K. Dutt and a letter either written by Bhagat Singh or B.K. Dutt. However, at another occasion she got made the police raid futile while seeking permission to bring some one known to her as witness so that the raid could be made in a witness’s presence.

She went to Lala Pindi Das’s house in Gwalmandi Lahore from where she brought his daughter, Swadesh, to her house. After reaching Durga Devi’s house, Swadesh told the police that she wanted to see the ailing child and went inside the house. With great alacrity she hide the bomb-shells in her clothes, wrapping them around her body and in a short time, she escaped deceiving the police in a very dramatic way. After some time Durga Devi returned with Yashpal and allowed the police to search the house.

On the decision in regard to Delhi Assembly Bomb case on 12 June 1929, processions at Lahore, Amritsar were organized on daily bases from 14 July onwards. The members of Naujavan Bharat Sabha took prominent part in organizing such processions and meetings. When 144 Cr. P.C. was promulgated by District Magistrate, Lahore, they stopped to take out the processions on 19 July but 500 people offered a Satyagraha at Sardul Singh House.
Next day i.e. 20 July 1929, a procession of nine women under the leadership of Smt. Parvati Devi of Komalia was taken out in Lahore. The processionists shouted the slogans "Long live revolution" and "down with imperialism". The women who took part in the procession were Parvati Devi, Savitri, Swadesh Kumari, Sushila, Swaraj Kumari, Rup Mani (daughter of Dr. Gopi Chand) Sarla Devi, Vidyavati and Shakuntala. The police did not arrest these women processionists in spite of their defiance of the ban orders. On 21 July 1929, "Bhagat Singh-Dutt Day" was celebrated in Lahore and Amritsar. While speaking on the occasion, Parvati Devi of Kamalia not only announced that processions would continue everyday until 31 December 1929 but also asked the volunteers to be prepared to court arrest.

In December 1929, Sushila was specially assigned the duty to enquire about the seating plan of Viceroy in his special train so that he could be targeted by the team of Bhagwati Charan Vohra, Yashpal, Chander Shekhar Azad and Inderpal. Though she successfully did the job and train was also attacked but the compartment carrying the Viceroy escaped the attack. Durga Devi was also involved in Lamington Road firing case where the party headed by Sardar Prithvi Singh Azad had to shoot down Hailey, the Governor of Bombay who had been the Governor of Punjab also. Durga Devi mistaking a military officer Mr. Taler (who was coming out of the home of Governor) as if he was the Governor shot at him. Two days after the incidence, she reached Kanpur. The government
even after spending one Lakh rupees to find the persons involved in "Lamington Road firing case" could not trace them.  

The women like Smt. Premwati from Lyallpur, Durga Devi, Sushila, Lila, Subhadra Devi and Kaushalya Devi not only used to visit the revolutionaries including Bhagat Singh, B.K. Dutt and others as their sisters and relatives but also supplied food of their taste and other daily necessities of life in the jail. Besides, some of the women including Smt. Parvati Devi of Kamalia, Smt. Vidyawati of Hoshiarpur, Sushila Mohan, Durga Devi, etc. formed a ‘Defence Committee’ and collected thousands of Rupees from Punjab and Calcutta for the defending the case of revolutionaries who were detained in jail in regard to Lahore Conspiracy Case.

Sushila, Lila and their friends staged a play ‘Mewar Patan’ in the same context. In order to exhort people for assistance, red coloured leaflets were also distributed through Parkashwati, Secretary of Publicity Department, of HSRA entitled “Hindustan Socialist Prajantantra Sangh”. In these pamphlets, the people were warned that “Every purpose of British rule in India is to enrich England with the fruits of the labour of Indians.”

The Punjab women who offered asylum to the revolutionaries were Smt. Dunichand (offering shelter Durga Devi, Sushila and Chander Shekher Azad after Bomb explosion in Bahawalpur House, Lahore. Dr. Parkash Kaur harboured Udham Singh for two three days. Smt. Shanno
Devi and Smt. Lajwanti gave asylum to Sushila several times. Apart from the women of Naujawan Bharat Sabha, some Congress women also participated in the meetings and processions organized by the Sabha included Parvati Devi Kamalia, Mrs. Chint Ram Thaper, Smt. Gian Devi, Smt. Saraswati Devi, Smt. Pritam Devi, Smt. Parvati Devi (daughter of Lala Lajpat Rai) Swadesh (daughter of Lala Pindi Dass) Manmohan Zutshi, Mrs. Vidyawati, etc.

The news of death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev in regard to Lahore Conspiracy Case instilled the anguisness in every section of the society. Consequently, general harti was observed and educational institutions were also closed at various places on 8 October 1930. The students unions organised picketing under the leadership of Manmohini Zutshi and shouted slogans like “Bhagat Singh Zindabad” and “Long Live Revolution”.

Around seventeen women who were arrested under picketing were Janak Kumari, Manmohini Zutshi, Shyama Zutshi, Swadesh, Krishna, Smt. Saraswati Devi, Champawati, Sohagwati, Pritam Devi, Maya Devi, Gur Devi, Mrs. Hem Raj and Smt. Ganga Devi. At Lyallpur too, most of the students of Government High School went on strike and offered harti. Infact, there was a country wide agitation to save Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru from execution.

Apart from the above efforts under the auspices of the “Bhagat Singh Appeal Committee,” public meetings were
organized through out Punjab to convey their desire to the victory regarding for the communication of the death sentences of the revolutionaries. On 17 February 1931, 'Bhagat Singh Day' was celebrated at almost all places of Punjab in which women participated. Around one lakh persons including women, signed a memorandum of appeal to the Viceroy. The women of Lyallpur held a meeting on 11 March 1931 under the presidency of Smt. Vidyawati and passed a resolution on mercy appeal to the Viceroy demanding commutation of death sentence.

It is noteworthy that on the execution of the three revolutionaries on 23 March 1931 at about 7.15 P.M. a massive hartal was again observed in Lahore. Over 80,000 people, including 5000 women, gathered in Minto Park to offer prayers for the departed souls. Women sobbed and fainted in grief and a funeral procession was also taken out in Lahore attended by over 40,000 bareheaded men and 5000 women wearing black sarees. Apart from this, about 10,000 students organized their separate procession under the leadership of Manmohini Zutshi which was terminated at Minto Park to join prayers. Similarly, huge processions of men and women raising slogans 'Bhagat Singh Zindabad' "Bhagat Singh Amar Rahega" were organized at various places in Punjab. On 4 April 1931, Kirya ceremony of Bhagat Singh and others were observed by Lyallpur Congress Committee.

In the evening Smt. Gian Devi in her speech appealed to young men to sacrifice of their lives for the motherland as Bhagat Singh and Others had done.
The government adopted a repressive policy to suppress the revolutionary movement. Beside men the women who were associated with the revolutionary activities were not spared. Durga Devi, Sushila and Parkashwati were declared absconders with the Lahore Conspiracy Case.\textsuperscript{163} They were also suspected of connection with Lahore-Delhi Conspiracy Case.\textsuperscript{164} In case of bomb explosion in Bahawalpur and Lahore a reward of Rs. 20,000 was announced for anyone giving information about each person including the three ladies.

A warrant of arrest was issued against Sushila and a reward of Rs. 2,000 for her arrest was also declared. Her photographs were pasted on the walls of railway stations. Durga Devi had joined Civil Disobedience movement in order to evade police arrest with a changed name as Indumati. The police could not recognize her.\textsuperscript{165} In February 1932, the police directed her not to leave Delhi, under the Punjab Special Power Ordinance.\textsuperscript{166}

In September 1932, Durga Devi herself surrendered to police in Lahore but was released after few days. She was re-arrested and detained for two months in prison. She was also served with restraint orders of internment in Lahore.\textsuperscript{167} In November 1932, Sushila was also arrested in connection with the said cases.\textsuperscript{168} In July 1934, Parkashwati was arrested but was released after a few days. In August 1934, she was served with another orders of internment from Lahore and Delhi. So, she went to Banaras.\textsuperscript{169} Similarly, in February 1933, Nikko Devi of Peshawar was too served with restraint orders under the
Frontier Tranguility Act of 1932. She was directed to leave Lahore. Vidyavati was sentenced to one year simple imprisonment for delivering sedition speeches and given C class in Jail. Though the revolutionary movement lost its intensity in 1931, because of its prominent men having either killed or arrested yet it continued till 1935. Moreover, prominent women including Durga Devi joined the Congress party later on.

The examination of revolutionary activities of female students, youth and women made in the preceding pages sufficiently establish the fact that they lent their valuable support to the freedom movement of India. It is beyond on iota of doubt that the ideology of Ireland and Russian revolution was certainly added to some extent to the ongoing agitational politics of first battle of India's freedom i.e. revolt of 1857 but the revolutionary feelings during the liberation were full of rage towards colonial rule of indigenous nature.

The revolutionaries might belong to different regions be it Maharashtra or Bengal, U.P. or Punjab but their approach, thinking and action was based only on political extremism. Differed in Gandhian politics of non-violence they simply wanted to librate the country. They believed in the non-compromising radicalism in which there was no place of any language other than of pistols and bombs.

The women between teens to greyhead did not lag behind to sacrifice their lives either through their organizations like the Anushilan Samiti, the Yugantar
Samiti, the Sree Sangh, the Chattogram Revolutionary Party of Bengal or the Hindustan Socialist Revolutionary Party, Naujawan Bharat Sabha of Uttar Pradesh as well as Punjab or on individual bases. Their commitment and dedication towards the national cause was so great that even both the Congress men and women sometimes broke away the Gandhian wall of non-violence and came out to render their every type of support to the revolutionaries. Yet the revolutionaries never proved immature in actions as well as in making strategies that many a time they joined even Congress platform to get a cover.

In essence, the women did play that role in all possible ways as messengers, camouflaging the police, as couriers, harbours, contract builders, instigators, demonstrators money raisers, smugglers of weapons, and shooters. It is true that the extent of their role was limited as compared to that played by their men counterpart, but whatever they did it was all full of courage and commitment at a time when women, by and large, were not expected to step out from, domestic chores entirely dominated by traditional patriarchal values.
References and Footnotes

19. Ibid., p.70
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p.71
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Saharrabuddhe Uttara op. cit. p.72.
29. Ibid.
30. Home Department, Political, 1911, Nos. 23-36.
31. Home Department, Political, 1917, Nos. 299-301, Chakravorthy s statement, passim.
35. Home Department, Political Proceedings, August 1911, Nos. 23-36, Hawrahsibpur Political dacoity gang case.


42. Mukherjee, Ishanee, 'Women and Armed Revolution in Late Colonial Bengal: An Integrated Study of Changing Role-Patterns', in Leela Kasturi and Vina Mazundar, (ed.), *Women and Indian Nationalism*, p. 55.


45. *Nabashakti*, 13 August, 1907.


47. Interview, Satyaranjan Ghatak (Anushilan), 11 May 1987, cited in Mukherjee Ishanee, *op. cit.* p. 70.


51. Diary of Nanibala Devi's nephew Amarendranath Chatterjee (Yugantar) who initiated her into revolutionary fold, by courtesy of his grandson, Kumardev Chatterjee and his wife Ruchira Devi, Mukherjee, Ishani, op. cit., 10.70, Ref. No. 17.

52. Dukoribala Devi's love for the motherland over-rode family affiliations. Dukoribala to her father Nilmani Chatterjee, Presidency Jail, undated, "I am fine. Do not worry about me. Three years will pass in no time. Please take care of the children." Interview, S.K. Chakravorty, Son of Dukoribala Devi, 10 july, 1989, op. cit. p. 70, Ref. No. 18.

53. Name provided by Kamala Das Gupta in the list of female activists (1905), Swadhinata Sangram Banglor Nari, 1370 (B.S.) Calcutta, p. 286. Also nalini Kishore Guha, 1923, Bangali Bipalabbad, p.325.

54. Interview with Ujjala Majumdar, 24 June 1985 cited by, Mukherjee Ishanee, op. cit., p. 58.

56. "The Chhatri Sangh was not a secret movement... We were making the ground work for revolutionary activities..." Kalyani Bhattacharya (Das) Oral History Transcript, op. cit.


61. Home Department, Political, File No. 61, 1924, Section 5.


64. Southard Barbara, op. cit., p. 196.


68. **Interview Report:** Kalpana Dutta to P.R. Biswas, D.S.P., I.B., Mindapore Central, 19 February 1936, Cited in Mukherjee, Ishani, *op. cit.* p.72, Ref. No. 35.


70. Mukherjee, Ishani, *op. cit.* p. 60.


78. *Forward*, 8 June, 1934.

79. History Sheet, Bimal Protibha Devi, F.No. 172 11932, I.B.


82. Mukherjee, Ishani, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
92. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.
96. Dutt, Kalpana, *op. cit.*, p.5.

100. Dutt, Kalpana, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8 and 77.

101. Ibid. p.72.


103. Ibid., p.105.

104. Ibid., p.107.

105. Ibid., p.109.

106. Ibid., p.110.

107. Ibid., p.111.

108. Ibid., p.112.


110. Ibid., p.126.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid., p.19.

113. Raj Kumari Gupta was born in Banda Zilla, Kanpur in 1902, Her father was a grocer and her mother was in *purdah*. She was married at the age of 13 to the late Madan Mohan Gupta. Though he was a revolutionary yet participated in Congress movements also.

114. Ibid.

116. *The Hindustan Times*, 22 April 1931, p.5, and *Amrit Bazaar Patrika* May 1931, p.10. There is a reference to Radha Debi owing two houses, one at Kalichpura and one at Bhilupura in Benaras.


119. Home Department, Judicial, B, *Proceeding*, Nos. 192-93, April, 1882, NAI.


121. *Home Department (Political-B)*, November, 1908, nos. 63-70, December, 1908, Nos. 134-142.

122. *Home Department (Political-B)*, July, 1907, Nos. 39-77.


127. *Ibid.*, p. 38, According to the Government Reports, *The Naujawan Bharat Sabha* was formed at the suggestion of Dr. Satyapal (Home Political, 1930, File No. 130 and K.W.)


129. *Home Department (Political)*, 1930, File No. 130, and K.W., NAI.

130. *Home Department (Political)*, 1930, File No. 130, and K.W.; NAI.

132. Durga Devi (wife of Bhagwati Charan Vohra a revolutionaries at the core of his heart) popularly known as 'Durga Bhabi' was infact, confided by her husband. It appeared that Durga Devi's involvement in the revolutionary activities was an expression of her fidelity for her husband.


135. Ibid.


137. Lahore Conspiracy Case (Proceedings Book), 1930, pp. 32 and 182, NAI.

138. Verma, Manju, op. cit., p. 188.

139. Home Department (Political), 1932, PNRs of Punjab for the month of February, File No. 18/4.


142. Home Department (Political), 1929, File No. 192.


145. The Tribune, July 21, 1929.
153. *Home Department (Political)*, 1932, File No. 27/VIIJNAI.
155. *The Tribune*, March 15, April 9, April 22, June 12, October 11, November 19, and 20, 1931.
164. *Home Department (Political)*, 1931, No. 4/26/31, p.10, NAI.


170. *Home Department (Political)*, 1933, File No. 1812, PNR, also *The Tribune*, January 8 and February 8, 1933.
