



Extracts from newspaper articles relating to incitement to terrorist crime or to the eulogy of those concerned in such crime.

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BOMBAY

EXTRACT FROM NEWSPAPER ARTICLES RELATING TO INCITEMENT TO
TERRORIST CRIME OR TO THE EULOGY OF THOSE CONCERNED IN
SUCH CRIME.

MADRAS.

(1) The *Congress* (Sitanaagram, 31st March, 1931) writes under the caption "The Heroic Sacrifice" as follows:—Even as the blood of the Sholapur heroes, Mallappa Dhansetti and others, has not yet dried up, the autocratic Government that does not respect public opinion, has again taken as sacrifice three heroic youths. The result that has been very eagerly awaited by all the people in the country for about a year has proved tragic. The daring Indian patriots Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, the accused in the Lahore conspiracy case, went to the gallows on the 23rd instant and sacrificed their lives at the altar of independence. The names of these three people have been added to the list of heroic youths who actuated by patriotism of the best type, took to armed revolution to shatter the shackles of slavery of Mother (India) and offered their lives for her sake. . . . Though we do not follow the method of these heroes revolution for the purpose of attaining independence, we do recognize that they are great patriots and that their daring is unprecedented and their sacrifice a thousandfold greater than that of the non-violent revolutionaries. The great heroes that have just gone to the gallows have won the unbounded commendation of the youth in India. . . . The first and the foremost place taken by the victorious cry "Bhagat Singh Ki Jai" among all the victorious cries at the Lahore session of the Congress testifies to this fact. Where is the wonder then in the country being immersed in sorrow when Bhagat Singh who had thus won the country's affection has been 'murdered' by the Government. If they (Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev) had been hanged before the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement resentment of the present degree of severity would not have been provoked. . . . We hoped that the statesmanship shown by the then Premier, Mr. Asquith in preventing Mr. DeValera who was condemned to death from being shot down when in 1916 the British were engaged in coming to terms with Ireland would be pursued by Lord Irwin also. . . . But all these hopes have been shattered. All the memorials submitted by lakhs of people asking for the lives of these heroic sons being spared have gone to the waste-paper basket. The entreaties of even the Mahatma with whom Lord Irwin entered into an agreement have been overlooked. They (the Government) have flouted popular opinion with pure arrogance of authority, taken the lives of these three heroes and thrown out a challenge once again to India. Which Indian's heart will not rankle when the Government despite their pretensions that they would to-day or to-morrow hand over the Indian administration to Indians and that they had been carrying on negotiations with that very aim, hurried this murderous act, just but a few days subsequent to the agreement. The British are well known to be unrivalled in making promises which are never to be performed and in devising cunning political tricks. It is evident from the conclusion of agreements on the one hand and the conduct of the executions on the other that a real change has not come about in the British Government and that the old satanical traits are still persisting in the Government. The physical bodies of these three heroic sons who are receiving the homage of the entire Indian people for their incomparable daring and self-abnegation have been sacrificed at the altar of independence. Though they cannot be physically visualised with the human eye, there is no doubt that they will continue to live as long as a single patriot at least continues to live in India. In addition to these heroes, Harikishen, Dinesh Gupta and other soldiers of the armed revolutionary party may go to the gallows. . . . In no country will the sacrifice of the lives of heroes go in vain. Every hero's corpse is but a stepping stone to the edifice of independence. Thousands of heroes will rise from the very drops of blood of heroes. The best duty of the Indian is to transform the hatred, resentment, compassion, etc., engendered by the self-sacrifice of these heroic sons into a vow of action and strive unsparingly for the realization of that supreme ideal of independence for which alone they shed their sacred blood. We may not approve of their methods for achieving independence. But their daring, sacrifice and endurance and other heroic traits will undoubtedly become exemplary to the Indian people and be written in letters of gold in the history of Indian independence. India will not fail to attain independence

soon, and no alien Government can oppose this determination (of hers). The edifice of complete independence, totally devoid of foreign dominance being the ideal of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, that edifice alone will become a memorial for these heroes. May the blessed names of Bhagat Singh and his comrades reverberate in that edifice! May posterity proudly proclaim "Bhagat Singh Zindabad, Rajguru Zindabad, Sukhdev Zindabad". Commenting on the Lahore executions, the *Congress* (received on 20th April) remarks that the executions, "which are but a murderous act committed by the Government," were condemned even by the Moderates and that the Government lost an excellent opportunity to win over the revolutionaries. Characterising the executions as an act of violence, it says that the violence started by the Government would only beget violence and presumes that the Government ordered the executions with the motive of disturbing the peace created by the 'triumph' of non-violence by instigating violence. It also thinks that they must have done the thing with a view to create a rift between Mr. Gandhi and the youths in the country and hopes that the country will stick to non-violence in spite of the provocation afforded by the executions.

(2) In an article purporting to be contributed by one "Balagopal", Bangalore, to the *Viswa Karnataka* (Bangalore, 24th May 1931), the writer gives an account of the early life of Rajguru, one of the three recently executed at Lahore, and observes:—The world knows the events that followed. The aged mother of Rajguru still lives. Our white bureaucrats sent Rajguru, a scion of a poor ryot's family of Maharashtra, to the gallows. They have thereby made the people honour him with the crown of immortality. Along with Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev, the soul of this immortal Rajguru merged into the heart of the entire world. How many are there in the enslaved nations who have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the country at the age of 21?

(3) Referring to the execution of Dinesh Gupta at the Alipore Jail, the *Vira Bharati* (10th July 1931), writes:—Dinesh Gupta had not the least fear of death. This fear is always present only before cowards. The petition for mercy submitted to the King-Emperor by the relations of Dinesh Gupta was not forwarded to him by the Government. Nor was the date of the execution made known. Everything has taken place secretly. According to the religious practice of the Indians, the cremation of the corpse, the funeral rites, etc., should be performed only by the relations of the deceased. In the case of persons who are thus executed, our Government do not give room for the performance of funeral rites. They neither hand over the corpse to the parents nor pay heed to requests that may be made in this connection. What harm will result if the corpse is handed over to the party concerned? According to the tenet of Hinduism, the soul never dies. It is immortal. Hence, Dinesh Gupta is not dead. His physical body alone has perished. He will assume another bodily form immediately. His astral body will acquire immense strength and will dominate that new physical body. It is commonly believed that Gupta will then oppose this Government more strongly than before. Reverting to the same subject, the *Vira Bharati* writes:—Dinesh Gupta was not a cowardly person who loved his body. Though his body has been burnt and reduced to ashes, his soul is shining like polished gold in the heavens. It is thinking of the next physical body which it will enter. It will enter a body with far greater strength conscious of its former spirit and appear in the world. There is not the least doubt that it will then realize its objects.

(2) BOMBAY.

FREE INDIA THE ONLY FITTING MEMORIAL TO BHAGAT SINGH AND COMRADES.

THOUSANDS OF BARE-HEADED CITIZENS PAY HOMAGE TO PATRIOTS IN BOMBAY.

(1) Thousands of bare-headed mourners carrying black flags and raising shouts of "Bhagat Singh and Comrades Zindabad" writes the *Bombay Chronicle* (dated 25th March 1931), joined the huge procession which was organised in Bombay on Tuesday evening as a mark of protest against the execution of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades at Lahore.

The procession started from Chowpatty and paraded through Sandhurst, Girgaum Back Road Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi, and reached the Azad Maidan where a public meeting was held. The processionists carried with them a huge black flag to which a photo of Bhagat Singh was attached. Photographs of Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were similarly carried through the streets,

Long live Bhagat Singh.

Placards bearing slogans like "Long Live Bhagat Singh," "Long Live Revolution" were displayed by the processionists. At the Azad Maidan a resolution admiring the rare courage and supreme sacrifice of the Lahore martyrs and reiterating the resolve that the struggle for freedom would be continued till victory was won was passed.

"Liberty of Death"

Mr. K. F. Nariman presiding over the meeting observed that they had met on a very sad occasion. The incident was too tragic for words. Only the previous evening, said Mr. Nariman. "We had assembled on the Chowpatty sands and were demanding Bhagat Singh's and his comrades' release. None of us even imagined that before we passed the resolution these martyrs were hanged and we were wasting our breath. We have met here to honour those great souls and if we have any feeling for them the best thing to do for us would be to make a solemn resolve before we leave this place to offer even our own lives for the freedom of the country as they did. 'Liberty or Death' must be our slogan henceforth."

Complete independence as Memorial.

"We have often discussed the question of raising a fitting memorial to our departed leaders. We have erected statues of some of our severed leaders, roads have been named after some of them, but Bhagat Singh and his comrades are far above these small honours. The only fitting memorial we can raise to their sacred memory is to achieve complete independence for our country."

Interview with Bhagat Singh recalled.

Mr. Nariman recalled the interview he had with Bhagat Singh in Lahore some months back at the time of the Lahore Congress. He narrated the conversation that he had with Bhagat Singh and said that Bhagat Singh had plainly told him that he and his comrades were not in the least afraid of death. Their only anxiety was to ascertain whether the youths of the country would carry on the fight for freedom which they had started. "My only appeal to you is", concluded Mr. Nariman, "that you the citizens of Bombay who have assembled here in your thousands and the whole country must decide with one voice that we shall be prepared to lay down our lives as willingly as Bhagat Singh and his comrades did for the freedom of our motherland."

Ashamed to appear in public.

Sjt. Umashankar Dixit moved a resolution admiring the patriotism and supreme sacrifice of Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dey and Raj Guru and declaring that the citizens of Bombay were determined to continue the struggle for freedom till India was free. He said that he left ashamed to appear before any audience since the moment he had heard of the shocking news of the execution of Bhagat Singh and his companions. He left that under the cover of truce the Government were "behaving most dishonestly". There was a feeling that the Government would give them rest at least for a short period and the Government would keep the promise that they have made to Mahatma Gandhi regarding commutation of Bhagat Singh's sentence. True that it was not mentioned in the terms of the settlement but Gandhiji had declared it more than once that if Indians observed the terms of the peace faithfully they would get all the political prisoners including those who were condemned to death, released. The country placed reliance of Gandhiji's assurance but it was most flagrantly flouted by the Government.

"End the system"

The speaker thought that the Government would not have dared to execute the Lahore prisoners if the civil disobedience movement was going on. These executions were only a reminder to them that they must be prepared to offer more sacrifices at the altar of freedom. The country was trying to reach its goal by the creed of non-violence. The speaker thought that non-violence must be given its full chance.

The Government dared to execute a youth who was dear to the whole country because they did not enjoy liberty. The only way of saving Indian youth from the gallows was to put an end to the system of Government which was so utterly irresponsive to public feeling.

Bhagat Singh's only desire.

Sjt. Ganpati Shankar in seconding the resolution said that he had the honour to meet Bhagat Singh at the Calcutta Congress. Bhagat Singh's only desire was to awaken the youths of the country and inspire them to serve the country. At Calcutta he supported Gandhiji but he turned a revolutionary after the death of their revered leader Lala Lajpat Rai due to the lathi blows he received at Lahore. "If the Government think that by such executions they can terrorise the people into dumb submission they will soon be dis-illusioned" he concluded.

The resolution was passed the whole audience standing; and terminated at a meeting where Sjt. Khandalkar president. Several leaders addressed the meeting condemning the Government action in executing Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

BOMBAY WORKERS MOURN FOR BHAGAT SINGH AND COMRADES.

Meetings and Processions held.

The resentment of the Bombay mill-workers at the execution of Sardar Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev found expression in a number of processions and meetings organised by the Bombay Girmi Kamgar (Lal Bavta) Union.

At 9 o'clock in the morning a procession started from Nagu Sayaji Wadi and went to Delisle Road, where a meeting was held opposite the police station. Messrs. Abdul Majid, Gaikwad, Pawskar and others addressed the meeting on the duty of the workers to strengthen their class organisations to put a stop to such arbitrary acts on the part of the Government.

Processions and meetings.

The meeting then formed itself into a procession and went to Fergusson Road where a large number of workers from that locality joined the procession.

Here also a meeting was held which was addressed amongst others by Messrs. Tavade, Majid, Gaikwad, etc. The procession then returned to Nagu Sayaji Wadi after going through Worli and Poibavdi.

At the Wadi meeting Mr. V. H. Joshi delivered a forceful speech condemning the executions and calling upon the workers to organise their own political party to see to it that such executions were not repeated.

From the Wadi the procession went towards the Lalbaug, where after holding another meeting in the Kombde Galli, the procession dispersed.

Another Meeting.

In the evening a mass meeting of the workers was held on the Lal Maidan, Lal Bang, Messrs. Tavade, Gaikwad and Patil condemned the executions.

After the meeting a procession was formed which went to Shiwari and dispersed after coming back to the Lal Bang.

Earlier in the day two meetings were held one at Kala Chawki and the other at Tardeo for the same purpose. Messrs. Rajaram, Chintamani, Rane, Sangamnerkar and others spoke condemning the executions.

BOMBAY WORKERS HONOUR BHAGAT SINGH.

Rally Round "Red Flag" Exhort leaders.

Under the auspices of the Young Workers' League, the Girmi Kamgar Union (Patel Bldg., Poibawadi) and the League to organise Militant Workers four public meetings were held at Lal Bang and Kamgar Maidan and the Chowpatty Sands on Tuesday. Sadhu Piraji was in the chair.

BOMBAY WOMEN'S MEETING FOR BHAGAT SINGH.

A procession of women will start at 3 P.M. from Morarbaug, Bhuleshwar, to-day (Wednesday) and proceed to Madhav Bang, where a prayer meeting will be held at 4 P.M.

Speeches will be made on Bhagat Singh and Comrades' supreme sacrifice for the country and the duty before us.

BUSINESS AT A STAND STILL.

General Hartal.

Bombay, March 24.

As a protest against the execution of, and in honour of, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev, the following markets observed hartal to-day :—

The Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association; the Cotton Merchants and Muccadam Association, the Bullion Merchants' Association, the Grain Dealer's Association, the Bombay Shares and Stocks Exchange, the Sugar Merchants' Association, the Bombay Iron Merchants' Association.

Messrs. Tamitkar, Khale, Sitaram Dhaku, Bhogle, Powar, Kedar Gupte, Kulkarni and others spoke.

The speakers laid stress on the principles underlying the deeds of Bhagat Singh and other Comrades. They worked for the freedom of India. Independence means emancipation of all the toiling masses from the grinding yoke of British imperialism as well as Indian capitalism. The Congress leaders had betrayed the toiling masses successfully by means of the Delhi Truce. It was high time now for all the anti-Imperialist elements to consolidate and solidify themselves to end imperialist system in India. The speakers reiterated that if they really wanted to achieve independence, they should rally round the Red Flag and carry on the fight for freedom more vigorously and on systematic and scientific basis.

Two processions were taken out : one in the morning, which moved in the workers' area and the other in the evening which came to Chowpatty where it formed itself in a meeting.

(2) *Free Press Journal* (4), 24th March.—“Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sjt. Rajguru and Sjt. Sukhdev live no longer. In their death lies their victory. Let there be no mistaking it. The bureaucracy has annihilated the mortal frame. The nation has assimilated the immortal spirit. Thus shall Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev live eternally, to the dismay of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy can never enter into the psychology of the nation wide concern of Sardar Bhagat Singh and colleagues. . . . What the bureaucracy has done to-day, according to popular notion, is to wreak vengeance on brave patriotic young men of the calibre of Sardar Bhagat Singh, by a gross misuse of the forms of legal procedure, without an adequate opportunity to the Sardar and colleagues to defend themselves, in the manner in which all accused persons are entitled to defend. No purpose is served by a discussion any longer of the rights and wrongs of the execution of the death sentences, from the legal, constitutional or ethical point of view. In the presence of death, all voices of controversy shall be hushed. Let the bureaucracy flatter itself, to its heart's content, at its vindication of so-called Law and Order. To the nation Sardar Bhagat Singh and colleagues will ever remain the symbols of martyrdom in the cause of freedom. The question of questions is : What can the nation do to the memory of the martyrs ? The answer is simple. The nation must pledge itself to strive for freedom and to know of no rest till freedom is won. Swaraj is the fittest memorial to the memory of the martyrs.”

(3) *Free Press Journal* (4), 25th March.—“The Bhagat Singh episode has a moral for the Government, the youth and the elders of the nation. To the Government, it cannot but be as plain as a pikestaff that though the Law has claimed the mortal frames of Sardar Bhagat Singh and colleagues, the Government have, through their own actions, endowed Sardar Bhagat Singh and colleagues with immortality. . . . Let the youth face the facts. The murder of Sardar Bhagat Singh is a clear indication of the subjection of the nation. The remedy is to organise for freedom, but to organise through self-discipline, loyalty and co-ordination. The moral of the episode for the elders is equally clear. The youth is impatient. The elders must choose between a fighting programme with the youth for its soldiers and a programme of dilly-dallying with the youth kicking over the traces and chalking out its own course. The elders are responsible for Bhagat Singhs. In their anxiety for caution, they became too overcautious, resulting in impatient youth carving a programme as best as it could. With the murder of Sardar Bhagat Singh, the Executive have thrown a challenge to the policy underlying the Gandhi-Irwin agreement. The elders must lose no time to ascertain who the principals to the Delhi Pact are ? Are they the petty brutal callous bureaucrats who wrought the murder of the Sardar or are they the statesmen who put their signature to the Delhi agreement ? The

murder of Sardar Bhagat Singh is certainly no breach of the actual terms of the truce, it is certainly a violation of the spirit underlying it. The truce must go in the shortest possible time. It must be replaced by peace or war. That is the moral for the elders."

(4) *Mahratta* (9), 29th March.—“ On Monday last His Majesty's High Court at Lahore rejected the applications for 'Habeas Corpus' and for leave to appeal to the Privy Council summarily, and immediately after night-fall on the same day, the death-sentences passed by the Lahore Special Tribunal against the three patriots, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev were carried out and their bodies cremated and remains thrown into the Sutlej ! This news has given a terrible shock to the whole of India. There is not a single living soul in India who was not stunned and stupefied at the news. The feeling of sentimental admiration for the three heroes who are now no more, is exhibited by the spontaneous observance of hartals in all the towns and cities, and the meetings held in honour of them and in protest against the British bureaucracy. . . . The country has not yet recovered from the shock caused by the hanging of the Sholapur prisoners. There is not the slightest doubt that the execution of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, on the eve of the Karachi Congress, will profoundly disturb the political atmosphere in the whole of India. Bhagat Singh was the symbol of the spirit of revolt which has captured the hearts of 'Young India.' One may condemn the methods of these brave men to achieve the goal, still nobody can dare question their magnificent courage and self-sacrifice for the cause of freedom. . . . The prospects of unanimous agreement to the truce terms are naturally very doubtful. There is bound to be a wide gulf between the mentality of the young and the old. The Karachi Congress may ratify by a majority of votes the draft agreement and decide upon participating in the Round Table Conference. But if at all the gulf between the two wings of the Congressites is widened, and the country is again plunged into war, the blame for creating this split will lie at the doors of the Government. No Indian can afford to forget the four victims of Sholapur and these three patriots of Lahore. . If at all the Congress delegates attend the Round Table Conference, let us hope they will do so with the sentiments expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said, 'when England speaks to us and talks of a settlement, there will be the corpse of Bhagat Singh between us lest we forget'. May the souls of the three patriots who were the source of inspiration to the young and old, rest in peace ! ”

(5) *The Bombay Chronicle*,

dated Bombay, the 7th April 1931.—

WERE THE BODIES OF BHAGAT SINGH AND COMRADES PROPERLY CREMATED ?

BHAGAT SINGH'S FATHER SAYS "No".

"Freedom for India" is the only Memorial for these three Youths.

Touching scenes were witnessed at a public meeting held on the Azad Maidan on Monday evening when a silver casket containing the ashes of Sardar Bhaghat Singh and his comrades was exhibited to the audience. Sardar Jamiat Singh, who presided, produced from the casket half-charred pieces of bones and some little stones with marks of blood-stains as evidence to show that the bodies of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were not properly cremated. Tears rolled down the eyes of hundreds of ladies who were present when Sardar Singh declared that if Government could not spare the lives of these three brave youths, they could at least "have refrained from wounding the feelings of their countrymen by cremating their bodies in a proper manner".

People have a right to know whole truth.

Sardar Jamiat Singh in his speech said that they had met there to fraternise with those who were near and dear to the youths executed at Lahore. Thereupon the brother of Sardar Bhagat Singh and the sister of Raj Guru stood up on the dais and were introduced to the audience. For some minutes there were cries of "Bhagat Singh Zindabad" ! The speaker said that the countrymen of Bhagat Singh, the brave Lahore youth who mounted the gallows for the sake of his country, had a right to know the whole truth as to how the corpses of the Lahore martyrs were disposed of,

What Bhagat Singh's Father Found.

Kishan Singh, the father of Bhagat Singh, the speaker said, had evidence in his possession to show that the bodies of the Lahore martyrs were not properly cremated. He was able to show that the place where according to the Punjab Government the bodies were cremated was too small to accommodate three bodies. The speaker refuted the statement made in the Government communiqué that 40 maunds of firewood were used and the bodies were fully consummated. If such was the case there would have been traces of the ground being charred and burnt several inches deep but according to eye-witnesses of the scene of cremation there were no such traces.

Inquiry Committee Appointed.

Sardar Jamiat Singh then produced a small piece of half-charred bone, and little stones with marks of blood-stains. He said that the public must not rest satisfied until this matter was completely investigated. He mentioned that the Punjab Congress Committee had appointed an Inquiry Committee to investigate the matter and hoped its report would be available to the public in a short time.

In conclusion the speaker paid an eloquent tribute to the sense of patriotism and supreme sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades which had inspired the youths of the country.

He did not want to discuss the merits of the methods adopted by the Lahore martyrs. They had become immortal by their sacrifices. The youths realised that the execution of Bhagat Singh and his companions was carried on the eye of the Karachi Congress with a view to create a split in the ranks of Congressmen. Therefore they had in the interests of the country, decided to stand solidly behind Mahatma Gandhi and send him to London as the accredited representative of the country. At the same time the youths were ready for another and more vigorous fight.

Only Memorial to Bhagat Singh.

Mr. Panda Santramji, who was introduced to the audience as the leader of the Naujawans of Lahore next addressed the meeting. He eulogised the sacrifices of the Lahore martyrs and said that the youths would not sit idle till the complete freedom for this country was achieved. That was the only memorial they could raise to the memory of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

After several other speakers had spoken the President wound up the proceedings by sounding a note of warning to the public that so far no one was authorised to receive donations for a memorial to Bhagat Singh and therefore they should not be deceived by bogus men who were collecting funds for selfish ends.

ASHES OF LAHORE MARTYRS.

CASKET OFFERED TO KRISHNA.

Dr. Hardikar Leads Procession of 600 Karachi Delegates.

Sardar Jamiat Singh writes :—

The holy Dwaraka, the city of the Lord Krishna witnessed a unique scene on the 3rd instant when the ashes of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev were borne to the Dwarkadish temple through its streets in a procession composed of nearly 600 delegates and visitors who were returning from Karachi to Bombay by the steamer "Dayavati". Dr. Hardikar led the procession. At the temple the casket was placed before the Lord Krishna on a raised marble platform and for some minutes the worshippers forgetting Lord Krishna became Bhagat Singh mad. The whole temple echoed with shouts of "Bhagat Singh Zinda-bad" and men and women came in large numbers and reverently touched the casket and offered flowers and other sacred offerings. The "Abhimonou" of the 20th century was thus honoured. The ashes were later borne to the river side in accordance with the wishes of Raj Guru's mother and the Hindu rites were performed by Kultar Singh and a part of the ashes were consigned to the river Gomti.

I AM NOT A TERRORIST.

Bhagat Singh's Last Testament.

Writing from their condemned cells, Bhagat Singh and Sukh Dev expressed their views on the Delhi settlement and the present political situation, which we reproduce from "The People" of Lahore.

The following passages are taken from a statement which Bhagat Singh drafted for "Young Political Workers" in the condemned cell.

"Our movement is passing through a very important phase at present. After a year's fierce struggle some definite proposals regarding constitutional reforms have been formulated by the Round Table Conference and the Congress leaders have been invited to give their help if they think it desirable in the circumstances to call off the movement. Whether they decide in favour or against is a matter of little importance to us. The present movement is bound to end in some sort of compromise. The compromise is not such an ignoble and deplorable thing as we generally think. It is rather an indispensable factor in the political struggle. Any nation that rises against the oppressor is bound to fail in the beginning and to gain partial reforms during the middle period of its struggle through compromises. And it is only at the last stage having fully organised all the forces and resources of the nation—that it can possibly strike the final blow. But even then it might fail—which makes some sort of compromise inevitable.

Russian Example.

This can be best illustrated by the Russian example.

In 1905 a revolutionary movement broke out in Russia. All the leaders were very hopeful. Lenin had returned from the foreign countries where he had been a refugee. He was conducting the struggle."

(Here follows an account of Lenin advocating participation in the newly created Duma. Then the letter refers to Lenin's compromising attitude—as contrasted with that of Trotski—at the time of Brest Litovsk.)

"The thing that I wanted to point out was that compromise is an essential weapon which has to be wielded every now and then as the struggle develops. But the thing that we must keep before us is the ideal of the movement. We must always maintain a clear aim and what we hate in the Moderates is the shallowness of their ideal."

"Not a terrorist"

"There is very great probability of my being misunderstood on this subject. Apparently I have acted like a terrorist. But I am not a terrorist. I am a revolutionary who has got such definite ideas of a fighting programme as is being discussed. Some might accuse me like Ram Prasad Bismal of having been subjected to a sort of reaction in the condemned cell, which is not true; I have got same zeal. . . . I am convinced we can not gain anything through these methods. Mere bomb throwing is not only useless sometimes harmful."

COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE INTO BHAGAT SINGH'S CREMATION.

Public Invited to Give Evidence.

Lahore, April 6.

The Committee consisting of Malik Barkatali, Pandit K. Santanam, Malik Jiwanlal and Dr. Satyapal which was appointed by the Congress Working Committee to examine the allegations made in press to the effect that the remains of Bhagat Singh, Raj Gurn and Sukh Dev were mutilated and not properly cremated and were otherwise dealt with in insulting manner and to take such evidence as may be necessary and to report to the Working Committee on or before 30th April held its first sitting to-day.

Evidence Invited.

The Committee announces that its first public sitting will take place on 12th instant in Lajpatrai Hall.

The Committee invites evidence in support of or against the above allegation.

The above information has been forwarded to press, relatives of the deceased, and the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government. Dr. Satyapal will receive written evidence.—A. P.

A memorial to Bhagat Singh.

Bhagat Singh (new), 3rd and 5th Apr. ; *Swayamniraya* (217), 11th Apr.

(6) The *Bhagat Singh*, a new daily paper started in honour of the "martyr", writes:—If there were no Mazzini and no Garibaldi would Italy have ever become free? If it is asked who are India's Garibaldis, Mazzinis, MacSwineys and Wellingtons, one will have to say that they are the martyr Bhagat Singh and others. Stone monuments cannot truly honour the memory of such patriots. Their true monument consists in the birth of many such warriors. It is in order to impress this fact on the minds of our brothers and sisters that we are raising this memorial to Bhagat Singh. We feel very glad that a Maharashtrian has had the good fortune first to raise such a living memorial. [In the next issue the paper maintains that the Government carried out the executions, while the Congress was deliberating over peace terms, only with the object of creating a split among the people. The *Swayamniraya* writes:—The bureaucracy has been behaving towards the people in an extremely wicked manner for the last hundred and fifty years simply to satiate its hunger just as a wild beast does while seeking its prey. It rushes straight up on the path of selfishness like a butting boar; it does not care to know how many bodies thereby fall dead or wounded in its track. If there were real human beings in the bureaucracy they would have certainly understood that valiant patriots never die even if they are hanged in defiance of the unanimous appeals of the people. On the contrary their executions serve the purpose of breeding innumerable patriots out of every drop of blood of every such patriot unjustly hanged. If the bureaucracy is at all ashamed of its brutality it should come to its senses even now and treat patriots with honour instead of hanging them and grant them independence; or otherwise it is obvious that the people too would continue to behave in a brutal manner towards the bureaucracy.]

(7) The following is a translation of an objectionable article entitled "Patriot" which appeared in the *Daily Gujrati*, dated 7th June 1931:—

"The 'Patriot' aiming his pistol at the head of the Traitor said: 'Fool repent for your actions and take an oath to serve the country, otherwise be prepared to die'. Traitor with pride and hatred said: 'Fool be prepared, we are the instruments of the Government. Our parents and God is the King. Can the Country be better than having the King'.

"For the last time I tell you to say 'Matru Bhumini Jai' otherwise see this. The patriot gets ready to fire. Traitor seeing death hovering over his head took his whistle from his pocket and whistled. Many traitors were with him in secret garb and in a moment's time about 20 traitors surrounded the patriot. Patriot fired his pistol and the chief of the traitors fell down on the ground. Patriot before getting arrested shouted 'Matrabhumini Jai'. Goddess of fate even remarked in heaven that the prisons consider it to be lucky to be touched by the patriot's feet. All Devas were watching anxiously for the arrival of the patriot in heaven. A Court was held in a big maidan and the patriot was charged with revolting against the King. The Court passed judgment that either the patriot should apologise for his actions and should say 'Badsha ki Jai' or should be shot. Why should the patriot apologise? Afterwards the Soldiers handcuffed him and made him stand before the Gun. Then the representative of the King said 'for the last time, for the sake of the Justice, I tell you to apologise and shout out 'Badshah ki Jai'. Patriot laughingly said 'Do your work, it is useless to ask me to apologise, why do you force me to apologise, why do you force me to say 'Badshah ki Jai', where is the real King. What! should I consider a robber of the country to be a King. Can a king be against manliness? Can the king cut the Throat of Justice? Can the king be thirsty of blood? Shoot me and by that the King will benefit, Shoot me'. A party of Devas saw that the worshippers of Tyrannies shot him down. The parts of the body of the Patriot were taken away by Devas as if they were Jewels and they went on saying 'Desh Bhakta ni Jai' for long time."

(8) *Press*.—The "Hindu Jati" in its issue of the 26th July 1931, writing in an article entitled "Bombs and Pistols" praises assassins in about 80 per

cent. of the article, and in the other 20 per cent. evades coming under the law by advising youths not to carry out outrages as they give the bureaucracy a chance of adopting oppression, but instead to go out to the villages and teach the Gospel of Swaraj to the rural population and to attend the sick, etc.

BENGAL.

(1) The *Jagaran* (Kushtia) of the 3rd March writes: Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukdev have to-day gained immortality by embracing death. They never applied to Government for mercy with a view to save their own lives. They were heroes and hence the whole of India pays homage to their heroism. They have departed but they have undoubtedly left an undying impression on the minds of the people.

(2) The *Payam* (Calcutta) of the 16th March writes:—

Countless youths of Bengal have been thrown into prison without any legal ground. They have not been tried in a Court nor has any accusation been made against them. The highest charge against them is that the police suspect them to be revolutionaries. But what patriot there is who is not a 'revolutionary'. In the present regime of slavery it is the highest virtue for a man to become a revolutionary. All self-respecting people want to become free and consider it their holiest duty and devotion to sacrifice their lives for freedom. If the demand for freedom is a crime then all persons from Mahatma Gandhi down to the ordinary peasants and labourers are criminals. Even the Englishmen themselves are criminals. The crime of the English is more severe, for, they do not only consider it necessary to sacrifice their lives but also consider it their duty to take the lives of others for freedom. Therefore it is an offence of which not only the interneers of Bengal are guilty but all noble persons are guilty of it. Even Lord Irwin is not an exception to it.

(3) The *Pravasi* (Calcutta) for Chaitra, 1337 B.S. publishes a story metaphorically entitled "Cloud and sunshine", written by Dinesh Chandra Gupta, sentenced to death in connection with the murder of Lieutenant-Colonel Simpson, which may be thus summarised:—

Chota Daroga Hafizuddin Saheb, while returning to the thana, with a constable, after his night duty, suddenly heard the barking of a dog and turned round. A man running after the dog caught hold of its hind legs and cried aloud for his companions, and in a short time a large crowd assembled there. The Daroga pushed through the crowd and approaching the man enquired of him in a thundering voice why he was bellowing like a bull. The man, Bangsilochan, said that he was bitten by the dog. At this the Daroga threatened the owner of the dog, not knowing who he was, that he would be tied with a rope round the waist and dragged to the thana. But on some one crying out from amidst the crowd that the dog belonged to the Police Saheb, the Daroga got puzzled and immediately changing his tone reproached Bangsilochan saying that he could not understand how such a little puppy could bite a big fellow like him and that he was a liar and ought to be whipped. Bangsi stopped remonstrating with him, and giving a big *salaam* to the Daroga, said that he knew the dog of the Bara Sahib; it was not his. Some others from amidst the crowd nodded assent to his statement. The Daroga now smiling a wise smile said that the Police Saheb could keep such an ugly dog, and asked Bangsi to go to the thana and make an *ejahan*. Constable Ram Singh was so long closely observing the dog and now said in a low voice to the Daroga that the dog might possibly have belonged to the Police Saheb, for, he seemed to have seen such a dog at his house the previous day. Somebody cried out that it was a known fact that the dog belonged to the Police Saheb. At this the Daroga turned grave and changing his tone reproached Bangsilochan. Accidentally the chaprasi of the Police Saheb appeared there and was asked whether the dog belonged to the Police Saheb. The chaprasi Karim replied that it was not Police Sahib's and before he could finish, the Daroga immediately cried out that he knew that such a sickly dog could never belong to the Bara Saheb; it must have belonged to some pleader. He would teach a lesson to those who delight in keeping dogs. Karim said that though it did not belong to the Bara Saheb, it belonged to his friend Mr. Honsing. Immediately on hearing this the Daroga took the dog into his lap and said that the dog was very docile and lovely. It was impossible that this dog could have bitten the man. Karim went away with the dog, and the Daroga threatened Bangsi that he should be whipped from head to foot for thrusting a burning cigarette into its mouth.

(4) The *Payam* (Calcutta) of the 16th March, in referring to the second Round Table Conference in London writes:—

We do not expect that the conference will be successful. The pride of the English has not yet broken down. Another struggle is necessary to subdue them. That struggle will be far more severe and horrible. India must make preparations for it even from now. We do not expect that the conference would grant a Self Government to India of the same kind as is enjoyed by the dominions. Even if grants, India's goal will not be fulfilled. India cannot be satisfied without complete independence. India can in no manner accept dependence to England. She wants a freedom like one which is enjoyed by England herself. Even if the Congress agrees to so ne thing less than this, the youths of the country will hold aloft the standard of freedom's battle.

(5) The *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 21st March has the following:—

Again does that cannon roar?

A secret letter from revolutionaries.

To

The Editor, "Sramik."

Comrade,

We could not help laughing as we realised the helplessness of your condition in publishing the 'Red pamphlet' last week. We exist and will certainly do so. You are afraid, but death is the companion of our youth. We will not be content with destroying the white-skinned English only, we want the destruction of the native blackskinned Englishmen too. Further, we want the downfall of Gandhi who is religious-minded, a traitor to the nation and a patron of capitalists.

We send you only those portions of the 'red pamphlet' which you did not receive. We want the victory of the 'Sramik' "Inqilab Zindabad."

* * * * *

will go. Then if there is money in the hand, no difficulty is ever experienced in collecting arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities. Hence, money is needed first. If the people of the country do not give money of their own accord, what alternative is there to snatching away money from the rich?

Again, many openly argue in this fashion, "If you attempt rebellion, the English will certainly destroy you by training cannon and throwing bombs from aeroplanes. Over and above that, many innocent people also will lose their lives". To them we say that no nation can ever radically destroy another nation. Had that been possible, how is it that the English could not destroy the Irish root and branch? They were very insignificant in number. Yet, Ireland could not be destroyed even though cannon were trained, bombs from aeroplanes were thrown and the Black and Tans and other soldiers were made to commit inhuman oppression. On the other hand, defeated in battle by them, (the English) were compelled to accept their demands.

We should of course bear in mind that the fight for freedom in our case will no be an open fight. We shall take to guerilla warfare, for, following this method of fighting, a handful of men may weaken even a strong antagonist with the help of a small number of weapons. In an open fight, the English may very quickly put down the revolutionaries by means of their well-trained soldiers, cannon, aeroplanes, etc., but if war is waged according to the above-mentioned method, on whom shall the English exercise their military skill and on whom will they have the best opportunity of ruthlessly raining their cannon-balls and bullets? Of course, if a revolution begins, the English, regardless of guilt or innocence, will commit oppression on all and wound and kill many. As it is, crores of people in India, suffering from famine and floods and from such preventible diseases as Phthisis, Malaria, Cholera, Small-pox, etc., fall into the cruel jaws of death every year—well, let us take it that as many men will die from oppression at the hands of the English. Not to say much, even if as many men as die prematurely every year are determined to be killed by and kill Englishmen, no body will have the power to stand in the way of India's freedom. Over and above that, if the English commit oppression on the public, the real revolutionary soul that had so long been dormant in them will wake

up, and then it is they who will become soldiers in the fight for freedom. We must remember that at the root of the present non-violent movement lies the Jallianwala-bag massacre. Hence, it is the oppression of the English that will create the fight for freedom as also soldiers for killing Englishmen, and it is then that the real revolutionary mass movement will begin.

Many perhaps will ask whether it will be possible for us to bring freedom into the country by practising terrorism in the manner in which it is being practised now, that is, by the explosion of bombs and the firing of bullets anywhere and everywhere. This sort of sporadic terrorism is of course not of much use. What will have to be done is to start a lasting and country-wide terroristic movement; here we shall have to consider why revolutionaries practise terrorism.

If exactly at the time when "goonda rule" is introduced into the country by some particular person or at the secret hint of somebody, *i.e.*, at the time when the people of the country, thoroughly put out by his behaviour, desire his death, somebody relieves the oppressor of the burden of life, it is but quite natural that the sympathy of the people of the country will be attracted to him and his ideal. It is exactly for this reason, *i.e.*, with a view to winning the sympathy of the countrymen that revolutionaries practise terrorism. Again, it may also so happen that, on the murder of the above-mentioned man, the successor to his post may, out of revenge, try to repress the people of the country more severely. But if somebody kills him and his successor too, and thus at least eight or ten persons are done to death, then.....

* * * * *

"O ye, those days are no more; the emancipation of India will not, will not be achieved by prayer to God. Draw out the sword. These demons are not of that type."

Finis.

RANAVIR SINGH,

Secretary General, Hindusthan

Socialist Republican Association, Bengal.

(The word 'Bengal' has been written with the hand.—Editor, "Sramik.")

(6) The *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 21st March publishes a letter from one comrade B. Gangopadhyaya, Secretary Samyraj (Communist) Party, Bengal, in which the following lines occur:—

For the sake of full independence, the work of establishing a soviet among the workers and peasants should be intensified a thousandfold.

(7) Sudhir Raha contributes an article entitled "The Bread problem" to the *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 21st March in which the following lines occur:—

The labour leaders of India are to-day suffering punishment at the hands of the ruling authority on the charge of helping the crores of the starving Indian proletariat in the struggle for bread. The proletariat have realised to-day that they are the sole owners of all the wealth, of all the money and of all the food in the world. But so long they have been kept plunged in the mire of poverty by a class of people that got all wealth produced by them. If exploiters are to exist in the world, a class must be kept deprived of self-consciousness of home and health and all sorts of happiness. For, if once their consciousness is awakened, exploitation will become difficult. Every self-conscious man should try to eject the ulcer of capitalism from within his body. To-day we say to every young man, "Come, come, freed from all sorts of conventions, descend into the field of action with a view to establishing the just rights and claims of the worker and the peasant and wiping out all traces of the capitalists from the earth".

(8) The *Bangavani* (Calcutta) of the 22nd March writes that though under the law the punishment of Bhagat Singh is inevitable, it is shocking to the feelings. The eyes of the people are to-day bedewed with tears. Will Lord Irwin remain deaf?

(9) The *Bangavani* (Calcutta) of the 22nd March reports that at a meeting at Delhi on the 22nd March Mr. Subhas Bose, speaking of Bhagat Singh, said:—He is a great embodiment of the freedom movement in the country. He loved his country in an incomparable way. We may possibly disown his methods of work but we cannot help praising his self-dedication.

(10) The *Dainik Busumati* (Calcutta) of the 22nd March reports a speech by Mr. Subhas Bose at Delhi thus :—

Bhagat Singh is now an embodiment of the spirit of revolt which has now taken hold of the country. He is a selfless patriot—more than anything else he loved his country. We can blame the path he took but we cannot refrain from praising his self-sacrifice. What is the value of a peace which cannot save the life of a patriot like him ?

(11) The *Nayak* (Calcutta), evening edition, of the 24th March writes : So far in the history of rule by the British people a case was never known of a man under sentence of death being executed at night. When darkness fell on all sides, the proud authorities of Lahore Jail, finishing their evening meal, and quite at rest with unshaken mind, approached the gallows and putting the noose round the necks of these three Indian youths killed them. It is true that human eyes did not see this killing, but God did that. We know that these men have not died but that through their life they have taught India how to earn immortality.

(12) *Liberty* (Calcutta) of the 24th March has the following :—

GREAT DISSATISFACTION AT EXECUTION ORDER.

ALL-INDIA BHAGAT SINGH DAY CELEBRATION.

Protest Meetings.

Likely reactions on political situation.

The feeling of smothered indignation, of exasperation and impatience which the news of the impending execution of Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his comrades immediately following the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, has created among the people of Calcutta, could be gathered from the fact that thousands of citizens assembled at the Halliday Park on Monday (March 23) and held a meeting under the Presidency of S. Subhas Chandra Bose, the Mayor of Calcutta, and warned all concerned against the consequences of such a step at this juncture.

The meeting was timed to be held at 5 P.M., but long before that people began to pour in there and soon the park became a surging mass of humanity.

In the meantime huge procession organised by the local Rajput Navajuvak Dal started with flags and posters from the Dal's office at 402, Upper Circular Road, paraded the main thoroughfares of Burrabazar and finally joined the meeting amidst cries of "Swatantraki Jai."

At the centre of the meeting near the seat of the President a photo of Bhagat Singh was held aloft on a pole. On arrival S. Bose was received with a tremendous ovation and shouts of "Bandemataram" "Gandhi-Ji-Ki-Jai" and national slogans rent the air. On rising to address the meeting he was similarly greeted.

GANDHI-IRWIN PACT.

Implication of Peace Terms.

In the course of his speech S. Bose, speaking in Hindi said that though the terms of the Truce did not include explicitly any condition regarding the revocation of sentences of death passed on the political prisoners like Bhagat Singh, Sukdev and others the underlying spirit was understood to be that these would at least be commuted in order that a peaceful atmosphere might be created in the country. The speaker had been told that in his interview with the Viceroy Mahatmaji had laid before the former the suggestion for the commutation of the death sentences. The Viceroy, in reply, was reported to have said that applications for clemency were lying before him (the Viceroy) and that he would give his earnest consideration both to the said applications as well as to Gandhiji's suggestion. This had led Gandhiji, continued the speaker, to have been under the impression that the questions of the commutation of death sentences would be favourably considered by the Government. But it was now discovered that it was a false hope.

AN IRISH PRECEDENT.

Proceeding Sj. Bose said that Gandhiji had urged for a change of heart on the part of the Government. Now, how a Government which failed to show a change of heart in respect of the lives of five or six youngmen, could be expected to show a change of heart in the matter of Swaraj, he asked.

Sj. Bose then quoted a similar instance from recent Irish history and said that when truce was arrived at between Ireland and England, the Sein Feinners demanded that the talk of negotiations could not begin at all unless Sian M'Keown, who had been tried and sentenced to death was released within 24 hours; England meekly yielded to the demand. But shortly before when Terence McSwiney, the Lord Mayor of Cork, was on hunger-strike the united demand of the Irish Nation could not effect a change of heart which was forthcoming so readily later on.

THE RESOLUTION.

Only A Very Moderate Demand.

Concluding Sj. Bose sounded a note of warning and added that if these five or six lives were sacrificed to me to what is called the ends of Justice in defiance of the united demand of the Indian nation, he was afraid that the future relations between England and India would be irreparably disturbed. He characterised the resolution which he would place before the meeting as embodying rather moderate demand and urged that if under the circumstances these prisoners could not be released the sentences passed on them should be commuted.

THE RESOLUTION.

Sj. Bose then moved the following resolution which was adopted amidst thunderous cries of "Swatantra-Ki-Jai", etc. :—

This meeting of the citizens of Calcutta consider it deplorable that Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his comrades Sjs. Sukhdev and Rajguru should be executed at the present juncture and emphatically demand that in keeping with the spirit of the truce terms the sentences of death passed on them as well as on other political prisoners in Bengal and the Punjab should at least be commuted to imprisonment or transportation :

This meeting is further of opinion that if the executions are given effect to, it will have a disastrous effect on the future relations between Great Britain and India.

Sjs. Ram Logan Sing, Dewanandan Dikshit and Sjkta. Bimal Prativa Devi also addressed the meeting urging the commutation of the death sentences.

A large number of ladies were present in the meeting. From different sides of the meeting anonymous leaflets in English and Hindi were distributed.

"STUDENTS' INDIGNATION."

Meeting at Cornwallis Square.

A strong sense of dissatisfaction at the attitude of the Government regarding the death sentence on Bhagat Singh and others, was expressed at a crowded meeting of the students and citizens of Calcutta held under the auspices of the B. P. S. A. at the Cornwallis Square on Monday evening under the presidency of Sj. Bipin Ganguli.

Several speakers including Sjts. Abinash Bhattacharjee, Secretary, B. P. S. A., Sailesh Chandra Sen, Dharanath Bhattacharjee, Sudhir Ghosh, Kumud Bhattacharjee and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Mukherjee, addressed the meeting protesting against the execution of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

Sj. Abinash Bhattacharjee having moved, a resolution was adopted recording that the appeal made by the whole country for the commutation of the capital punishment passed on Bhagat Singh and others having been rejected by the Viceroy, the meeting apprehended that their execution was imminent and expressed its strong sense of dissatisfaction at the attitude of the Government and opined that if the sentences were not commuted, establishment of peace in the country would be out of question.

Sj. Ganguly, in course of a short speech, said that the whole country was passing through waves of great excitement on the question of death sentence passed on Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The country had appealed to Lord Irwin for mercy but it was rejected and now it was apprehended that they would be executed in a day or two. The country was passing through a great juncture and Karachi Congress would decide the course of action for the country to take. They all should strengthen the Congress and wait for the mandate from the Congress.

(13) The *Lokmanya* (Calcutta) of the 24th March reproduces an article on Bhagat Singh and others from the *Pratap* of 22nd March in the course of which the following occurs :—

Bhagat Singh is immortal. The plank of the gibbet, the rope of the hangman, the bloody dance of justice and the cunning political policy greedy for blood cannot kill the Sirdar. We do not tread the path he moves on. We do not want that our youngmen should follow that path. But we want to say aloud, that Bhagat Singh is dearer to us than our younger brother. It was our good fortune that we beheld him at close quarters. We want to point out to the bureaucracy, that Bhagat Singh is not a wild beast, nor a professional assassin. He is a simple youngman. We shall weep for him and then become quiet. But tell us what will you gain by thus causing excruciating pain to the country ?

(14) The *Dainik Soltan* (Calcutta) of the 24th March publishes a translation of what purports to be a letter addressed by the Lahore prisoners recently executed, to His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab, through the Superintendent of Central Jail, asking to be shot to death instead of being hanged, with the following headlines in bold type :—

The battle is bound to go on until a Socialist Republic is established.

The establishment of a new society based on the end of capitalism and Imperialist exploitation is inevitable.

As prisoners of war instead of hanging we want to be shot to death.

(15) The *Dainik Soltan* (Calcutta) of the 25th March writes :—

Bhagat Singh for ever ! Bhagat Singh's name will remain for ever graven on the hearts of Indians. The self-sacrifice of Bhagat Singh has clearly shown Indians the worthlessness of the Delhi Pact. It is the best proof that there has been no change at all of official mentality.

(16) Commenting on the executions of Bhagat Singh, etc., the *Nayak* (Calcutta) evening edition, of the 25th March writes :—

The blood of the Indian youth has to-day begun to move against the current. Till immediately before these executions possessing a grave significance, they engaged themselves in advancing along the path indicated by the older people. They adopted the path of non-violence to take off the chains from the feet of the motherland. Mahatma Gandhi himself has given counsel to soothe the feelings of the youth and to make them desist from taking the wrong path in a fit of blind rage. The youth have now begun to lose all confidence in themselves under the sudden shock of a startling pain. That want of self-confidence has found expression in the words of Pandit Jawaharlal. We are helpless, we could not have saved you. Indians beware ! You will have to extricate yourselves from this check move. Engaged in self-sacrifice, if you refrain from offering oblation in a fit of rage at the inordinate hunger of the presiding goddess of the sacrifice, you will baffle it yourselves. Whole India will offer itself as an oblation to satisfy the revenous hunger of the goddess. There is no room for niggardliness or cessation. It does not behove those whose one great object in life is the complete independence of India, to be niggardly in sacrificing their petty lives. We will not discuss what Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev did achieve by adopting the path of violence. We will only consider what self-confidence actuated them to adopt the path of violence in the name of patriotism. Their fearlessness, desperate courage, heroism and self-sacrifice may serve as an example to the youth of any independent country. . These youths knew that patriotism is an offence in a subject country. The ruling power interprets it as sedition. Had a youth of England adopted this path of violence in a foreign country to further the interests of his own land, all the men and women of England would have heartily praised him. But subjection destroys all virtues. Instead of hanging these youths on the

gallows the British ruling power could have easily shot them to death. The British Government lacks that courage. A hero only knows how to honour a hero. But the British race has never been able to show honour to a hero.

(17) The *Lokmanya* (Calcutta) of the 25th March writes: All our prayers have failed to increase the term of Sirdar Bhagat Singh's life. Our cries of pity have failed to melt a stone. We wanted to save Bhagat Singh and his confederates because Government had expressed a desire to create a peaceful atmosphere and we wanted a proof of a change of heart in them in this case. We wanted to test Government. We were not at all anxious about their souls—for they are immortal. Bhagat Singh's and our paths differ, but our goal is common. Bhagat Singh has become immortal by dying for the accomplishment of a fixed goal. By embracing death he has attained victory over it. He has pointed out that death is necessary if we want to live, that sacrifice of life is necessary for the accomplishment of life's ideal. The life of a patriot is short, the life of a martyr is transitory, but its teaching is boundless. By rejecting the appeal for mercy Government have trampled upon the honour of the country. The time is not distant when they will have to repent of their act. May God give us strength to remain firm in non-violence.

(18) The *Voteranga* (Calcutta) of the 25th March has the following: The sincere patriotism of Bhagat Singh, his deep love for his nation, his immense courage and severe self-sacrifice are worthy of imitation by every one. We bow down to the courage, the patriotism, the energy, the self-sacrifice and the selflessness displayed by him and his companions, but we can by no means lend countenance to their method of activity.

(19) *Liberty* (Calcutta) of the 28th March writes: Coming so close upon the tragedy at Lahore, the judgments of the Calcutta High Court, upholding the conviction and sentence of death passed on Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas will give a very painful and distressing shock to the people. In the first place, evidence in both the cases leads to a *bona fide* doubt regarding the identification of persons who committed the murders. Secondly, the accused in both cases are young men of tender age who have yet a good part of life's allotted span of years before them. There cannot be any doubt that the executions at Lahore have seriously disturbed the atmosphere of peace which the Delhi Agreement has sought to build. In the telling language of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, "when England speaks to us and talks of settlement, there will be the corpse of Bhagat Singh between us—Lest we forget, lest we forget." The new era of peace and understanding which, it is said, is being ushered in is a more valuable international asset than even the victories of justice. Dinesh and Ramkrishna dead, it is only human to believe from recent events, might be a more serious menace to peace than alive. In the peculiar circumstances of the hour, they may be said to be hostages of peace and good international fellowship.

(20) The *Charan* (Calcutta) of the 28th March has the following:—

Death has a love, the call of which is heard by those only who, trying to build the palace of freedom for the Mother, go down as heroes that have conquered death. O ye people of the country, do you know them? If you want to know them, approach the platform on which the gallows are erected. The other day, in the evening, three red china roses were plucked off their stems in the prison at Lahore. The whips with which they were mercilessly beaten, the boots with which they were kicked, perhaps contain stains of their blood. O ye people of the country, call to mind those presents. That alone will give rest to their souls. O Englishman, return to us the cords by means of which they were hung. We shall hug them to our breasts and kiss them and consider how firm and how noble was the vow of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev to violate the law. Blessed are you, O Englishman, may your law live for ever and kill in this very fashion a hundred Jatindases, a hundred Bhagat Singhs and a hundred State prisoners. Sacrificing the life and the self-respect, nay everything belonging to subjects at the altar of law—that is what is meant by your good government. Behold there, O Englishman, standing in the twilight region of dreams, the three heroes seem to be saying, "The tree of liberty only grows when it is watered by the blood of tyrants".

(21) The *Payam* (Calcutta) of the 30th March writes :—

Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Suk Deb have been hanged ! The lives of only three persons have been taken, but these were the lives which were dear to 32 crores of souls of India. By murdering them the English Government have thrown out a challenge to the manhood of entire India. Will India accept this challenge or will she stop after lamenting like cowards? The whole world is awaiting to hear a reply to this question. On this reply alone depends the fate of both England and India. If India accepts the challenge, the future of England will be dark ; but, if she refuses to do so, then she must be disappointed about her own future.

Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Suk Dev were very dear to us,—dearer than our own relatives, but we must not shed tears like fools at their murder. The martyrs for the country have showed the path of unparalleled sacrifice. We ought to follow it. Britain has rejected the prayers of entire India. A reply to this cannot be given by sighs and tears. Sighs and tears are the weapons of the weak and are used against the tender-hearted. The British Government is void of mercy, humanity and all noble sentiments. It is a satanic Government and does not bend before anything but power. Therefore, if you have to avenge Bhagat Singh, create power within yourself. Power lies latent in you. Use it rightly. Boycott the British Government and the British trade. England will then fall down at your feet in humiliation and disgrace and will be obliged to pay fine for blood-shedding. The price of Bhagat Singh's blood cannot be short of India's independence, for, it was for India's freedom that he and his confederates have given up their lives.

When an ordinary Englishman had been murdered in Persia Sir Edward Grey declared that not even the massacre of entire Persia was an adequate revenge for a single bone of the Englishman. If the massacre of entire Persia cannot make amends for a single bone of an ordinary Englishman, how can then the murder of three precious sons of slavish India, who had been accused of murdering an English police officer, be forgiven. If an ordinary Englishman's bone is so precious, have not the bones of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Suk Dev—bones every atom of which was filled with true patriotism and sentiment of most holy sacrifices—any value in the estimation of Indians? Do not give a reply to this question to the English by words of mouth but by action.

People wonder why at such a critical moment when even the ink of Irwin-Gandhi agreement was not dry, the Government have committed such a foolish and cruel act. In our opinion the reply is quite clear. Government knew their own inability to cope with the Civil Disobedience movement. The idea in hanging the accused was to excite youths and make them break away from the Congress, thus retarding the advent of freedom which was within sight. It is the duty of youths not to be entrapped in the snare set up by Government. In the present state of the country no movement other than Civil Disobedience can succeed.

Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Suk Dey can never come back to us but we may fully avenge them. Their murder cannot be avenged by killing their murderer or a number of murderers. In the eyes of India the position of the three martyrs for the country is higher than that of the entire English race. Hence it is that their murder cannot be avenged even if we succeed in killing hundreds and thousands of Englishmen. It can be avenged only when you free India. The entire magnificence of England will crumble into dust. Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Suk Dev ! The English are in joy that they have been able to murder you, but it is their mistake. The English have not murdered you. They have plied the knife on the neck of their own future. You are alive. You shall live for ever. You are alive in our hearts and you will remain alive in the hearts of our progeny for good. India bows in respect before you.

(22) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 2nd April, in commenting on President Patel's speech, writes :—

We differ from that portion of the President's speech where he has said that political murders are as condemnable as ordinary murders. We do not know whether he has uttered this in imitation of Mr. Gandhi or it is his personal feeling. But if he has imitated Mr. Gandhi he is in the wrong. Seven years ago Mahatma Gandhi severely opposed an appreciative resolution in the Congress in favour of Gopinath Shaha. To-day the same Mahatmaji has applauded the bravery of

Bhagat Singh in the open session of the Congress and a resolution to that effect has been passed by the Congress with his approval. Is it not clear from this that Mahatma's views about political murders have completely changed? Otherwise, he would have opposed the resolution in the same manner as he did in case of Gopinath Shaha. As a matter of principle, political murders cannot be compared with ordinary murders. It is a different thing that the present atmosphere in India is not fit for political murders. She will have to depend upon Mahatmaji's principle of non-violence.

(23) The *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 4th April publishes a poem entitled "Ramkrishna and Dinesh" in which the following lines occur: I made an end of the family of the Czar at the point of the sword of Lenin. As long as there is oppression, my scimitar will be again and again dyed red with the warm blood of man—O Mother, I shall all my life walk along that path which thou hast pointed out to me. The flag will wave on this chariot of rebellion of mine.

(24) The *Payam* (Calcutta) of the 6th April publishes a poem entitled "The Picture of Rebellion" under the signature of Josh Malihabadi in course of which "Rebellion" personified thus addresses:—

Yes, "Rebellion", "hot", "fiery" and "terrible" is my name.

In whose possession is death, in whose wake follow a general massacre
Murder, brutality, roar, storm, ruin and warfare.

With one gesture of my hands the entire world is overthrown.

Like death I spread over the head of life.

First of all I destroy the betrayers.

Then with a graceful gait I advance towards the Rulers spurning with contempt
law and imprisonment.

Seeing the havoc done by my bloody feet.

The crown of the Ruler trembles.

By yelling thus I infuse enthusiasm among the people.

"You are wise, brave leaders, mujahids (fighters in the cause of religion) and
desperate fighters.

O youths! why do you suffer this humiliation?

Why, men as you are, you suffer the kicks of others?

When will you fulfil the desire of the pining heart?

Cold are the swords of your notable ancestors.

How long will there remain the bruises in your feet caused by the chains of
slavery when by a single movement of yours you can tear them into pieces?"

My call agitates the quiet of the soul.

The eyes of those who possess a sense of honour become blood-shot.

A cry arises: "The gallows and the noose are but a deception. Either we
will wear the crown or the bloody shroud."

But before the standard of battle is launched I thus sound a warning to the
Ruler:

"The attacks of the infuriated lions are a message of death, Beware! Who
can withstand the strong currents of freedom?

Who can conquer the general feelings of the masses?"

The ruling authority in its pride puts on a smile of contempt.

I take a vow and having equipped myself with the poor paraphernalia of the
beggar I begin to play *Holi* with the blood of the ruler. It can be stopped by no
one when I am determined.

I eat up even the marrow of the Ruler's brain.

After causing a tribute of the blood of the Ruler to be offered to the weak
I place the crown of liberty on the head of the prisoner.

(25) The *Viswamitra* (Calcutta) of the 8th April writes: To-day Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his associates have become objects of veneration of Indians to which they are really entitled, for, whatever those heroes did they did so not for the fulfilment of some mean personal motive but with the idea of liberating the country. They have sacrificed themselves for the attainment of independence. Although the country does not approve of the path adopted by them it must admit their extraordinary firmness.

The paper continues: The 8th of April was observed as the Shradh day of the heroes. The 8th of April will thus repeatedly recall the memory of beloved Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, etc., in the history of India. Their patriotism and their unique and supreme sacrifice will remain as notable incidents in the history of the world. The head goes down before their exhibition of patriotism and incomparable renunciation. Deathless heroes, accept the reverence of all India, bless the nation.

(26) *Advance* (Calcutta) of the 8th April writes: India observes to-day the Shradh ceremony of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The full story of their lives which is now before the public reads like a romance and makes us forget for the moment the methods which they pursued for achieving a purpose which the whole nation is striving after. They shamed death by the fearlessness with which they met it and left for all an enduring lesson in patriotism, courage and determination. These are invaluable assets in a nation's life. Congress Committees and Students' Associations have rightly taken the lead in organising to-day's functions. Let those who participate in them do it with the seriousness which marked the lives of the martyrs bearing in mind the solemnity of the occasion.

(27) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 9th April publishes a poem entitled "Feelings about Freedom" in course of which the following lines occur:—

Who has made an offering of the flower of life at the altars of the Mother ?

Who has taught the immortal *mantra* of dying for the country to youths ?

Who has been called the true son of the distressed mother ?

Who has shown the path of truth, having enkindled the fire of life ?

Who has secured an immortal place by mounting on the gibbet ?

Who has shown strength of courage by introducing light into darkness ?

O brave priest of the sacrificial ceremony ! I offer you the flower of reverence.

Though you are elsewhere I find you picture in the tears of the eyes.

Having seen the unbearable pain of the Mother,

You became frenzied, you sacrificed the wealth of life.

O you who are alive though dead !

When the world called you a rebel against the State, an assassin, robber, revolutionary, madman and a terrible seditionist,

You smiled: people thought you to be mad.

How frenzied are those who mount the gallows !

Did anybody observe what fervour of youth they possessed and what a captivating gait the heroes had ?

How can you feel happy, leaving the Mother in bondage ?

It is certain that you will come back after re-birth.

The heroes sing hymns of your sacred name ; we search you in the temple of our heart and find your fragrance. We sing the song of your victory.

The picture of your sacrifice is looming large before our ken.

It is upon the basis of your sacrifice that the temple of freedom will be erected.

Where entire Asia will bow down her head in reverence O frenzied rebel!
O true son of the Mother! O brave priest of the sacrificial ceremony!
Accept the garland of tears of love!

(28) *Liberty (Calcutta)* of the 9th April has the following :—

ALL-INDIA BHAGAT SRADH DAY.

CALCUTTA TRIBUTE.

Processions and Meetings.

Suspension of Business.

The whole of Indian Calcutta was in mourning yesterday (Wednesday) when the Bhagat Singh Sradh Day was observed in the most solemn manner. There was hartal in the City. More than half a dozen processions paraded the streets and finally joined the meeting at the Maidan, constituting a gathering of about twenty thousand people.

Exactly on the spot where precisely two months ago Calcutta paid its last homage to the memory of Pundit Motilal Nehru, thousands of people, men and women, young and old, Hindus and Moslems, assembled barefooted to pray for peace of the soul of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

By 5-30 P.M. the assemblage was so great that two meetings one to the south of the Monument and another to the north, were held.

In both the meetings there were National Flags at half mast, photos of Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his comrades, paste-board posters held aloft, containing mottos such as "Long live Bhagat Singh," "Hindus and Moslems unite", "Join the Congress and Secure Swaraj", "Will you forget the incarcerated brothers?", "Don't touch Foreign Goods" and "Remember the Meerut accused". The feelings of the processionists found expression through the shouts of "Bande-mataram", "Swadhinataki Jai", etc.

The southern meeting, the bigger of two was presided over by Sj. Bankim Das, father of late Jatin Das. Processionists from South Calcutta, of the Nawajuan Bharat Sabha, of Bengal, Jatindra Smriti Mandir, the B. P. S. A., the Rajput Nanjubak Dal, Bharat Seva Samity, Mahila Uthhan Sangha, Calcutta Seva Samity, Calcutta Chhatra Sangha, Hindustan Tarun Mandal, South Calcutta District Students Association, A. B. S. A., North Calcutta Students Association, East and Central Calcutta Students Associations, constituted the main part of the gathering there. The meeting was addressed by Sj. Jnananjan Neogi, Sja. Hemoprova Majumdar, Sjs. Basanta Kumar Majumdar, Satindra Nath Sen, Devanandan Dikshit, Ram Lagan Singh and Sirdar Maha Singh.

Undying Spirit.

Addressing the meeting Sj. Neogi said, the spirit of suffering and sacrifice of Sirdar Bhagat Singh and his comrades was to-day an example to the whole of India and this spirit would not die out till freedom was attained. However much one might differ from the method the fact remained, Sj. Neogi added, that they were the symbol of protest against the system of administration that was now in vogue.

The President Sj. Das exhorted the audience to take to Swadeshi and thereby advance the cause of Swaraj.

SJ. SATIN SEN.

On Burning Patriotism of Bhagat Singh.

The northern meeting was presided over by Sj. Satin Sen who has just been released from Jail. Processionists from Burrabazar, the Burrabazar Congress Committee, the B. P. S. A., the North Calcutta Congress Committee, and South Calcutta School Students Association, Nari Satyagraha Samiti, and others formed the greater part of the meeting. A big portrait of the dead trio as well as that of

Jatin Das, tastefully decorated kept on what might be called a bier held aloft in the meeting. Maulvi Abdul Rezzak, Smta. Nistarini Devi, Smt. Sisir Chaudhuri, Sudhir Ghose, Balai Kar, Dr. J. M. Das Gupta and Smt. Purusttam Roy, Smta. Santi Das, Smtas. Mohini Devi, Durga Devi and Josna Mitra, besides a large number of Gujrati ladies, were present in the meeting.

Addressing the meeting Maulvi Rezzak pleaded for Hindu-Moslem unity which he said, was essential to the attainment of Swaraj. Dr. J. M. Das Gupta said, that on a solemn occasion like this one forgets to draw a line of distinction between those who advocated violence and those who advocated non-violence, for the object of both was to obtain freedom.

The President Smt. Sen who on rising received a tremendous ovation exhorted the audience to be saturated with the same burning love for the country which fired Bhagat and his comrades and to be prepared for the worst suffering in the fight which was being conducted by Mahatma Gandhi.

The meeting then dispersed amidst shouts of "Bandemataram" and "Long Live Bhagat Singh".

Huge Processions.

Processions in observance of the Bhagat Sradh Day were organised in South Calcutta, Burrabazar, Central and North Calcutta.

In South Calcutta the District Students' Association and the School Students' Associations of the B. P. S. A., the Jatindra Smriti Mandir, the Naujuan Bharat Sabha of Bengal, consisting mostly of the Panjabi citizens, organised processions and all of them met at the Hazra Park and proceeded to join the meeting in the Maidan, under the general leadership of Smt. Bankim Das. This was a huge procession in which there was a large number of ladies who carried photos of Bhagat and national flags. Passing through Russa Road, Ashutosh Mukherji Road and Chowringhee, it ultimately joined the meeting.

Another procession consisting of the members of the Rajput Naujubak Dal, the Hindustan Tarun Mandal, the Calcutta Seva Samiti, Mahila Uthhan Sangha, the Burrabazar Banar Sena, Calcutta Chhatra Sangha, the Bharat Seba Samity started from the office of the Rajput Dal at 1/1 Mechuabazar St. and led by Smts. Deonandan Dikshit, Ramlagan Singh, Mahadeo Singh, Ram Sakak Joshi, Durga Devi, Ram Pariksha Singh, Sheoratan Binai, Babulal Singh, Dayaram Beri and others passed through Cotton St., Banstolla, Chitpur, Harrison Road, College St., Wellington St. and Dhurumtolla St. and ultimately joined the meeting to the south of the Monument. A large number of Bengali, Gujrati and Punjabi ladies were included in the procession. There were about 50 "Banars". A procession from the North Calcutta Congress Committee joined this procession near Wellington Square.

A large procession organised by the North Calcutta Students' Association, led by Smt. Amulya Ratan Ghose of the B. P. S. A. started from the Beadon Square and passing through Beadon St., Cornwallis St., College St., Wellington St. and Dhurumtolla St. joined the meeting at the maidan.

Under the auspices of this Burrabazar Congress Committee a procession in which the Punjab Youth League and the Sri Krishna Parishad also participated, started from the Congress office at 162, Harrison Road and passing through various routes ultimately joined the northern meeting at the maidan.

A similar procession started from the Deshbandhu Park and came to the Sraddhananda Park where it was joined by the East and Central Calcutta Students' Associations and a combined procession went to the maidan.

Another procession organised by the Gobra Tarun Sangha of Entally started from the office of the Sangha at Cristopher Road and passing through the South Road and the Corporation St., joined the meetings at the maidan.

Hartal in the City.

In observance of the Sradh Day of Bhagat Singh and his comrades hartal was observed in the Indian quarters of the city. At Burrabazar, College St., Bowbazar and Bhowanipore shops were closed and there was a complete suspension of business.

Owing to students' refusal to attend, most of the schools of the city could not hold classes. Many of the taxi drivers and drivers of other sorts of vehicles also did not attend their duty.

CITY COLLEGE.

Students observe Bhagat Singh Sradh Day.

In a meeting of the students of City College, presided over by Sreejot Sudhindranarayan Neogi, B.A., an ex-student of the College and President of the North Calcutta District Students' Association, tributes were paid to the memory of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

An appeal was also made by Sj. Sitabandhu Mitra for collection of funds for the Defence of Committee of Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna.

Students voluntarily abstained themselves from their classes on the occasion.

HOWRAH STUDENTS.

How they observed Bhagat Singh Sradh Day.

Bhagat Singh Sradh Day was observed in a most befitting manner by the Howrah District Students' Association. The students of all the schools of Howrah observed 'hartal'. In the evening at about 5 P.M. a huge procession, monthly of students and youngmen, started from Bramhatalah, Ramkrishnapur with portraits of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev. There were also placards containing national slogans. The processionists were led by Sjs. Gurudas Dutt, Sailendra, Nath Mitra, Brindaban Bose, Bhudar Banerjee, Monmatha De, Hemanta De and others.

(29) *The A. B. Patrika*, dated the 9th April 1931 :—

HARTAL, PROCESSIONS AND MEETINGS IN CALCUTTA.

BHAGAT SINGH DAY.

Hartals, Processions and Meetings in Calcutta.

A Solemn Celebration.

About thirty thousand people, citizens of Calcutta, ladies and gentlemen, tender, young and old, Bengalis, Hindustanis, and Sikhs, youths predominating, assembled round the Ochterlony monument on Wednesday afternoon (April 8) and paid homage to the patriotism in Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukdev on the occasion of their Sradh ceremony.

Profusely garlanded portraits of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukdev and Jatin Das were hung up along with National Flags against the southern and northern walls of the monument so as to face the huge crowd.

At 4 P.M. streams of processions from the southern and northern poles of Calcutta, carrying large National Khaddar Flags and singing 'Zindabad' to Bhagat Singh and others, started and paraded the streets of the city reaching the maidan on the close of the hartal at 6 P.M.

Several ladies took part in the procession and a profusely and respectfully garlanded portrait of Bhagat Singh was carried as on a bier on the shoulders of sturdy youths.

Two huge meetings were held, one on the south of the monument, the other on the north. Both were addressed by Sj. Satin Sen who arrived yesterday morning by the Darjeeling Mail. Sj. Sen presided over the northern meeting and Sj. Bankim Das (father of late Jatin Das) over the southern.

Sj. Satin Sen in course of a brief and effective speech made a striking appeal for strength and unity in favour of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress and declared that while the Government had been flouting public opinion in India ever since the appointment of the Simon Commission right through the Round Table and down to the execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukdev and Rajguru in the face of prayers of the country to the contrary, the only way open to the people was to make their demands irresistibly strong through unity under the Congress Flag.

Speaking under the presidentship of Sj. Bankim Das, Sj. Jnananjan Neogy made an impassioned appeal to the audience for unity, strength and construction having regard to the sense of utter helplessness of the country in failing to get the lives of Bhagat Singh and others saved.

In connection with the Sradh ceremony of Srdar Bhagat Singh the citizens of Calcutta observed Wednesday, April 8, as martyr day and celebrated it with utmost enthusiasm and devotion to the memory of Sardar Bhagat Singh and two of his comrades who were executed at Lahore on the 23rd March last.

According to the programme as previously announced several people fasted the whole day and did not transact any business. In the morning National flags were hoisted on many house tops both in Northern and Southern sections of the city while the members of the Rajput Navajubak Dal, Punjab Youth League and also the members of the Burrabazar Congress Committee and other local institutions organised small processions in the morning and offered prayer on the bank of the river Hooghly for the peace and tranquility of the departed souls.

Hartal in the City.

In response to the notices issued by the District Congress Committees complete and peaceful Hartal was observed in the city and most of the Hindu shops were closed. At College Street Market and its vicinity shops owned by the Hindus and Moslems were closed. The entire Burrabazar wore a deserted appearance and not a single Hindu shop was seen open on both sides of Harrison Road, Cross Street, Cotton Street and other places in the locality. Similar scenes were witnessed in North Calcutta where most of the Hindu and Moslem shops were closed and flags were hoisted on many house tops. Many of the private schools and colleges remained closed and the students were seen parading the streets of North Calcutta in the morning singing national songs and shouting "Bhagat Singh Zindabad", etc.

In South Calcutta.

As usual most of the shops in the locality of Bhowanipore and its vicinity remained closed throughout the day. In the morning the volunteers of the Jatindra Smriti Samiti performed the Flag hoisting ceremony at the Samiti premises and offered prayers for the peace of the departed souls. Many of the volunteers fasted the whole day after having a dip in the holy waters of the Adi-Ganga in the early hours of the morning.

Processions.

In the afternoon a big procession organised by Rajput Navajubak Dal, Hindustan Tarun Mandal, Calcutta Seva Samiti, Mohila Uthan Sangh, Calcutta Chatra Sangha and Burrabazar Banar Sena started from the office of the Mandal at 1-1, Mechuabazar Street with national flags and lavishly decorated portraits of Bhagat Singh. In the procession there were about one hundred ladies who were seen waving National flags and shouting "Bhagat Singh Zindabad".

The procession which was led by Thakur Ramlagan Singh, Pandit Deonandan Dikshit, Mohadeo Sankar Joshi, Sewratan Benani, Babulal Singh Ramparikshad Singh and other prominent members of the Rajput Nabajubak Dal proceeded along Cotton Street, Harrison Road, Chitpore Road, College Street, Wellington Street, Dharmatolla Street and reached the base of the Ochterlony Monument on the maidan where already a big crowd had collected and the people from all sides shouted "Bande Mataram" and other national slogans as soon as processionists reached their destination.

This procession was followed by another procession organised by the Burrabazar District Congress Committee and the Punjab Youth League which started from the Burrabazar Congress office in Harrison Road under the lead of Dr. J. M. Das Gupta and Babu Purusattam Ray and other prominent members of the Burrabazar Congress Committee. The processionists carrying national flags and the portrait of Bhagat Singh arrived at the maidan through Suttapatty, Harrison Road, Chitpore Road, Cornwallis Street, College Street, Central Avenue and Dharmatolla Street.

The processionists carried flags with various kinds of mottos appealing for Hindu-Moslem unity and boycott of foreign goods.

In North Calcutta.

The members and volunteers of North Calcutta Congress Committee fell in at Deshbandhu Park and arrived at the maidan *via* Sradhananda Park carrying national flags and shouting all sorts of national slogans. The Students' Association, Central and East, assembled at the Sradhananda Park and arrived at the maidan through College Street, Harrison Road, Wellington Street and Dharmtolla Street.

From South Calcutta.

About half an hour before the commencement of the proceedings of the meetings two huge processions one organised by the members of the Jatindra Smrity Samiti and the other by Sikh Naujawan Bharat Sabha arrived at the maidan from South Calcutta. The processionists in the Sikh procession carried the portrait of Bhagat Singh which was placed on a floral bier. The Sikh processionists circled round the base of the monument with the bier shouting at the top of their voice "Bhagat Singh Jindabad."

The Meeting.

Punctually at 6 P.M. the proceedings commenced under the presidency of S.J. Satin Sen at the base of the Ochterlony Monument.

At the commencement of the proceedings Srijukta Nistarini Debi read a poem in Bengali which she had composed for the occasion.

Maulvi Abdul Razaq.

Moulavi Abdul Rezak in the course of his speech said that to-day the whole country was aggrieved at the execution of Bhagat Singh and his two comrades. They were not executed by the Government but rather by the people of his country. The time had come when both Hindus and Moslems should meet on the common platform of unity to guard against any other sad incident like that in future. They were all crying for Independence—they were all mad after Swaraj, but he was sorry to say that so long there was no unity between Hindus and Moslems in the country there was no hope for Swaraj. They should think that Hindus and Moslems were all sons of Mother India and they were Indians first and Hindus and Moslems afterwards. If they had come to this meeting to pay tribute to the memory of those martyrs they must first of all establish communal amity between Hindus and Moslems. If they could do that, the speaker thought, they would have paid their best tribute to the memory of these martyrs.

Dr. J. M. Das Gupta.

Dr. J. M. Das Gupta in the course of his speech reviewed the political situation from the days of Jallianwala Bagh and pictured the helplessness of the people. Referring to Bhagat Singh he said that although they did not accept their path, they could not but admire their courage. Continuing the speaker said that as Congressmen they must dissociate themselves from all sorts of violence in the attainment of their cherished goal. But he felt bound to say that the series of oppressions inevitable in foreign rule had driven a section of their young men into the path of violence. If the Government abandoned the policy of repression so long pursued by them, and adopted a policy of conciliation it would in his opinion produce an excellent effect on the minds of the discontented young men and might even win them away from the path of violence into which they had strayed.

S.J. Purusattam Ray then addressed the meeting paying a tribute to the memory of the departed souls.

President's Speech.

The President in the course of his speech said that they must all accept the lead of Mahatmaji and learn the spirit of sacrifice as these martyrs had done. They were all aspiring after Independence but they must pay the price of the thing which they so badly wanted. They must be all non-violent soldiers and stand behind the Congress and thereby strengthen Mahatmaji in his attempt to establish peace in the country. If they had really come to this meeting to pay tribute to the memory of the departed souls they must learn to sacrifice.

The meeting terminated late in the evening amidst prolonged shouts of "Bhagat Singh Jindabad."

Another Meeting.

Sj. Bankim Chandra Das, father of the martyr Jatin Das, presided over the meeting that was held on the southern side of the monument.

Sj. Jnananjan Neogi.

Sj. Jnananjan Neogi, in course of an impressive speech, said the sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades signified that India could no longer tolerate the state of things at present prevailing in the country. Their death proved how bravely the Indian youth could sacrifice their lives for the cause of the motherland.

Sj. Satin Sen.

Sj. Satin Sen, who was, on rising, given a hearty ovation, said though he was indisposed he came to the meeting to offer his humble tribute of respect to the bravery and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his associates who laid down their lives for the country's cause. But speeches and clapping would not constitute real homage to the memory. They must kindle in their heart the fire of love and determination of Bhagat Singh and his comrades so that they could fight for and win freedom of their Motherland. The youngmen of the country should take this vow that under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi they must imbibe in them the spirit of self-sacrifice and love of Bhagat Singh and his comrades for the country's cause.

Speaking of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Sj. Sen said it was only a temporary truce in their fight. He suspected there would be any real peace in the country according to the Pact because Bhagat Singh and his comrades were executed even in the teeth of opposition of the whole country. It was now the duty of Young India to strengthen the hands of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress and make themselves prepared for a greater fight which might be necessary in the near future if the country's demands were not fully satisfied in the next Round Table Conference.

Sjta. Hemaprova Majumdar.

Sjta. Hemaprova Majumdar said the best tribute of respect would be offered to the memory of Bhagat Singh and his comrades if the youngmen could be imbibed with their spirit of self-sacrifice and love for the country's cause. In conclusion the speaker fervently appealed for unity among Hindus, Mohammedans and other communities of India in their struggle for freedom.

Sj. Basanta Kumar Majumdar, Sj. Deonandan Dikshit and others next addressed the meeting. The President, in a short speech, appealed to all to discard foreign goods and use Swadeshi goods at any cost. That would be the best tributes to Bhagat Singh and others if they could do so.

The meeting terminated with shouts of "Bande-Mataram".

The South Calcutta organisations were represented by the Jatindra Smriti Mandir, South Calcutta Students' Association, B. P. S. A., and Naujawan Bharat Sabha who met in huge processions on the south of the monument.

The North Calcutta organisations were represented by the East and Central Calcutta District Students' Association, A. B. S. A., the Burrabazar Congress Committee and the Punjab Youth League meeting on the north of Ochterloney Monument.

At City College.

In a meeting of the students of City College presided over by Sreejut Sudhindranarayan Neogi, B.A., an ex-student of the College and President of the North Calcutta District Students' Association, resolution was passed appreciating the heroic sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades.

An appeal was also made by Sj. Dinabandhu Mitra for collection of funds for the Defence Committee of Dinesh Gupta and Ramkrishna.

Students voluntarily abstained from their classes on the occasion.

(30) The *Advance*, dated 9th April 1931 :—

TRIBUTES TO EXECUTED MARTYRS.

OBSERVANCE OF SRADH CEREMONY.

Tributes to the memory of the late Bhagat Singh and his two comrades, Rajguru and Sukdev, were paid in Calcutta in connection with the observance of the Bhagat Singh Sradh Day on Wednesday (April 8).

Peaceful hartal was observed in the city. Elaborate police arrangements were made throughout the city from early hours of the morning.

In the afternoon several processions, organised by different associations, and carrying national flags, well-decorated portraits of the late Bhagat Singh and his two comrades and many placards with different mottos inscribed on them, started from different parts of the city and solemnly marched through the principal thoroughfares. Besides the several small processions, two big processions came from Burrabazar and South Calcutta respectively, the one from Burrabazar being composed of a large number of ladies while that from South Calcutta contained a large number of Sikhs.

Meeting at The Maidan.

All the processions converged at the maidan where two largely-attended meetings were held at the foot of the Ochterloney Monument. Sj. Satindra Nath Sen presided at one of these meetings while the other was presided over by Sj. Bankim Das, father of the late Jatindra Nath Das.

In paying tributes to the courage and patriotism of the late Bhagat Singh and his two comrades, Sj. Satindra Nath Sen made a fervent appeal to his countrymen to rally round the banner of Mahatma Gandhi and give unstinted support to the Congress and thereby further strengthen the hands of Mahatmaji under whose leadership, the speaker was sure, they would be able to reach the cherished goal of freedom. He further exhorted his countrymen to be firm in their faith in non-violence and determined in the efforts to achieve freedom.

Sj. Bankim Chandra Das exhorted his countrymen to take a religious vow to use Swadeshi goods.

Remove The Cause of Discontent.

Dr. J. M. Das-Gupta in the course of his speech asked the Government to get at the bottom of the whole thing and remove that discontent from the country which led these patriotic young men to adopt methods which were completely different from those adopted by the Congress and the country.

Mr. Abdur Rezzak made a strong appeal for unity among a'l communities and asked his countrymen to march shoulder to shoulder along the path that would lead them to the attainment of Swaraj.

Srijukta Nistarini Devi, Sj. Purushottam Roy and others also addressed the meeting and joined in paying tributes to the memory of the three departed souls.

A. B. S. A.

Big Procession Joins Meeting.

A big procession of the All-Bengal Students' Association led by Sjts. Jaharlal Bakshi, Aswini Gupta, Sudhin Neogie, Sailen Bhattacharyya and Hemanta Bal arrived in the maidan and joined the meeting.

Two other processions, one organised by the North Calcutta District Students' Association and the other jointly by East and Central Calcutta District Students' Association merged into the first procession on its way to the maidan.

North Calcutta D. S. A.

In a meeting of the students of City College, presided over by Sj. Sudhindra-narayan Neogi, B.A., an *ex*-student of the College and President of the North Calcutta District Students' Association, the following resolution was passed unanimously :—

“That this meeting of the City College records its deep appreciation of the heroic sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades, and asks the students to follow the noble spirit of the martyrs.”

An appeal was also made by Sj. Dinabandhu Mitra for collection of funds for the Defence Committee of Dinechandra Gupta and Ramkrishna Biswas.

Students voluntarily abstained from their classes on the occasion.

Howrah D. S. A.

The Bhagat Singh Sradh Day was observed in a most be fitting manner by the Howrah District Students' Association. The students of all the schools of Howrah

observed hartal. In the evening at about 5 p.m. a huge procession, mostly of students and young men, started from Bramhatolah, Ramkrishnapur with portraits of Bhagat Singh, Sukdev and Rajguru. The processionists were led by Sjs. Gurudas Dutt, Sailendra Nath Mitra and others. The procession which began to swell in numbers as it proceeded, passed through the Grand Trunk Road, Khurut Road, Narasingha Dutt Road, Panchanontala Road, Avenue Road and assembled at Howrah maidan where a meeting was held. Sj. Gurudas Dutt spoke highly of the various activities and sacrifices of the martyrs. The meeting terminated with shouts of "Bande Mataram."

Tarun Sangha.

The members of Gobra Tarun Sangha and the public of the locality formed a huge procession for the Sradh ceremony of Bhagat Singh and joined with the general meeting held at the foot of the Ochterloney Monument at maidan. It started from Christopher Road and arrived at maidan *via* South Road, Entally and Corporation Street. It was headed by the workers of the Sangha.

(31) The *Weekly Hitavadi* (Calcutta) of the 10th April writes that on the 8th April the Sradh ceremony of Bhagat Singh, etc., was duly observed. To show honour to those who have now departed on the gallows, singing victory to India, their countrymen will perform their sradh and make an offering of their heartfelt reverence. Those who participate in this will themselves be blessed. The country which does not know how to honour heroes cannot expect emancipation.

(32) The *Navasakti* (Calcutta) of the 10th April writes :—

Young India is now filled with the one hope 'if India became free'. But granted that hope is realised, will they who have departed come back—the men who carelessly sacrificing the treasure of life smilingly put the noose round their necks on the gallows,—will they return? Will they return when India is free? The country will celebrate ever so many national weeks, any number of 8th Aprils, but will they return fulfilling their pledge that they will return? Come back, ye Dadhichis of new India, when India is free.

The paper continues :—The 8th of April was observed as the Sradh day of the heroes. The 8th of April will thus repeatedly recall the memory of beloved Bhagat Singh, Sukdev, etc., in the history of India. Their patriotism and their unique and supreme sacrifice will remain as notable incidents in the history of the world. The head bows down before their exhibition of patriotism and incomparable renunciation. Deathless heroes, accept the reverence of all India, bless the nation.

(33) The *Advance*, dated the 11th April 1931 :—

JATIN'S MARTYRDOM RECALLED.

Portrait Unveiled in Bangabashi College.

His supreme sacrifice, cool courage and heroic self-immolation were recalled to every mind when Principal Girish Chandra Bose unveiled a beautiful portrait of Martyr Jatindra Nath Das in the presence of a crowded gathering of the staff and students of the Bangabashi College and Collegiate School.

Martyr Jatindranath Das.

In the College compound on Friday afternoon (April 10).

The late Jatindra Nath Das was a fourth-year student of the Bangabashi College.

His father, Sj. Bankim Behari Das, who is *ex*-student of the same college, was present at the function.

In unveiling the portrait Principal Bose observed that the names of Jatindra Nath and Terrence McSwiney were well-known all over the world.

A good number of books have also been purchased from contributions to the Jatindra Memorial Fund by the students and boys of the Bangabashi College and Collegiate School. The books have been placed in an almirah in the college library hall, the opening ceremony of which was also performed by Principal Bose the same afternoon. The portrait, which is a nice oil-painting of the martyr, was hung up in the college library hall.

(34) The *Charan* (Calcutta) of the 11th April writes : The blood-bathed 13th of April is approaching. We do not want to discuss the hundreds of fiendish oppressions committed on that day. We only remind the nation that this is the national week—on that day so many people offered up their lives for the country, and when the time comes you also should not lag behind, but be always prepared to offer up lives in exactly the same way. We do not like the manœuvres of the English, they are very cunning, very crooked, extremely ruthless. The down-trodden masses of India should know that the oppressed people of India will rise in revolt, every spot of India and every bit of her dust will turn revolutionary. The reason for this enmity to the rulers is the enmity of the rulers towards the subjects. In Russia, France, Ireland, Spain and elsewhere hundreds of noble-minded rebels have offered up their lives for the emancipation of the masses. In our country Kshudiram, Jatin Mukherji, Kanai, Niren, Profulla, Bhakat, Jatin Das and others were born exactly for the same reason. At the present time even ten-year old lads in our country want to be seditious.

(35) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 16th April publishes a poem, in the course of which the following occurs :—

The face of beloved Bhagat is looming large before our eyes.

The dagger of injustice is being plied with great rapidity.

It is your profession to perpetrate oppressions by all means.

Even his mother could not see him (Bhagat).

Things have gone to the extreme.

Sukh Dev and Guru have also departed.

There is sigh on everybody's lip.

On account of this Singh thousands have enrolled themselves.

How long will you continue to put them to death : people ask this question.

(36) The *Bangavani* (Calcutta) of the 20th April publishes a report stating that a revolutionary leaflet entitled " Binoy is dead—long live Binoy " and containing a photo of Binoy Bose, was found recently posted up in different parts of Mymensingh town.

The same paper also writes that on the 14th April last, a notice entitled " A good fight fought for Indian independence " and containing a photo of Binoy Bose, was found posted up in places of Dacca town.

(37) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 23rd April publishes a poem, in the course of which the following occurs :—

Lion-hearted was that hero and frenzied for freedom was he.

He went up the gibbet with a smiling look.

He upheld the honour of the country at the cost of his life.

He did not feel agitated under relentless cruelty.

In every vein of his was flowing the wave of patriotism.

He, the beloved of mine, was manly and not effeminate.

(38) The *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 1st May publishes a poem by Comrade Biren Pal Chowdhury, containing the following lines : Oppressed men and women in numbers are wailing under the grinding and the draining away of their blood by the bourgeoisie. O brother workers, see there the god of equality is coming overcome by the intoxication for blood. The Red Flag is fluttering in the sky and the god of destruction is coming, his sword quivers thirsty for the blood of the oppressor. O brother workers, your sufferings will come to an end. May Day has come back again at your doors to remind you of the bloody, pleasant day. Strike the capitalists ; smash their houses of festivity and raze them to the dust. Let those satanic exploiters quake, difficulties are solved through blows—so wield the rod, not even that is the end. Piercing through the ribs of the cowardly oppressor wield your scimitar recklessly to-day making the bubbling blood flow. Make them swim to-day in a current of blood four times as much as the quantity of

blood they have sucked out from your breasts. Let that carnival of blood commence from to-day with blows of the hammer, crowbar and the plough on the path slippery with blood. Let this memorable day sound the triumphant flute of fire on behalf of the workers in the world.

The same paper writes as follows on May Day: The festival of the fraternity of labour all over the world against capitalists is May Day or Revolution Day. On this Revolution Day we simply want to say this that the turbulent ruler, whose oppression now fills the subject with terror, may possibly find his head rolling in the dust to-morrow under the scimitar of the revolutionary. The Day marks the dawn of emancipation of those sucking whose blood countless rich men have built their palaces. On this Revolution Day we simply want to suggest that May Day should come back every year, to stir up those who are asleep and immovable.

The same paper publishes another article by Comrade Badal Ganguly on May Day, containing the following: The proletariat are to-day ground down. The bourgeoisie who robbed others of their wealth and created a bloody night by shedding our blood—that night will be followed by another dawn red with blood shed from them. If to save one's own blood the blood of the oppressive enemy is shed, one is not a guilty murderer—he who was killed was himself a murderer, he was guilty, he was a robber, he was the murderer.

(39) The *Viharee* (Calcutta) of the 12th May publishes a poem entitled the brave revolutionary over the signature of Avant Bihari Mathur in course of which the following lines occur:—

“Having taken up the sword, I am always prepared to proceed to the field of battle. Having killed others I am prepared to get myself killed.

Having attacked others with the sword, having killed them by cutting their throats, I am prepared to get myself killed—am full of courage to meet the hero's death.

To meet a hero's death alone is, I know, the ideal of life. This is the result of the high education I have received.

I have always measured my strength for sacrificing it in the defence of religion and for the motherland.

I want to sacrifice myself for the country, after suppressing the betrayers. Hearing about painful oppressions on the country. The blood of the ancestors in me boils up.

And a feeling arises in the heart that now is the time for doing work.

Patriots! arise, awake, give up your sound slumber, it is day-light now.

In this age of awakening the country is looking towards you.

Heroes, you are the progeny of the brave.

The country has hopes in you.

The people look to you with enthusiasm.

Pay a little attention to the country to your own house, to the difficulties of the residents thereof. The country adjures you to remove the pains of your women folk.

(40) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 21st May publishes a poem in the course of which the following occurs:—

“The penalty for sedition is death; this falls to the lot of national heroes.

The heroes of the national campaign are sentenced to transportation for life.

You mark forward with terrible ideas in your mind.

And make bashful death as the necklace.

O traveller! you are strong-hearted, you have received necklaces as presents.

The people of the country have become sanctified by the strokes of the judges.

They will throttle the dear young men with cruel hands.

Thousands had raised their voices in this expectation.

That at the time of peace a wrong policy will not be applied”.

The same paper also publishes a poem in the course of which the following occurs :—

“ O Bhagat Singh, tell us where have you gone after leaving us :
 Tell us, O Bhagat Singh ! who should work here now.
 O Dear one ! you have left us without warning.
 Now tell us whom should we enquire of.
 To whom have you entrusted the work
 Of looking after the work of the Mother and the country which you used to
 do ?
 May India become free through such heroes, O Chunder !
 Please tell us when will you come back, O Bhagat Singh !”

(41) The *Taranga* (Calcutta) for Baisakh, 1338 B. S. (received on 23rd May) publishes the following: “ Let us congratulate Government. You were not bold enough even to hang them (Bhagat Singh and others) at the scheduled time ! You hanged them secretly ! Over and above it you showed a spirit of vengeance in respect of the dead bodies. You threw them away in a half-burnt condition to some unknown place ! What was their crime ? Their crime was that they were dissatisfied with the British administration and as they held that it should be abolished they thought it necessary to adopt measures for its destruction. This was their crime. What a terrible punishment ! Were you not satisfied with keeping them for one whole year in solitary confinement under chains ? Necessity having been felt for more terrible revenge they were sentenced to be hanged after trial. Is it in this way that you want to become one with the Indians ? Shame on you foolish Indians ! Have you not come to your sense even now ? Do you still have faith in them and hope for “ Home rule ” ? Be sure that instead of “ Home rule ” you will have agonising experience. In this way many an Indian has blown the flute of hanging (died on the gallows) smilingly in order to rouse the sleeping nation from its sleep. When they stand on the scaffold they do not feel any fear, their hearts do not tremble. The smile on their lips does not fade a little, as though they were living gods. Is there any God other than this ? Are there any pious men other than this ? They alone know what is true piety. We are dependents, many are the miseries which fall to our lot. So we ask how long shall we live in this dying condition ? The foreigners are ruining us. Are we not really men ? Will not anybody rise to remedy this condition ?”

(42) The *Navasakti* (Calcutta) of the 29th May writes : “ We are blacks and they are whites, herein lies the difference. They are prosperous with wealth looted from us and we are people who are destitute, who have been robbed of their all—this is the difference. They came under a false pretence and stole away, and we allowed ourselves to be robbed. They thrashed us and we put up with that thrashing. We are untouchables. The coloured man of the East is untouchable to the white civilisation of Europe. They spit at us, and they love even dogs, but they despise us. Calling us coolies they assault us in public places. They do not uphold the honour even of our mothers, daughters and sisters—confining us in prisons they insult the modesty of women. We cannot put up with it any more. The capacity of our youth is not less than theirs. The blood which flows in the veins of our youth is not less red than that which flows in the veins of the whites. Why then should the East put up with humiliation from Europe which is proud of its strength ? We are a subject people. That is why they have been emboldened to insult us. It is necessary now to make them realise clearly that a manifestation of brutality is not human civilisation. Until these slaves realise our superiority, so long as finding us incapable and helpless and catching as alone they insult us anywhere and everywhere, so long the black must be always on the lookout to try to humble to the dust the aristocracy of the White. When they realise clearly that a blow means a counter-blow and that counter-blow brings in death, then their uplifted and arrogant heads will grovel at our feet and await our orders in order to please the blacks. Until this sense comes to them, it is cowardice to go on putting up with humiliation”.

(43) The *Sarbahara* (Calcutta) of the 13th June writes :—

“Your blood is mingled with that machinery that palace, that conveyance, and yet why are you deprived of each of those things? Who will answer, why? The men who sitting in the palaces built by you are smiling a sardonic smile, who drive in motor-cars and put lakhs of money in their pockets it is those men who have left you destitute. Listen, there is in the atmosphere a call that you are to destroy those robbers the universe has to be awakened and you also are to awake. You should get what is your due. Come, let us swear under the open sky to carry the Red Flag, whether we fall down or die on the way. We do not fear the dark prison or death by execution, we do not fear anybody; we fly the Red Flag.”

(44) Referring to the execution of Har Kissen, the murderer of Mrs. Curtis near Lahore, the *Deshar Vani* (Noakhali) of the 17th June writes: “Does not this kind of murder of the patriots at a time when attempts are being made to bring peace to the land after the truce, prove how public opinion is trampled under foot? Either weakness or regard for the Mahatma might keep suppressed the anguish of the people for the present, but we have no doubt that it is sure to burst forth one day”.

(45) The *Nayak* (Calcutta), evening edition, of the 24th June, referring to two letters from Ramkrishna Biswas, recently published in the press, writes: “Since the English so will it, Ramkrishna will die. In the history of the nation it is the unjustifiable deaths of these men which will bring swaraj nearer to India. So what we want is that Bengali youths should worship with honour Ramkrishna’s letters”.

(46) The *Hindu Punch* (Calcutta) of the 25th June publishes a poem composed by “Swatantra” containing the following lines :—“The heart of the enemies shall quake when there will be a shower of stones. The heroes, putting on the leonine garment, will dance a frantic dance at the beat of the drum. Our goddesses (ladies) will array themselves in the battlefield, having put on the soldiers’ uniform. Who will be able to confront them? They will put an end to all military power. The mothers will send their dear sons to get themselves sacrificed. From thousands of throats there will issue the shout of “Bande-mataram.” The whole country will resound with the auspicious shouts of victory. O brave priests of the Motherland! put on the soldiers’ garb. All the parties in the country will in one voice invoke freedom. Even the cowards will cry out: ‘We shall make a sacrifice of our lives.’ In this dead country there will be infused new life. The strong arms will feel an agitation, enormous power will burst forth. Arise O mad ones after freedom! Give up your lives for the sake of the Motherland! Unfurl the flag of victory in the whole world. You have to create a new era with the last drops of your blood. Let these idols of clay secure final emancipation in freedom. In the innermost recesses of the heart of the country there will flare up a spark in the terrible flames of which all the obstruction shall be burnt up.

(47) The *Bartaman Jagat* (Dacca) for Jaistha, 1338 B. S., publishes an article on political murders, containing the following passages: “If a number of English officials and traitorous Indians are murdered, India might not forthwith become free, but it can be easily stated that she advances far thereby on the path to freedom. Remaining in a disarmed condition Indians have come to feel that they are incapable of using arms. They have forgotten even that they have the capacity to fight, that they have the power to take the lives of their enemies. We find that there is very great need of this kind of political murders, etc., to rouse in the minds of this self-forgotten nation a belief in their own real capacity and to rouse in their minds a desire for vengeance. This kind of deed helps considerably in evoking a revolutionary excitement in the minds of the people. Then these murders are of value in infusing terror”.

(48) The *Arya Gaurab* (Calcutta) for Sravan, 1338 B. S., writes that Dinesh Gupta’s mortal body has ceased to exist but his immortal life will ever remain a shining landmark before his countrymen.

(49) The *Jayasree* (Dacca) for Sravan 1338 B. S. publishes an article entitled “The Conqueror of Death” by Usha Devi in which the following lines occur :—

“In every age and in every country boys have been born who like Dinesh have conquered death itself by courting it and saw its dreamy smiles by removing its veil. Everybody may not see eye to eye with Dinesh, but he need not hang down his head on that score to-day. In self-abnegation, heroism, patience, patriotism,

etc., he was in no wise inferior to Lajpat, Tilak, Gokhale, Deshbandhu and there was no insincerity in his patriotism. Hence he could offer himself up so completely at the feet of the country. In spite of all his blemishes and mistakes his position to-day is very exalted indeed! His unfulfilled desire is to-day mingled in the air and the sky of the country. In a country where such a death-conquering devotee is born—does it behoves the people thereof to give way to grief?"

(50) Referring to the execution of Dinesh, the *Jayasree* (Dacca) for *Sravan* 1338 B. S., writes:—

"The death-conquering boy, who has been hanged, declared in a fearless and firm voice that death had appeared to him as a friend and that the punishment had failed even to touch him. The arrogant authorities, having cruelly trampled on the earnest and almost united prayer of an entire nation, for sparing the life of this boy, maintained the prestige of the law by hanging him—thereby punishing the nation and driving it home to it that the supplications of beggars have no value! The shame, born of this sense of humiliation, is to-day chastising, as it were, our whole sensibility with a whip! At the awakening of this self-forgotten nation, the desire which was eager for an expression, found vent in this boy. To-day in every home in Bengal, people, irrespective of their age and sex, will take a life and death vow to make their mother-country free and thereby offer oblation to his dissatisfied soul".

(51) The *Arun* (Rangpur) for Ashar, 1338 B. S., writes thus about Dinesh Gupta's execution:—

It is all in vain. How many of these will you kill? They live immortal in the desire for freedom cherished in the inmost recesses of the whole nation. Do you not know that they will reveal themselves amidst the whole people? By enabling the whole country to drink in the nectar of their glorious deaths it is you are filling the whole country with a frantic desire for freedom. They are strong and by their death are making their countrymen strong. They enable the country to understand that by self-sacrifice will be got back that which the nation lost by selling itself. Until we are quite definite about the genuineness or otherwise of our own path, let us not be rash enough to call Dinesh's path a wrong one. We are not over-intelligent and unsympathetic enough to do so. We pray that we may be able to realise his deep patriotism and his glorious death. Instead of discussing him with the nice discrimination of the moralist, we ought now to look at him with the gaze of respect.

(52) The *Chattradal* (Calcutta) for Jaistha, 1338 B. S., writes in its editorial notes thus: Go running in order to destroy all inequity and highhandedness of the oppressor.....They are defending themselves without giving their opponents an opportunity to strike and have made the iron doors their armour. Nor is this all, these cowards are then hurling thousands of arrows at helpless men, unperceived.....Wake up students! Perpetual thrashing has made the skin of our back, blue. Yet it is we who are called "violent" and they affectionate! We are branded uncivilized, uncultured, treacherous and full of lies because we divulge secrets if we scent them, while they are called civilized, reliable and truthful, because they have caused our ruin by setting one party against another and oppressing the innocent. Go and strike. Work up your imagination to a frenzy before setting out to throttle the unjust oppression of these cowards and do away with their haughtiness.

(53) The *Hindu Punch* (Weekly Edition, Calcutta) of the 2nd July publishes an article under the signature of Yasoda Devi in which she describes a dream she saw after the execution of Bhagat Singh and his associates. She saw that a hungry and ferocious lion pounced on a child who was in the lap of his mother, took him away and tore open his heart in the presence of the mother. The child remained smiling and gave up his life crying 'Victory to the Mother'. Seeing the dream she became astounded. Two drops of tears flowed from her eyes and she ejaculated 'Alas! O Harkishen!'

(54) The *Swadesh* (Calcutta) for July, 1931, writes:—

Dinesh Gupta was a fine manifestation of the patriotism of present-day Bengal.

The paper publishes in this connection a letter from a lady named Srimati Suprava Devi containing the following passages in appreciation of Dinesh :—

On the day of his execution Dinesh may be said to have assumed a new life in the hearts of the Bengalis, there to remain shining for all time. Dinesh's mortal body mingled with the dust beside Anantahari and Pramodranjan. O brave one, O thou, who hast conquered death, may the lustre of your face illumine our faces as well! Although we might not accept your path, may the lustre of your soul dispel the gloom of fear and doubt from our minds!

(55) The *Viswadut* (Calcutta) of the 4th July writes :—

The people who ignoring the prayers of so many men can sentence a helpless youngman to death, does that people possess human hearts? But then what is the necessity of these prayers for reprieve? It is the torment of death which will bring us nectar from heaven. Even if honour and life and everything is sacrificed we will not pray for anything from the foreigner—have we not patience enough for this? What are we begging for? Life must be yielded up—the time for that has come. What youth who seeks emancipation can remain inactive ignoring the call for emancipation? Dinesh and Ramkrishna have to-day heard the call of emancipation. From the clutches of Satan they will go to God. Let us not by asking for a reprieve pollute their souls which hanker for emancipation.

(56) The *Sramik* (Calcutta) of the 4th July writes: What is wanted is full independence. We shall have nothing at all to do with the exploiting English Imperialists. We must be careful that in driving away the English Imperialists, we do not seat some Indians on the *guddi* who will again carry on at will a policy of exploitation. Our aim is not to replace white exploiters by black exploiters. We shall destroy the exploiters, be they blacks or whites. We shall establish communism. Under our communism the workers will dispossess the bourgeoisie of all political powers and rule the country. The dumb masses must now be aroused; they must be initiated into the creed of a great revolution. Workers have now come to such a pass that excepting revolution there is no other course open to them. He is moribund and that is why he comes forward to give a death-bite. A revolution is the inevitable result of the policy of exploitation now going on all over the world. A revolution there must be and triumph it also must. All the imperialists of the world organised will not now be able to stem the course of a mass revolution. The frantic revolutionary masses now know that they possess the instruments for bringing about revolution and with them they will now bring Government to a standstill. Organisation must be established, Soviets started and people taught how to fight. In this way revolutionary mass strength will be built up and the organisations and Soviets will be centres of revolution. The flame of vengeance now burns terribly in the breast of the proletariat. He is now ferocious—hence he will make a river of blood flow. The ruler, the exploiter and the supporter of exploitation will be utterly uprooted. It is on such destruction that a new communist regime will be built up. Long live revolution. Down with Imperialism. Down with Capitalism.

“*The revolutionary struggle in India.*”

(57) Under the heading “The revolutionary struggle in India,” the *Benu* (Calcutta) for Ashar, 1338 B. S., writes: It was not only the civil disobedience movement which added fuel to the fire of rebellion that had flared up all over India during the last year, but the revolutionaries made their contributions to it. A wave of electricity seemed to have passed over the whole of Bengal on the day when reports came that over a hundred Bengali youths had initiated a rebellion in Chittagong and raided the armoury there. Subsequently, the inhabitants of Calcutta were astounded when they heard that bombs had been thrown at Sir Charles Tegart, the late Police Commissioner of Calcutta. This was succeeded by the murder of Mr. Lowman and serious injury to Mr. Hodson at the Dacca Medical School, the murder of Simpson in broad daylight in the Writers' Buildings, and the self-sacrifice of Benoy Bose and Sudhir Gupta in this connection, the murder of an Inspector at Chandpur and of Mr. Peddie at Midnapore and many other incidents. The fire of revolution had besides flared up in other provinces of India too. Since 1905, a band of young men who are destitute of everything and have left their homes have been pursuing this inaccessible and blood-stained path of revolution. Many have laid down their lives prematurely, and ever so many young men have trifled with their lives like Benoy Basu and Sudhir Gupta.

(58) The *Nayak* (Calcutta), evening edition of the 7th July gives the following account of Dinesh Gupta's last moments :—" Dinesh Gupta just before death." "Smiling face." "Calm demeanour." "Calmly ascends the gallows." "Courage of one about to die." Continuing, the paper writes that when the Jail Superintendent and the Jailor informed Dinesh of his impending execution, they were surprised to see how calmly he took the announcement and on their commenting thereon Dinesh observed in reply : For a subject people who are fighting, it is glorious to welcome the death assigned to them by a vengeful ruling power. The paper writes that at the time Dinesh was actually executed the Superintendent and others stood by with heads bared. Tears were sparkling in their eyes and the Magistrate shed tears for the brave Bengali lad. Thanks to the so-called justice of the English and under the orders of a vengeful ruling power, the lamp of his life was extinguished.

(59)

Cutting from Liberty, dated 6th July, 1931 :—

PREPARATORY TO THE END OF EARTHLY EXISTENCE.

REMARKABLE FAITH IN GOD.

Most Pathetic Letters to Mother and Sister.

Dinesh Gupta's mother and brother interviewed Dinesh yesterday (Sunday) at the Alipore Central Jail. They were asked by the Jail officials to come next day (Monday) for another interview.

"That will be their last interview with Dinesh."

LETTER TO SISTER.

Below is given a free translation of a letter written by Dinesh Gupta from the condemned prisoner's cell in the Alipore Central Jail to his sister :—

ALIPORE CENTRAL JAIL,

The 3rd July 1931.

MONIDI,

Received your letter to-day.

Theirs alone is the lot of endless sufferings who are the recipients of God's blessings. I do not know how few have the good fortune and strength (of mind) to put on their necks that garland of sufferings. But any one having that good fortune has the mission of his life well fulfilled.

The one whom the Almighty calls upon to do His work—all his fortune and happiness He levels to the dust; God renders him a resourceless beggar of the street. On this neck only God puts on the garland of death whom He blesses. Is that garland a trifling one?

"This is not a garland,

But a sword of yours,

It flares up like fire—

As heavy as thunder—

Oh, this is a sword of yours!"

It may be a great thing to enjoy happiness in this life, but to embrace sufferings is still greater. Every one can enjoy happiness, but how few can bear the burden of sufferings of their own accord?

He is the fountain-head of all strength. The one whom He entrusts with a certain task is also given freely the strength to bear it up. Else how can he bear that onerous burden for one single moment!

Can one ever remain indifferent at the call of His great bugle—one who has life and has faith in embracing the beautiful? What power is there in this delusion of the earth which can bind him down? I know not what power is there in His great call—But,

"This much only I know :—He who has heard in his ears his welcome song, has gone forth with a dauntless breast into the whirlpool of dangers—He has forsaken the world and welcomed sufferings on his outstretched breast; the thunder of death he has heard as sweet as song."

Dear sister, I bid you good-bye to-day. I convey to you perhaps this my last salutation.

Affectionately yours,

DINESH.

LETTER TO MOTHER.

ALIPORE CENTRAL JAIL,

The 30th June 1931.

MOTHER,

Though I know you will come to see me to-morrow morning. I could not withhold writing a letter to you.

You may be thinking that though you have prayed to God with so much devotion, He has not heard you. God must be stone-deaf. The wails of sorrow do not reach His ears.

I do not know what God is. It is not possible for me to realise Him, but I know this that there can be no injustice in His realm. His tribunal is always open to all. Do not lose faith in the justice that He dispenses. Accept His decree in reverence and with all your heart. We do not know what He does with what.

It is because we think too much of death, that death frightens us. This is as if children are frightened by ghosts and shadows. Why should we be so much sorrow-stricken if death comes a little too soon, when we know that come it will to all, to-day or to-morrow? Why should we take death as an enemy if it has come unawares without due notice? To me Death has come in the garb of a friend.

Accept my love and salutation.

Affectionately yours,

DINESH.

(60) The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of the 8th July in reporting a meeting in the maidan on the previous evening about Dinesh Gupta writes that it was presided over by Mr. Kulkarni, the Bombay Labour Leader. The President in the course of his speech remarked: Dinesh Gupta was one of the fearless youths whom British Imperialism has hanged in attempting to suppress India's struggle for full freedom. The Indian masses were being ground down by Imperialism and capitalism and it was the ideal of those exploited and persecuted masses which animated Dinesh.

Sreemati Bimal Pratiba Devi observed: We feel proud to think that Bengal is the Mother of such a son.

(61) The *Vote Ranga* (Calcutta) of the 8th July writes:—

We will not grieve at Dinesh's death. But we ask whether murder has to be atoned for by lawful throttling. The men who take lives under the impulse of a fixed ideal, regarding it as a most unpleasant and supremely regretful duty cannot be made to swerve from their ideal by the terror of the gallows. They proceed to execute their ideal in full knowledge of the consequences. Death himself bows his head before their unconquerable and whole-hearted endeavour,—they are above fear of death.

(62) The *Dainik Nayak* (Calcutta) of the 8th July writes:—

Many divine offsprings, putting the noose of the gallows round their necks, have left their examples of the face of India. Although one may not sympathise with their methods of work, nothing will be gained by denying that their renunciation, heroism and patriotic service fill one's heart with pride. While one protests strongly against what they did, one's head is bowed in respect before their ardent desire for freedom.

(63) The *Bangavani* (Calcutta) of the 8th July writes:—

On Monday morning Gupta saw his mother and father for the last time. Before that interview Dinesh showed an immeasurable strength of mind which enabled him to pass the supreme test. When asked by his father if he had anything to say, he replied: "It is with full joy that I go back to my Maker. My only unfulfilled wish is that before my death I could not see my motherland wholly free. I am ready to embrace the gallows joyfully."

In an editorial note the same paper writes :—

Dinesh has bidden adieu for ever to his most beloved Mother land, filling the hearts of all fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters in Bengal with tears. The ferocious hunger of the law has been appeased by tearing out one heart for another, the authorities have carried out their stern duty with the sternest ruthlessness. He has taken leave of his countrymen accepting the noose on the gallows as a friend.

The same paper publishes an article by a lady, Rama Devi, on the same subject, entitled "Death in life", containing the following passages :—

Let our heads bow in reverence before those who have welcomed death with a smile. We salute the spirits of those who sacrificed their all for the country, who welcomed death inch by inch, who embraced death with a smiling face. In this day of sorrow, the heart is wrung with sorrow but when we remember what influence and what cause it was which enabled them to bid adieu with a smiling face, our hearts are filled with pride even amidst all our sorrows. Blessed indeed are they whose birth is helping to rid India of her disgrace.

(64)

Advance, Wednesday, July 8th, 1931 :—

Dinesh Chandra.

Admits shouts of *Bande Mataram* which welcomed the dawn of Tuesday morning in Alipur Central Jail, Dinesh Chandra Gupta took the ship for eternity. Cheerfully and with firm steps he went up Death's gangway feeling no uncertainty about himself and his future. Himself he put the noose round his own neck and would fain have done without the black hood. But the District Magistrate was standing by to see that the last of the legal rites were performed; so to oblige him he put it on himself. The executioner performed his cruel duty feeling that he was merely a wheel in a system which still revolves round the pivot: "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." A spontaneous hartal followed as soon as the news was received in the city and the suburbs. A deep gloom swept over the minds of the citizens and the utmost sympathy could be read in every face for the parents whose child was not.

The trial of Dinesh was conducted in an atmosphere of political passion and prejudice. He was deprived of his right to be tried by eleven of his own peers. The High Court's right to deal with persons accused of crime alleged to have been committed within its jurisdiction was superseded by a law which is of every recent origin and Dinesh was sent to Alipore to take his trial before a Special Tribunal. This allocation of the case to the Special Tribunal imparted to it a taint which never left it throughout the whole period that it lasted. The Alipore judges brushed aside almost with contempt the difficulties which the defence pointed out in the prosecution case. But the Special Bench of the High Court could not treat them lightly and the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Buckland themselves put questions to the prosecution counsel for which no satisfactory answer could be provided by the latter. The absence of Mr. Nelson from the witness box was a most damaging gap in the evidence led by the prosecution. We have been taught that it is the duty of the Crown to produce in court any and every person who can throw any light on the issues before it. This elementary principle of law was disregarded and hypotheses were forthcoming to show that in fact his absence could not possibly hurt the defence. We have not the least hesitation in saying that on this ground and this ground alone any jury would have refused to pronounce the verdict of guilty against Dinesh and would have been thoroughly justified in doing so. Colonel Simpson's murder was a heinous crime. But there will always be doubt in the mind of an impartial public whether Dinesh had anything to do with it on the evidence which was placed before the courts.

Every opportunity was given to the Government, after the Privy Council had refused to interfere with the judgment of the Special Bench, to review Dinesh's case. We have our doubts whether it was ever really done in the spirit it should have been done. The political aspect of the case could not possibly be overlooked by Darjeeling or Simla with the result that the legal difficulties were not appreciated by those with whom is vested the prerogative of interference with verdicts of courts of law. Mr. Justice Buckland, while concurring in the confirmation of the death sentence passed by the Tribunal, had intimated to the Government in language which could not be mistaken, what he thought was their duty. "In this

particular case," he said, "the absence of motive, the purposeless and the impersonal nature of the crime, the absence of any advantage or benefit to be derived from it by the appellant, are features distinguishing it from the ordinary cases of violence The exercise of prerogative affords an opportunity of considering such matters which in practice is denied to the courts, notwithstanding the duties cast upon them by law of determining the sentence to be passed". We wonder if the Government took any notice of these pertinent remarks by a judge who cannot certainly be suspected of any sympathy with an archist crimes. They thought it was their duty to visit on Dinesh the extreme penalty of law. They withheld his mother's petition to His Majesty the King having been advised that they had the right to do so. Others will take a different view. The Royal Prerogative has no meaning if it can be anticipated or obstructed by rules made by the executive. Dinesh Chandra Gupta has been hanged. The demands of law have been satisfied. The green grass within a week's time will cover up his mortal remains and destroy all evidence of identity, but Bengal will always remember him as one who met death without flinching and preserved the spirit of youth till the very last moment.

(65) The *Hindu Punch* (Special Edition) of the 8th July publishes the following portrait entitled 'Martyr Dinesh Chandra Gupta'.

Here is reproduced a full size photograph of Dinesh Chandra Gupta.

Will that day ever come when we shall see our own rule.

When the earth will be ours—when the sky will be ours.

(66) The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of the 8th July writes: Dinesh a lad of 20, gave away his life on the gallows. Like a curious boy, he desired to stand face to face with the eternal mystery of death. He tried to console his parents, and his affectionate brother's wife saying that death was not terrible—it was simply a garland. Wearing round his neck that garland of death he went away with the triumph of a death-conquering life. Dinesh was a revolutionary and the charge against him was that he murdered or helped to murder an English servant of the State and the British courts found him guilty of the charge and sentenced him to death. The dignity of law and the court has been vindicated. But Government still possessed the prerogative of mercy. Many youths had been executed in Bengal before this, but in none of those cases had there ever risen such a universal appeal to Government for mercy. A sort of confidence in the sympathy of Government was engendered among the people after the Delhi pact, and many had hoped that it would show its regard for public opinion by commuting his death sentence. But it refused to alter the extreme penalty of law. The nation is helpless and the tearful prayers of the more helpless mother went for nothing.

(67) The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) of the 8th July publishes a report of Dines Gupta's execution and of the situation in Calcutta immediately thereafter with the following headlines in bold type:—"Today my life is blessed." "Dines's remark to Magistrate." "Dines's unfulfilled desire—I could not leave seeing my

motherland free." "Monster condolence meeting on the maidan." "Eagerness of men and women to worship the memory of a patriot." "Thousands of people muster defying the rains." "Numerous processions with black flags."

(68) The *Kesari* (Calcutta) of the 9th July writes: The execution of Dinesh Gupta has wounded our hearts. It is a matter of pain that the life of a youth in whose heart there was patriotism should thus be put an end to. We do not like to repress the feelings of our heart only because we are not at one with his method. We admit that his action has retarded the progress of the country. But at the same time, we cannot restrain ourselves from saying that in the heart of the youth there was patriotism and a spirit of service for the country. If his energy had been applied in the proper manner, the country would have far advanced. The letter of Dinesh to his sister, which we publish elsewhere, is a true echo of sympathy and true love for the country. We pray to God to give peace and to bless the soul of Dinesh Gupta.

(69) The *Liberty*, dated 9th July 1931:—

EXECUTION OF DINESH.

INTERVIEW SCENE.

"Going To My Maker Fully Contented".

The following account of the last interview of the parents with Dinesh is given by "Free Press".

Dinesh with great solemnity took the dust of his father and mother's feet and cheerfully ate the sweets and mangoes brought by his mother.

He then stood up and smilingly embraced his mother, kissed her and while the mother fondly caressed her dear child—Dinesh continued addressing her "Ma" "Ma" to his heart's content.

Though the mother and the child wanted to continue longer in this last embrace, yet it had to end abruptly, the time-limit having been reached.

During the short period of the interview the father asked if he had any message to give. He said in reply that he was going to his Maker fully contented. His only desire that was left unfulfilled was that he could not see his motherland completely free before his death.

His father asked if he knew that it was their last interview. Dinesh said he knew it and asked his mother to forgive him for causing her grief. He asked her not to grieve but to bear the ordeal courageously. As for himself he was not the least perturbed and was ready to embrace the gallows cheerfully.

When his mother asked how could she endure life without her dear child, he requested her to ask his brother to read to her the life of Maxim Gorky and she would know how to bear the pangs of separation heroically.

SPONTANEOUS HARTAL.

Students Leave Schools and Colleges.

Though the news of the execution of Dinesh Gupta could not be officially confirmed till late in the morning, armoured cars and police and military patrols from early in the morning, throughout the city, did not leave an iota of doubt in the minds of the citizens that all was finished, that his life-candle had ceased to burn. Dinesh became the centre of mournful discussion. Businessmen stopped all business; shopkeepers closed their shops and awaited the confirmation of that grim tragedy.

And when after great difficulty, the newspapers were officially informed that the execution had been carried out earlier in the morning, the news spread like wild fire throughout the city and hartal was declared throughout Calcutta, including Bhowanipore. The busiest centres in Burrabazar became almost deserted within half an hour. All the Hindu shops in Upper Chiptore Road, including Natun bazar, were closed and the entire locality wore a lonely appearance.

Students left the schools and colleges and were crowding in the streets and shouting "Bande-mataram".

Our representative visited the Shambazar and saw all the shops from Shambazar crossing to Hatibagan including the Hatibagan Market closed and many students belonging to private schools loitering in the streets.

All the cloth shops in College Street Market and its vicinity as also the book stalls were closed.

Most of the shop-keepers in Bowbazar Street, Wellington Street, Dharrumtolla Street and Corporation Street did not transact any business while partial hartal was observed in Municipal Market and also at Chandni Chawk.

Similar hartal was observed in South Calcutta where all the shops owned by the Hindus were kept closed in Russa Road, Ashutosh Mukherjee Road, Harish Mukherjee Road, Bakul Bagan Road, Kalighat Road and other places in the locality.

Many young students were seen on the streets. They said that they did not join their classes and were observing hartal as a mark of respect to the memory of Dinesh Gupta.

MASS MEETING.

Citizens Flock On The Maidan.

In spite of the inclement weather and continuous heavy downpour in the afternoon, processions in various parts of the city were organised and these gathered at the foot of the Ochterloney Monument, after parading the streets. Men and women of all ages, Bengalees, Hindustanis, Guzaratis, Marwaris and Sikhs had assembled there bare-headed and bare-footed to pay their homages to the great martyr. Black flags of national mourning and the tri-coloured national flags were in abundance. Cries of 'Dinesh Gupta-ki-jai', 'Ram Krishna-ki-jai' and 'Bandemataram' rent the air. A big portrait of Dinesh Gupta, profusely decorated with white flowers and carried by ladies in procession, was held aloft facing the huge crowd of the processionists at the northern side of the Monument.

An attempt was made to bring partisan spirit to the fore and Messrs. Hemanta Bose of North Calcutta and Jatin Biswas proposed one Mr. Kulkarni of Nagpore to the presidency of the meeting. But the ladies present strongly objected to it saying that was no place for party quarrels and the proposal was withdrawn, and Sita Mohini Devi was unanimously voted to the Chair.

Distinguished among those present there were: Sjkts. Bimal Prativa Devi, Labonyaprovra Dutta, Saralbala Debi, Dr. Miss Provabati Das Gupta, Dr. Charuchandra Bannerji, Sjs. Kshitishprasad Chatterji, Aswini Kumar Ganguly, Sitaram Saksenia, Basantalal Murarka, Rajkumar Chakraborty, Kiran Chandra Das, Abinash Bhattacharji, Sudhir Ghose, Pandit Dharanath Bhattacharji, Tincowri Ganguli, Captain Naren Dutt, Comrades Hakim Zamin, Momin, Kalipada Mukherji, Durgapada Das Gupta, and others.

On the motion of Dr. Charu Banerji, a resolution expressing indignation at the decision of the Government and their carrying out the execution of Dinesh and paying tribute to his spirit of self-sacrifice was unanimously adopted. In another condolence was conveyed to the bereaved surviving parents of Dinesh.

Towards Alipore.

The resolutions were adopted, all standing for five minutes in silence. Thereafter, at the request of Sjkta. Bimal Prativa Devi and under her leadership the whole gathering made for the gate of the Alipore Central Jail along Chowringhee, amidst continuous cries of Bandemataram. It swelled in number as it wended its way in drizzle and rain. With red, black and the tri-coloured national flags at half-mast and the big portrait of Dinesh held aloft by ladies at the head of the procession, consisting of more than ten thousand people, the gathering moved along. Near the Bhowanipore thana, and large number of constables and sergeants followed it closely.

At the Jail gate, where there were already posted about 500 Gurkhas with rifles and many sergeants with revolvers, the processionists raised cries of 'Bandemataram' and 'Dinesh Gupta-ki-jai', which were responded to by the prisoners in the distant wards.

The procession thereafter returned at the Hazara Park and quietly dispersed.

Students' Procession.

Immediately after the news of the execution of Dinesh Gupta spread in the city a procession under the joint auspices of Central Calcutta Students' Association

and B. P. S. A. was organised under the leadership of Sj. Ajit Kumar Das Gupta, Sj. Bejoy Singh Naha and Sj. Sailen Chatterjee. The processionists with black flags in their hands proceeded through Baitakkhana Road, Scotts Lane, Amherst Street, Harrison Road and arrived at College Square. A large number of students of different schools and colleges joined the procession as it was proceeding along the route and shouted "Dinesh Gupta Zindabad." The police also followed the procession as it was proceeding along streets.

A largely attended public meeting was held at College Square under the presidency of Sj. Ajit Kumar Das Gupta in the morning. After the President had addressed the gathering the meeting terminated with a solemn prayer for the peace of the soul of the deceased.

DINESH GUPTA.

Dinesh Gupta, says the chronicler of events, had his bath, uttered "Bande Mataram" and offered himself to his executioner. Bande Mataram—the quivering lips muttered. Bande Mataram—Dinesh drew his last breath. Death came to him—as a friend. Who knows what light gleamed in his dark cell, what music came to him from afar in the lengthening shadows of death? Who will dare recapture the echoes of his loud thoughts? Who will scan the mystery that gave to him a deeper thrill, a richer tone and a fuller measure than possibly he knew in life? Death came to him—a friend; and it has left in him only the beautiful.

Dinesh Gupta parted with his life—at peace with his world and at peace with his Maker. If he had transgressed the law, the law has exacted its toll. If he had violated public morals, the censor of public morals has amply vindicated himself. He grieved a sorrowing mother; tenderly he wiped her rolling tears and asked forgiveness of her. If a nation mourns his loss to-day, he be-moaned his lot that he could not see his country achieve its freedom, and plunged for the unknown to find what truth, what beauty freedom holds in the great Beyond. He made no complaint. No murmur crossed his lips. There are those who question his ways. There are those who question the ways of justice. Even mercy was mute for him. He is past the ineffectual feuds and feeble hates of men. In embracing death, he showed that part of life which laws or kings cannot cause or cure. He showed the eternal spirit of the chainless mind. In the darkness of a prison cell, in the gloom of twilight, death summoned him. Dinesh Gupta got up, took his bath, and with 'Bande Maratam' on his lips, "burst into the boundless morning,—free."

MAINTAINS CHEERFULNESS UP TO LAST.

Felt Glory in laying down his life.

WHAT HE TOLD HIS MOTHER.

MOURNING PROCESSIONS AND HARTAL ALL OVER CITY.

His life was spared to be taken away.

At 3-15 a.m. on Monday, when the city was in slumber, all was finished with Dinesh Chandra Gupta. A number of persons who were alert and keeping vigil in the vicinity of the Alipore Central Jail heard shouts of "Bande Mataram". They felt execution business was over.

The news soon spread from mouth to mouth. After the report of the last interview the parents had with their dear child on Monday morning, all were prepared for the dire end. With the spread of the news people rushed at so early hours towards the jail to have a glimpse of the smoke of the funeral pyre.

Their progress was checked by the police force enmassed overnight in the streets of Calcutta, Bhowanipore and Alipore. The vicinity of the jail was specially guarded and traffic on the road in front was stopped.

Brother allowed inside.

The body was placed on the funeral pyre at about 6 a. m. and nothing remained of the tender physique after 10 a.m. The last act of grace of the

authorities was to allow the brother, S^j. Jyotish Chandra Gupta, to remain by the side of the pyre, on certain strict conditions, but no ashes were allowed to be taken away.

The previous day he applied to have the dead body to the Jail Superintendent and later, on the latter's instruction to the Magistrate at Alipore—but he was told that nothing was known of the time of execution.

Hartal and processions.

By 6 o'clock a special edition of "Liberty" appeared with the news and people from the south broadcast it in the northern quarters. Soon shops and bazaars in the city and suburbs were closed, and several processions were out, all shouting "Dinesh Gupta-ki-Jai". In the afternoon, in spite of the continuous down-pour, a large number of processions were out, and all rallied at a mass meeting at the foot of the Ochterloney Monument, where resolutions were adopted appreciating the self-sacrifice of Dinesh in the service of motherland; and protesting against the action of the Government in executing him.

T. U. C. Adjourned.

The Trade Union Congress, the adjourned session of which was held at the Town Hall on Tuesday morning, S^j. Subhas Chandra Bose presiding, adjourned for 15 minutes as a mark of respect to the deceased.

The first resolution which was moved from the chair recorded feelings of profound grief at the sad news of the execution, and conveyed sincerest condolences to the bereaved family.

Brother witnesses cremation.

"Bandemataram"—he shouted on the gallows, and himself put the noose round his neck.

He was awakened from his sleep by the jailor and informed that last moment had arrived (writes S^j. Durgapada Das-Gupta, Secretary, Dinesh-Ramkrishna Defence Committee). He received the news quite cheerfully. He then had a bath and dressed himself and told the jailor that he was ready.

The District Magistrate of 24-Parganas, the Jail Superintendent, the Jailor, three Deputy Jailors and some European Warders were present at the time of execution.

While marching to the gallows Dinesh, addressing the Magistrate, said that he felt glory in laying down his life for the cause of his country. He kept up admirable courage and cheerfulness of mind till the last moment and himself put the noose round his neck, and shouted "Bandemataram" which was reciprocated by the prisoners and echoed and re-echoed in the jail.

All the approaches to the Alipur Central Jail were kept under strict police guard from 1 o'clock in the morning. All vehicular traffic by the road in front of the jail was suspended and all the prisoners inside the jail were kept under lock and key till the cremation was over.

Brother let in.

S^j. Jatish Gupta, brother of Dinesh Gupta, presented himself at the jail gate in the morning. He was at first refused admission, but later on he was let in by the Superintendent of the Jail. He found the District Magistrate and a European Deputy Commissioner of Police seated by the side of the Superintendent. He complained to the District Magistrate that the Additional District Magistrate had told him the previous afternoon that they had no information as to the date of execution and asked the permission of the District Magistrate to go to the place where the body was being cremated.

The District Magistrate told him that he could allow his prayer on the following conditions: (1) He will go with the Magistrate and come back with him, (2) He will not interfere with the cremation in any way, and will not give vent to his feeling, (3) He will not be permitted to bring any ashes.

On his agreeing to strictly abide by these conditions, Jatish Babu and a cousin-brother of his were taken inside the jail by the District Magistrate to the

place where the dead body of Dinesh was cremated. He found the S. D. O. of Alipur and the Jailor there besides some other jail officers. An old priest had been brought by the police from outside to perform the last rites. Jatish Babu learnt that the cremation had begun at about 5-30 A. M. He (Jatish Babu) was present there till everything was finished.

He asked the permission of the District Magistrate to throw a handful of ashes in the Kali Ganga flowing by the side of the jail. This permission was refused. But at the same time the Magistrate assured Jatish Babu again and again that he would see that the ashes are thrown in the Kali Ganga or the Ganges. The District Magistrate said that he had made all possible arrangements so that the body was cremated according to Hindu rites. Jatish Babu thanked him for his permitting him to be present during the last moments.

Everything was finished by 10 A. M. and Jatish Babu and his cousin-brother were led out of the jail by the District Magistrate himself.

It has now been learnt that the date and time fixed for the execution were kept in strict confidence by the local Government till the last moment. Even the jail authorities were informed of the date and time of execution after 10 o'clock on Monday.

(70) The *Kesari* (Calcutta) of the 9th July writes :—

The execution of Dinesh Gupta has hurt our hearts. It is a matter of pain that the life of a youth in whose heart there was patriotism should thus be put an end to. We do not like to repress the feeling of our heart only because we are not at one with his method. We admit that his action has retarded the progress of the country. But at the same time, we cannot restrain ourselves from saying that in the heart of the youth there was patriotism and a spirit of service for the country. If his energy had been applied in the proper manner the country would have far advanced. The letter of Dinesh to his sister, which we publish elsewhere, is a true echo of sympathy and true love for the country. We pray to God to give peace and to bless the soul of Dinesh Gupta.

(71) In publishing an account of Dinesh Gupta's execution, the *Swatantra* (Calcutta) on the 9th July writes that on being led to the gallows Dinesh, addressing the Magistrate said : "On finding the good opportunity of offering myself as sacrifice at the altars of my fatherland I feel that my life has been blessed today". The face of Dinesh, it is said, was in bloom like a flower. He put the noose round his necks with his hands as respectfully as one puts a garland. He is said to have observed to his father that he was returning to his Maker with great satisfaction. His only desire of seeing the country free before his death was not fulfilled.

(72) *Advance*, dated 11th July 1931.—

IMMORTAL SOUL OF DINESH GUPTA.

THE WHOLE COUNTRY PASSES INTO MOURNING.

Barisal, July 9.

At a public meeting held this evening in Aswini Kumar Hall, Dr. Ananda Mohan Roy presiding to protest against the execution of Dinesh Gupta, resolutions condemning the Government action in executing Dinesh Gupta in utter disregard of the countrywide demand for commutation of the death sentence, paying tribute of respect to his spirit of patriotism and sacrifice while disapproving of his methods and conveying condolences to the bereaved family were moved from the chair and adopted, the whole house standing. The meeting separated amidst cries of "Bandemataram."

Faridpur.

Faridpur, July 9.

As a protest against the execution of Dinesh Gupta a procession was organised by students of various schools and a meeting held under the presidency of Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen, pleader when a resolution wishing peace to the departed soul was passed. A large number of ladies joined the procession and the meeting.—
Free Press.

*Rajshahi.**Rajshahi, July 9.*

The news of the hanging of Dinesh Gupta spread like wild fire throughout the town in the morning. The whole body of the students of the D. G. I. school abstained from attending their classes. In the afternoon a big procession started from the Congress office, paraded the streets of the town and ultimately terminated in the local Town Hall in a meeting under the presidency of Sj. Satyapriya Banerjee.

Sj. Hemanta Kumar Nag, Assistant Secretary, District Congress Committee read out the letters of Dinesh to his mother and sister and then the president spoke briefly on the indomitable courage, spirit and self-sacrifice of Dinesh. Ladies also attended in large numbers.

A condolence resolution was also passed unanimously, all standing.

*Bagerhat.**Bagerhat, July 9.*

A public meeting on the execution of Danish Gupta was held here last evening under the presidency of Sj. Ranada Kanta Roy Choudhury. The meeting was largely attended. The President delivered a short speech and after reading the three letters of Dinesh respectively to his mother, sister and 'Bowdidi' dissolved the meeting.

*Kushtia.**Kushtia, July 9.*

In connection with the execution of Dinesh Gupta, hartal was observed at Kushtia yesterday. Students of the Kushtia H. E. School, Municipal Academy and the Girls' School observed strike.

In the evening a procession carrying the portrait of Dinesh Gupta paraded the streets and a meeting was held in the local Jatindra Mohan Hall under the presidency of Sj. Haripada Chatterjee, where speeches were made condemning the execution.

A resolution condemning the action of the Government in executing Dinesh Gupta flouting the united demand of the nation was adopted.

*Mymensingh.**Mymensingh, July 10.*

Yesterday a big meeting was held under the auspices of the District Students Association, Sj. Harasundar Chakravarty presiding, to pay tributes to the immortal Soul of Dinesh Gupta. A resolution praying for eternal peace to the soul of Dinesh was adopted, the whole audience standing silently for five minutes.

Another resolution condemning the execution was also accepted.

The Congress Committee announced a procession and a meeting. Accordingly a big procession consisting of ladies and people of all classes paraded the main streets of the town and ultimately terminated in a big meeting on the Town Hall maidan.

A resolution was unanimously passed protesting against the Government measure and offering respect to the departed soul.—Free Press.

*Kandi.**Kandi, July 9.*

Hartal is being observed at Kandi to-day to protest against the execution of Dinesh Gupta. The shops in the local bazar, the school and some of the offices are closed. A meeting has been announced to be held in the afternoon to condemn the action of the Government.

*Krishnagar.**Krishnagar, July 9.*

Krishnagar is observing complete hartal to-day as a protest against the execution of Dinesh Gupta. A procession and a mass meeting have been arranged in the evening.

*Kalna.**Kalna (Burdwan), July 9.*

On receipt of the news of the execution of Dinesh Gupta Kalna observed hartal yesterday. In the afternoon a silent procession was out and a meeting was held under the presidency of Dr. Benode Behari Mukherjee in the local Town Hall. A resolution was unanimously adopted condemning the action of the Government.

(73) The *Lokmania* (Calcutta) of the 10th July writes :—

There are few who consider the meaning of life to lie in embracing death for the accomplishment of great object. Their number is so small that it may be counted on fingers. The world considers itself fortunate in keeping their memory alive. We do not keep an account of millions of people who enter the jaws of death. But the world still remembers Dadhichi, Hakikat, Guru Teg Bahadur and Bairagi Banda. That is the reason that we respectfully welcome the immortal martyr, Dinesh Gupta who has kissed the planks of the gallows for the sake of the freedom of the country. We remember them with gratefulness. We worship their memory, for, they have sacrificed their lives for us, for the salvation of the country,—for, they have wiped off their existence for the salvation of the nation. It is true that they have been removed away from our presence but it is impossible that we may forget their sacrifice; for, the country has received a message of life and awakening from their self-sacrifice,—for, by their death they have proved their right to live. But let not anybody think from this that we support blood-shed, or that we feel pleased at the murder of Government officials. We support Dinesh's ideal, his resolution to free the fatherland from bondage. We feel elated at his great self-sacrifice for that cause. We recognise his sacrifice—not his path. But it is impossible that we may not protest against the heartlessness of the Government of Bengal. The entire country was restless to save Dinesh's life. This was the demand of the people in view of the agreement. We admit that the murder of Government officials is improper but we are not prepared to believe that executions and hangings may put a stop to such murders. Want is the cause of discontent and discontent leads to murder. To uproot discontent *swaraj* is essential. Although those who sacrifice their lives for the country may be guilty in the eyes of Government, the country gives them a place in the first rank of martyrs—for, they mount the gallows for the country. It was easy to destroy his earthly body but it is impossible to destroy his memory. He will always remain alive in the heart's temple of his countrymen. Blessed is Dinesh, for, he had the capacity of sacrificing his all for the attainment of his ideal and blessed is the mother who gave birth to a brave hero like him.

(74) *Liberty*, 10th July 1931.

HOMAGE TO DINESH.

SAD END.

A Life of Self-Sacrifice.

Calcutta and Howrah Meeting.

Despite rains and inclement weather there was a descent gathering at Wellington Square on Tuesday, the 7th July, when people offered respectful homage to the memory of Dinesh Gupta, the young martyr, S^j. Bipen Behari Ganguli presided and the following persons amongst others were present Pundit Dharanath Bhattacharji, S^j. Kalipada Mukherji, Jitendra Nath Das, Naren Sen Gupta, Bejoy Singh Nahar, Ajit Kumar Das Gupta, Narayan Chandra Ghosh.

The President moved from the chair a resolution eulogising the courage and spirit of sacrifice of young Dinesh Gupta, and sympathising with his bereaved family in their terrible loss.

S^j. Kalipada Mukherji spoke on the self-immolation of Dinesh Gupta and condemned the action of Government in flouting the public opinion and the united prayer of the whole nation for the commutation of the death sentence,

After the meeting was over a procession was formed, which proceeded towards the Monument where (as already reported) a huge public meeting was held under the presidency of Sm. Mohini Devi.

HOWRAH'S TRIBUTE.

Dinesh's Life of Self-Sacrifice.

A largely attended public meeting was held at the Howrah Town Hall on Wednesday under the presidency of Sj. Bipen Behari Ganguli to mourn the loss of Dinesh Gupta who lay down his life to the cause which he believed to be just and right for his country's welfare.

Sjs. Harendra Nath Ghosh, Kartick Chandra Dutta, Kalipada Mukherji, Sushil Kumar Mukherjee and others were present at the meeting.

The President moved a condolence resolution which was passed unanimously, all standing. The President in his speech stated that it was sacrifice alone that could bring about the salvation of a slave country like ours, and said that although Congressman, believe in non-violence which was the accepted creed of the Congress, he could not help praising the courage and the spirit of self sacrifice shown by Dinesh Gupta.

Sjs. Kalipada Mukherjee and Sushil Kumar Mukherjee also addressed the meeting

(75) The *Hitavadi* (Calcutta) of the 10th July writes: Dinesh immediately before death exhibited a firmness and spirit, a belief in God and above all a whole-hearted devotion to his mother-country which will keep his immortal memory alive for a long time in the hearts of Bengali men and women. Nobody will be able to deny that his heart was full of an unshakable devotion to the mother country.

(76) The *Navasakti* (Calcutta) of the 10th July writes thus about Dinesh Gupta: What wonderful strength did he display! There was not the slightest sign of terror and weakness of the sinner. He surmounted even the ordinary physical fear of men. In fact, he was not a man but a disembodied holy spirit untouched by sin and unstained. One's head automatically bows down in respect before him. What touchstone is it the touch of which converts the sons of Bengal thus into gold? The whole of Bengal feels the glory of this ideal strength of character.

(77) The *Sisir* (Calcutta) of the 11th July writes thus about Dinesh Gupta's execution: Possibly God wanted Dinesh Gupta, possibly to achieve some great work God is sending him to India in some nobler form. If he had not died thus, you would not realise how helpless you are. Dinesh did not grieve for his sentence of death and we too will not do so.

(78) The *Visvadut* (Calcutta) of the 11th July appears as a special "Dinesh Number" and it includes as a noticeable feature the letters of Dinesh and a life of Dinesh. It publishes two poems containing the following lines respectively: Brother, do you know them who have written their names with letters of fire on the sky? * * * * * Having painted the mark of glory on their forehead with their own blood they have to-day commenced a march to a new world so that their fetters seem to be like the victorious garland of bondage. The prisoners who having drunk of the revivifying nectar has to-day become immortal, is now infusing his spirit into the hearts of the general masses.

In the course of an account of the circumstances previous to Dinesh's execution, the following appears: Up to the last instant before execution Dinesh appeared extremely cheerful and it was in great glee that he put the noose round his own neck as though it were a garland of flowers.

Batukrishna Sinha, Publicity Officer of the Socialist Congress Party in Bengal and the President of the Bengal Provincial Youth Society, publishes a tribute of respect to Dinesh, containing the following passage: Bengalis, do not despair; God is bound to humble the pride of the oppressor.

In an article entitled "The Martyr", Sailajananda Mukherji writes: Dinesh Gupta having met death has attained immortality. Whether the rash self-sacrificing youths who have thus sacrificed a life prematurely like this are deluded or not may be discussed later. But for this sincerity of their they deserve endless respect from us. May we never fail always to remember them and to pray to God for the welfare of their souls. May these martyrs again return to our homes!

In an editorial note the following appears: In Dinesh's heart there was a strong desire for blood and a boundless thirst for freedom. He wanted that men should live not merely as animated beings but also live with strength. No fiendish power was to be encouraged because it held imperial sway on earth. Let imperialists see how Dinesh kissing the noose on the gallows is calling: "Awake, boys, peasants and workers! The nor'wester is now upon us, but where is there an exhibition of keen courage?"

Dinesh Gupta.

(79) The *Aj-kal* (Calcutta) of the 11th July writes: Putting the noose smilingly round his own neck and crying "Bandemataram", Dinesh has departed to the next world. We have nothing more to say of him—the letters he wrote before his death will reveal him for what he was.

(80) The *Sarbahara* (Calcutta) of the 11th July publishes a report of Dinesh Gupta's execution under the following headline: "My life is to-day blessed".

Continuing, the paper writes that immediately before execution Dinesh was very cheerful and it was in great glee that he put the noose round his neck as though it were a garland of flowers.

(81) The *Dundubhi* (Calcutta) of the 11th July sets out the story narrated by Dinesh Gupta at his trial about his casual visit to Writers' Buildings at Dalhousie Square and about the way in which he was accidentally shot inside the buildings. Continuing the paper writes: There is no proof that Dinesh Gupta was a murderer. Anyway the man who has been executed in defiance of the piteous entreaties of the whole nation has left shining proof how great, how noble a deathless hero he is! What can be a matter for greater surprise and pride than that Bengal which is ridden with famine and malaria and plague can even now give birth to sons like Dinesh? To the Indian bureaucracy it has now become wholly easy and natural to play recklessly with the life and death of brave and fearless Indian youths. We entreat our countrymen henceforward no more to indulge in entreaties to Government praying for reprieve for those men who will be made out to be murderers. We shall not indulge in any lamentation to-day. We only wish to ask the God of our fatherland, how many more does He want! For 25 years now we have been sacrificing countless lives, and how many more does He want, how long more? On the eve of his departure for the next world Dinesh observed: "Mother, if I have caused you sorrow, forgive me". We say, O hero, O death-conquering one, O thou with the unconquerable life, if our poor country has been unable to do you genuine worship, forgive her because she is a subject-country. A free Bengal would have seated you on a chariot and paraded you through the streets with garlands round your neck; but she is subject and hence you are banished to a prison and your life is taken under lamentable circumstances. Forgive a subject, helpless and disarmed nation. We offer our respects to the marks of your footsteps.

(82) The *Ponchajanya* (Chittatong) of the 11th July writes: By sacrificing his life at the gallows Dinesh Chandra Gupta paid the penalty of being born in a subject-country. There is no doubt that the murder of Colonel Simpson was a heinous and cowardly act, but the manner in which the trial was conducted leave much room for doubt whether Dinesh was really guilty of the crime. Could not the piteous appeals by his mother and countrymen soften the heart of the bureaucracy? Dinesh has faced death like a hero: the dark shadow of impending death could not move him in the least.

(83) The *Nayak* (Calcutta), evening edition of the 13th July writes that Dinesh Gupta's fellow-countrymen are now reading with tearful eyes the letters he wrote to his relatives immediately before his execution, and reading them are filled with amazement at the firmness of resolve at meeting death shown by this devotee. Indeed they stand astounded at the spirit of certain passages in the Gita exemplified in the personal experience of this devotee.

(84) The *East Bengal Times* (Dacca) of the 11th July writes:—

Dinesh.

The hangman's duty done. A gloom has overspread the atmosphere throughout the country. The death that was awaiting Dinesh, and death that Dinesh was waiting for, came at last only to see itself derided, humbled and conquered by a giant whose only weapons at that time were a smile and a shout of "Bande-

mataram". We read his last letters to his dear mother and sister and were left wondering if these were coming actually from one who knew that his days, nay even hours, were numbered.

The physical presence of Dinesh is lost to his countrymen. But what is it that evokes to-day millions to mourn the death and condemn the unusual hastiness on the part of our officialdom in carrying out the verdict of law. Whether there were materials enough, even according to the laws of the land, to exonerate him, and whether the law was itself defective, let the legal experts discuss, though it will neither bring back the dead man to life nor will it assuage the country-wide feeling of breavement.

The case of Dinesh has left legacy even for the loyalists. They will, for the first time, realise that they are subject of a King to whom they have no access even at the highest cause of emergency involving a real life and death question. The statute is so constituted that all approaches to the Buckingham Palace is barred against an Indian mother who seeks the Royal prerogative to intervene and save the life of her dear son. The authorities could rest assured that heavens would not fall if a further lease of a fortnight or so were granted to the life of this youth.

Why, again, that extra ordinary precautions were taken to keep the date of execution a secret, to perform the last rites within the four walls of the Jail compound and deny Sj. Jyotish Gupta, brother of Dinesh the consolation of throwing a handful of ashes into the Kali-ganga. The authorities were perhaps too afraid of popular demonstration but could they prevent it, all the precautions notwithstanding? Hartals and demonstrations went on all the same and if it were possible to check the feelings of his brother within the Jail compound, the authorities could not do it outside among millions of his countrymen. Indeed, the right procedure of doing away with this popular demonstrations, if the authorities so chose, also lay with them and they could do it with a mere stroke of pen or, in other words, an act of clemency by commuting the death sentence, and no matter whatever might have been the alternative. This was another blunder which Sir Stanley Jackson and his advisers have committed in hot haste.

The whole country is mourning, as it must, the abrupt end of so valiant and useful a life, even though they are not one with him in respect of faith and creed of Dinesh Gupta. We do also mourn and our grief is more severe and intense as the boy lived the last and best years of his life in Dacca, nay, in Wari quarter wherefrom this paper is published.

(85) The *Har Har Mahadeo* (Calcutta) of the 13th July writes :—

Blessed are you Mother and blessed is your womb. Who could know that the jewel of a brave son would be born of your womb? It is for that hero that you are bewailing to-day. But why so? It was you who had taught him to consider death a friend. Who else could teach him such a thing? To sport with death was the result of your teaching. How did Dinesh know that the garland of death goes only to those whom God loves?

Dinesh, born of a Hindu mother who gives birth to heroes, did not require to be taught how to die. He himself learnt how to die. He was filled with patriotism. He was a devoted worshipper of the temple of the Mother. He was always ready to get himself sacrificed for the country. The intense desire of freeing the Mother after tearing into pieces her iron chain was always burning in him. Dinesh had no greed for wealth. He did not want honour and reputation. He was a Hindu son. The great *mantra* of self-denial and the high ideal of self-sacrifice had taken possession of his heart. He had no selfish end in murdering Colonel Simpson. He was impelled by a high ideal. He had rushed forward hearing the pitiable call of the imprisoned Mother. It is a different matter that some people hold a different opinion regarding Colonel Simpson's murder. By removing the head of the Jail Department from the stage the fetters of the Mother could not be broken. Nevertheless, all are convinced about Dinesh's immeasurable courage, his indomitable enthusiasm and his unspeakable self-denial. It is due to these good qualities that the whole country considers him like a god to-day. By his death he has become immortal. His soul is alive even to-day. Even to-day it turns the rosary of patriotism. Even to-day it thinks about the salvation of the country.

Mother Binodini: do not mourn Dinesh's separation. It is true that he was born of your sacred womb, but he was not your child alone. By his good qualities,

by his soul force he has captivated the whole of India. All the Indians have shed tears on his death. All the mothers weep at his death. Weep no more mother. You have become fortunate by having given birth to a son like Dinesh.

Brother Dinesh : It is true that your last desire has not been fulfilled. You could not depart after seeing the country free. But do not be anxious. O hero ! The high ideal of yours has created a new era amongst the youths of India. The great *mantra* of self-sacrifice which you have taught has influenced all the youths. They are getting restless to serve the mother and to tear asunder the iron-chain of Mother India. The bitter medicine you have taken has produced its effect. The women of India and your young bretheren are busy making preparations for fulfilling your last wish. A revolution is on in the country and is assuming terrible aspect every day. The seed of freedom has already been sown. The fire is smouldering. All of a sudden there will be a terrible agitation. The chains of the Mother will be broken and the country will secure freedom. Dinesh ! be patient.

(86) The *Hindu Ranjika* (Rajshahi) of the 13th July writes about Dinesh Gupta :—

His was the death of a hero, of a fearless man. The terror of death did not move him at all. His self-sacrifice, his patriotism and his fearlessness are indeed deserving of praise in a timid Bengali. We pray for the welfare of his soul to God.

(87) The Faridpur *Hitaishini* (Faridpur) of the 14th July writes :—

The firmness of spirit displayed by Dinesh before death, the unshakable faith in God, and above all, the whole-hearted devotion to his country he has displayed—all these attract the attention of all his youthful countrymen. O hero who has conquered death, we trust Bengal will be able to accept the deathless life with which you have endowed her.

(88) The *Banglar Vani* (Dacca) of the 16th July writes :—

Dinesh has departed singing victory to life on the gallows. Welcoming death he put the noose round his neck with his own hands with a smiling face, thereby undoubtedly conquering death. This welcoming of death is a sight which leads one to ponder on it reverentially. There may be doubts about Dinesh's method, but this welcoming of death, this manifestation of courage and prowess cannot be ignored. We wish that his methods may not attract our youngmen, but we pray to God that more Bengalis may be born in this fear-ridden land who are like him devoid of fear of death.

(89) The *Yugavani* (Calcutta) of the 18th July publishes a poem entitled "The message of the age"; containing the following lines :—

Russia having thrown off the torpor of ages has now uplifted her head and atoned for her sin by the sacrifice of a hundred thousand lives. Italy's polluted soil was purged of sin long ago, with the shedding of the pure blood of the devotee struggling for national emancipation. You and I on the other hand, in our prison-house, are in constant fear of death—who will wipe away this stain on the forehead of the nation ? Italy, Russia and Spain are proclaiming new messages of the age, India's message is confined within the walls of the stern prison-house. Where are those self-sacrificing devotees of the age who will shed their heart's blood in order to achieve freedom for their message ? What is wanted now is a message for the emancipation of the race. The stone-walls of this prison-house must be demolished.

(90) The *Viswamitra* (Calcutta) of the 23rd July publishes an article entitled "Taluqdars ! come to your senses" by Kunwar Suresh Singh Kalakanker, containing the following lines :—

This is an age of revolution. Not only in India but throughout the world an invocation to revolution is being made. There is an open conspiracy to overthrow imperialism and to destroy the present system of administration. Taluqdars ! Are you aware of these ? Only the other day, the Czar and Czarina of Russia, who belonged to your class, were assassinated and buried under ground. It was only yesterday that the King of Spain was driven out from his throne. Of what count are you, then ? Your existence would have long been wiped off after the Mutiny of 1875. But as it was difficult for the foreign rulers to collect rent, you were made

their agents or middlemen. But you became so much drunk with the pride of rule that you forgot that you would ever come to lose this golden opportunity of yours or that this system of exploitation would ever come to an end. You made the foreign rulers your God and trampled upon your own countrymen. Twice a battle for freedom was fought in the country, once in 1921 and later last year. But whom did you support? Whether your brethren or the rulers? The question of supporting apart, you became their instruments in repressing these agitations. An attempt was made to make you instrumental in repressing the agitation like the police and you were so foolish that you became unmindful as to with whose blood you were colouring your hands. But that is no fault of yours. For, from the foul atmosphere of sycophancy in which you have been bred and brought up only such a course on your part was expected. Have you ever reflected on this as to from where so much money comes to you, and what, if any, is the actual earning of yourselves or your ancestors in the money which you lavishly spend on prostitutes, motor cars, etc. If you want to save yourself from the calamity that is hovering on your heads, then you had better grant remissions to the peasants.

(91) The *Sarbahara* (Calcutta) of the 25th July referring to the shooting of certain workmen in the Binny Mills at Bangalore, writes :—

Capitalist exploitation and an imperialist Government are both intimately related. Government exists only to uphold the interests of the rich and that is why they maintain the police and their army. So for poor workmen to perform satyagraha in the eyes of an imperialist Government is a breach of the peace and unlawful. The police opened fire on unarmed starving men, so that in asking for bread they got hot lead. The avarice of the rich has been satisfied and an imperialist Government have carried out its class duty. That is all. From all the incidents of this nature which have so far happened, the proletariat, peasants and workers of India have now come clearly to realise that an imperialist Government co-operative with the capitalists, foreign and indigenous, will always oppose them, press them down and exploit them. They all now clearly realise that until destroying imperialism and capitalism root and branch they get full control over administration, they have nothing to hope for.

(92) The *Sphulinga* (Chinsura) of the 28th July writes :—

Dinesh has departed on the gallows, signing glory to life. Defying the frowns of the rulers and the fetters of the law he has departed to the immortal region. We shall indulge in no regrets, but we learn how a son devoted to the Mother can sacrifice himself at the altar of the Mother. What eager desire, what frenzied hankering to welcome death! We shall whole-heartedly accept the offering made by his soul. He has given away his life in the fullest measure at the feet of the Mother. He ascended the gallows unmoved, with unshaken feet and with a smiling face. What a wonderful manifestation of strength! It was the self-sacrifice of a strong man who could not tolerate to bear the acute agony of subjection and its intolerable humiliation. We bow to this great soul who has conquered death.

(93) The *Swantantra* (Calcutta) of the 28th July writes :—The incident of Mr. Garlick's murder is deeply to be regretted. It is not, however, enough to express our sorrow and to condemn this affair in unmeasured terms. The Government which has girded up its loins for repression should act calmly, patiently and equitably. No good can come out of the policy which disregards public opinion and sends hundreds to the gallows. This will only help to complicate the situation and not improve it. After the murders of Mr. Lowman, Colonel Simpson and Mr. Paddie, this murder of Mr. Garlick should open the eyes of Government. The Government has so long carried on a policy of repression; now it behoves them to adopt some other policy. Is there any harm if they try (to adopt a new policy).

(94) The *Dainik Basumati* (Calcutta) of the 28th July writes :—

We are at our wits' ends to read the description of yesterday's terrible murder. We do not support any violence or murder. This must stop the way of the country's progress. It cannot be denied that this is the result of the extreme impatience of a class of young men. Prominent and experienced politicians of the country have again and again unanimously been insisting on the adoption of the non-violent method. So we cannot but condemn the attempt to nullify the method adopted by them by a few murders like this. Young men who are thus misguided ought calmly to reflect on what Gandhi has said in his paper *Navajiban* about such

murders. He has said that such deeds do not add to, but rather decrease, fitness for Swaraj, etc. We also have all along been saying the same thing. But still these murders do not stop. This class of youths, impelled by their own obstinacy are going on doing these things, and they do not want to pay heed to what others say. Undoubtedly it is the result of an alien godless system of education. These men are endowed with patriotism, courage, strength to sacrifice their lives in carrying out what they deem necessary, only they are lacking in a sense of right. If they were endowed with real sense of righteousness, they would never have committed such murders. The courage of this youth is unique. He carried a piece of paper in his pocket showing his identity. From this it appears that he came there knowing that he would either be killed or caught when doing this very rash deed. Possibly this man's name really was Bimal Gupta. The man put the paper in his pocket, knowing that it would fall into the hands of the police. The young man went there to do this deed knowing that he would die. The question is, why such rashness has come to possess a number of youths. A godless education and a godless spirit might induce them to commit such murders, but they cannot induce such calm-headed extraordinary daring. The reason for this lies elsewhere. For various reasons, the life of the Bengali youth is becoming very hard. They cannot find employment and their dependants starve, but they cannot find a remedy. For this reason a bitter desperation has come to fill many hearts. The political condition of the country is aggravating their feeling of desperation. Hence they seem to have become desperate. On the other hand, it is clear from the attitude of the authorities that they will, in this matter, act in extreme anger. So we cannot think what more we shall say in this connection.

(95) Referring to the attempt on the life of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, the *Swatantra* (Calcutta) of the 28th July writes :—

We know that the ruling community cannot sleep over the incident. The value which the white skin has in the estimation of the bureaucracy will impel them to move heaven and earth. It is quite natural for the favourite police and the C. I. D. to rake up a huge conspiracy behind this solitary incident. What thing was spared when an English lady was found missing in the North-Western Frontier Province? For one European lady a terrible shooting took place at Jallianwalabagh and the terror of a military rule was established throughout the Punjab. Those are old stories. To speak of a recent occurrence. What a great snare of conspiracy was laid in connection with the murder of Mr. Saunders and with what heartlessness Sirdar Bhagat Singh and others were hanged on the gallows, in utter violation of public feelings. Although the assailant of the Governor of the Punjab, Harikishen, was hanged, a conspiracy case was also started as an offshot thereof. There is no doubt that a careful investigation will be made in the case of attack on the life of the Governor of Bombay. Basudev Rao Gogate will surely be proved guilty but at the same time we shall not be surprised if a number of other people are also entrapped. From this point of view, the police, the Court and the Jail Department will fulfil their duty. All will march forward making the line drawn by law and order as their objective. It is not difficult to imagine what the result of all this will be.

But what will be gained by all these? Will individual violence be lessened thereby? Did the execution of three persons and various long sentences on others in connection with Saunders' murder put a stop to these crimes? If not, why do not Government think of some other method? If Government really want to put a stop to this individual violence they had better employ other means. The other means to which we want to refer has also been pointed out by Srijut Gogate. He stated that he committed the offence because Mr. Hotson had been appointed Governor in supersession of the claims of an Indian and because he had to avenge the oppressions at Sholapur. We are of opinion that the fire of the sense of dependence of the country was smouldering with great force in Gogate's heart. He studied the complex political problems of the country day and night and seriously meditated over small incidents. This meditation carried him to the path which culminated in the attempt on Governor's life. Not one but countless youths of Gogate's temperament have grown in the country who have become prepared to do something after considering the wretched condition of the country with an open mind and always thinking of India's freedom. Undoubtedly they have not got so much patience as to reflect on the complex political moves nor have they so much restraint as to peacefully remain in their houses waiting the result of the negotiation between the leaders

and the Government. They are mad. They are full of fervour. They are the image of enthusiasm. They have risen above the ties of all illusions and attachments. So much so that they have lost all love for their lives. Carrying their heads on their palms they rush forward on the path chalked by themselves like insane persons. It does not matter if their bullet hits the object or not. They are not concerned with this. How can a revolutionary think of this? The work before him is not a problem of arithmetic, or an enigma of philosophy. Such is the condition of the community of youths of the present time from which have hailed youths like Gogate, Dinesh, Biswas, Benoy, Sudhir, Sardar Raj Guru and Sukdev and have gambled with their lives. If it is an offence it has a direct relationship with their minds. By punishing their bodies the Government only disturb the equilibrium of the minds of others. Hence this is not the method of putting an end to individual violence. The method for doing this is different and that is this that Government should not do anything which may disturb the minds of youths. If the police had not wielded their *lathis* on Lala Lajpat Rai, Saunders would not have been fired at, nor would there have been any feeling in the mind of Gogate to shoot the Governor had the martial law at Sholapur not taken place. Will Government think over this with a cool mind?

(After referring to Mr. Garlick's murder):

The incident is decidedly regrettable. But only expressing regret and denouncing the deed in high-sounding terms is not sufficient. This incident only supports our above views. Government bent upon repression, must act with peace, patience and circumspection. The hanging of hundred of youths in utter violation of popular feeling will not yield any fruit. This is calculated to make the situation worse. This incident coming as it does after the murder of Messrs. Lowman Simpson and Peddie must open the eyes of Government.

(96) The *Swatantra* (Calcutta) of the 29th July writes:—

Any incident in any part of the country is taken up by the Anglo-Indian press as a means to denounce the Congress. The abortive attempt on the life of the Governor of Bombay has made the Times of India to splash mud even on Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Garlick's murder has provided a means to the Statesman to ventilate the feelings of its despicable heart. Certainly no nationalist supports such murders. After all, Governor Hoston, Colonel Simpson and others are but parts of a machinery and their murder cannot in any manner obstruct the running of that machinery. That is why the Congressites have always protested against such murders, considering them as futile. The Congress policy of non-violence is so explicit that none of its followers can in any manner incite any violent act. Majority of the Congress people consider non-violence a part of their religion. In spite of this, the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Statesman* holds the Congress responsible for these deeds of violence. To accuse the Congress for these crimes is not only untrue but it is a mischief which cannot be ignored. The prominent Congress leaders have expressed sympathy with the Governor of Bombay and have congratulated him on his miraculous escape. What can be a greater proof of the sincerity and honesty of India?

Undoubtedly Indians consider such 'murderers' and 'assassins' as martyrs and honour them. But what is there to be offended at in this? How does this constitute incitement to violence? Then again, who has taught this to Indians. It is those English ladies who made a present of a sword and a purse to the murderer in the Jallianwalabagh massacre and who glorified him as a protector of lost empire. What a great deal of difference there exists between the feelings of that fiendish Dyer and these self-sacrificing youths? Howmuchsoever we may condemn the path they follow, their patriotic feelings have no room for suspicion. How can the nationalists be blamed if others scent sin in the act of an individual who offers up his half-blossomed bud of youth full of fragrance at the feet of his motherland like a moth? This is due to a wrong point of view and a misconception and is the result of the attempts that are being made to uselessly defame the Congress. The fact of the matter is that the Anglo-Indian papers cannot brook to see the vast influence which the Congress wields on the minds of the masses. At the present time the Congress and Mahatma are one. The Anglo-Indian papers will not be successful if they want to create schism by praising Mahatma Gandhi and denouncing the Congress.

(97) The *Voteranga* (Calcutta) of the 29th July writes :—

The *Statesmen* in a long article yesterday has vented its spleen against Congress. When the Dacca murders, the murder of Simpson and the attempt to murder the Governor of the Punjab were made, the Congress workers who were supposed to be the root of all mischief were all imprisoned. What is the difficulty in the way of some men of the same mentality as the leaders in these murders now committing the murders of Messrs. Peddie and Garlick and the attack on Sir Ernest Hotson ? Every Congress leader has openly declared that he does not support these veiled murders ; the revolver of the assailant does not bring swaraj any the nearer. These youths are misguided ; but that they have courage and patriotism cannot possibly be denied by even you in secret being as you are countrymen of Simon de Montfort, Cromwell, Hampden and Pym. Mr. Gandhi has no influence upon those who do not believe in the Congress creed. Government admits this because under the Delhi Pact they only released the Congress workers but they detained men whom they suspect to be revolutionaries. If still these murders have been committed, instead of unjustly blaming the Congress and Gandhi for that one rather ought to blame the worthless Detective Department of the Government. Remember Ireland. Were Parnell, Redmond, Dillon and similar other leaders responsible for the murders which took place there ? However lamentable the truth may be, it has got to be admitted that, small or big, there is a class of revolutionaries in the country. But how did this revolutionary mentality come into existence ? The *Statesman* believes that it is growing under Congress aegis. But that is false. There is nothing secret about the Congress movement. It is the Government themselves who are responsible for the condition of the country and creating these revolutionaries. If Government had shown the least sympathy with the Congress movement, revolutionary murders would never have taken place. The Congress believes that through non-violence and open agitation some day or other the country will reach its goal. But those who are lacking in that patience, whom the sight of death on all sides has driven out of their patience—it is they who would have devoted themselves to terrorism and revolutionary murders. Until a search is made as to where the origin of revolution lies and genuine methods adopted to eradicate revolution, it is a waste of energy to fasten all the responsibility on the shoulders of the Congress.

(98) The *Swatantra* (Calcutta) of the 31st July writes :—

In view of the manner in which Mr. Garlick's murder took place, it is but natural that the white people here and the Anglo-Indian papers should be agitated. Whatever they say in resentment thereof is but small, but the Government will have to act with an open mind at the present moment. If they are carried away by the agitation then the situation, instead of improving, will become worse. Even Lord Irwin whose regime was characterised by Mahatma Gandhi as *goonda raj* has protested against a policy of repression. We enquire of those who cry for repression, when was not a policy of repression followed in this country ? From the time of the battle of Plassey till to-day what aggressions have not the English committed with a desire to repress India ? To pillage villages, to destroy weavers, to blow people by machine guns, to establish the terror of military encroachments and to disarm the people—what are these if not repression ? When was not the Indian Penal Code, which was originally intended for ordinary crimes, utilized for repressing national aspirations of the people ? Was not the Indian Defence Act, which was intended for the protection of India, utilised in an arbitrary manner for repressing the aspirations of the people in regard to swaraj ? Hundreds of people were hanged in the Punjab under the cover of this Act, and thousands were put in chains. When and who can forget the repressions committed in the Punjab under the cover of the martial law ? Repression was also used in combating the agitation of 1921 and the present Civil Disobedience movement. A little reflection will show that whatever the effect of a policy of repression may be its reaction has always been highly prejudicial to Government and beneficial to the cause of the country. Although the Punjab was dazed on account of the terror of martial law, it very soon arose with treble enthusiasm, self-confidence and determination, and made it difficult for Government to resist its force. The rebellion against which they are crying to use repression, is but the consequence of the past repressions. Repression is a great source for strengthening the foundation of the revolutionary agitation. If the explicit history of repression in the past cannot open their eyes, then we shall have to say "At the time of destruction wisdom gets perverted."

(99) The *Hitavadi* (Calcutta) of the 31st July writes :—

When Narendra Goswami in the Alipore Bomb Case was murdered, a European soldier in the pioneer loudly praised it as an act of incomparable heroism. The dependent people of India were amazed at it. A weak and subject nation has not courage to express its feelings. Hence during the Swadeshi agitation, for fear of sedition no Indian paper could venture openly to demand independence for India. It was the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Pioneer*, which first taught Indians that it is not reprehensible to blame a murderer in a political cause. The Congress has never supported the violent deeds of those who in the intensity of patriotism were misled into acts of violence. But Congress has not doubted their patriotism and has praised it. Indeed Congress leaders like the late Mr. C. R. Das clearly stated that a set of courageous, patriotic youths exist in the country who do not believe in the Congress non-violent movement or the civil disobedience movement. In Bengal and elsewhere in India in the name of law and order oppressions were committed, very little of which appeared in the public press. In consequence of these oppressions immature and imaginative youths might naturally hold local rulers responsible in the excess of excitement.

Continuing on the same subject the paper writes :—

Possibly under this deluded impression in wreaking their vengeance on Messrs. Garlick, Peddie, etc., these youngmen short-sightedly gave up all attachment to life and while thinking that they were doing good to the country did it harm. If the Viceroy had agreed to institute an enquiry into all acts of oppression by the Administrators in each province, these exciteable youths might have perhaps been brought over into ways of peace. The *Statesman* is accustomed to hypocritical ways and hence regards all Indians with suspicion. But has there ever yet been any proof that any of these murderers had anything to do with the Congress? Then, why this threat from the *Statesman*? We are intensely grieved at Mr. Garlick's murder. The *Statesman* has suggested that sooner the pact with the Congress comes to an end, the better. In England, Churchill and Inchaape and all the rest have adopted a policy which the minor European bureaucracy in this country are openly supporting. The Anglo-Indian press here is praising it and actively striving to foment communal strife and bring about a breakdown of the London Conference. It is not to be expected that their efforts will go on for nothing.

(100) The *Dainik Nayak* (Calcutta) of the 31st July writes :—

A meeting of the European masters of this country was lately held at the Dalhousie Institute. All the people of this country are now regretting the unjust murder of Mr. Garlick. All thoughtful men in the land believe that these acts of lawlessness put serious obstacles to the progress of the nation. But one's mind is embittered by the bitterness of feeling displayed in resolutions adopted by the European Association. Nobody holds the entire European community responsible for the agony inflicted on the oppressed coolies by tea-garden managers. No revolt was proclaimed against the whole English race because of the fiendish Jallianwalla Bagh massacre by Dyer. For the daily persecution of the black by the white only individual justice has been demanded and the people of the country have never been mad enough to start an attack on all whites in consequence. The need of an explanation from the Viceroy or the Premier has never been felt for the lives of the people of the country taken by police shots, with or without reason, in this country. It is extremely reprehensible to encourage the declaration of a *jehad* against a whole nation for an individual's rashness. There is just reason for strong protests against this unlawful murder, by the European Association. But undoubtedly the public are astounded to find them requesting the Government to flood the whole country with oppression in consequence. It is probably wholly impossible to carry on European trade in this country at the point of the official bayonet. The trust between the rulers and the ruled is gradually being impaired because those who are shop-keepers have held out threats to the rulers and have thereby unnecessarily annoyed the people of the land.

(101) The *Yugavani* (Calcutta) of the 1st August writes that Congress has all along reprobated such murders. The murderers, none of them, committed murder for their own self-interest, impelled by a burning patriotism they did these deeds in imitation of the West. Their deeds indicate that they do not care for Congress

or the leaders and that they go their own way. They are not afraid of death. The noose has come to be like a plaything to them. The hearts of Indians being naturally soft may be expected to be touched if the death penalty is meted out to men guilty of offence of misguided patriotism. Terrorism cannot be put down by terrorism, especially when youngmen are concerned.

(102) *Liberty* (Calcutta) of the 2nd August, 1931, writes :—

It is regrettable that Anglo-India, almost the whole body of it, has started a dishonest, a cunning, a spurious agitation over recent violent outrages. It is neither surprising nor disconcerting that Anglo-Indian exploiters of India should have mainly sought to make political capital out of tragedies which ought to move our humanity deeply and give to statesmanship food for serious reflection. For panic and foolishness we should make ample allowance but for perversity and mischief there is none so poor in spirit as to offer pity. It is not for us to allay a storm deliberately raised for political exploitation. It is not for us to show up shameless pretenders and obstinate hypocrites. An earlier generation set up a howl against a conciliatory Viceroy and packed him off. The plan is more comprehensive to-day. Anglo-India is out to wreck the prospects of peace in India and to deceive her out of the goal of freedom. It has asked the Government "to govern or get out", if the existing Government cannot discharge its functions—at the dictation of Anglo-India—"they must prepare means for finding another"!

Lashed into fury by outbreaks of violence and lawlessness, these bullies would take the law into their own hands "to drive out terrorism by terror". They threaten "the gravest events" if the Congress which is "guilty of murder," which has "fresh blood upon its hands" is admitted into the Round Table Conference. A conservative backbencher, one Bracken, in spiritual affinity with the Anglo-Indian pack, has blamed Mahatma Gandhi for assassinations and said that "the Government of India should have tried him for incitement instead of inviting him to St. James Palace"! Language such as we have quoted above does not breathe sweetness and is not certainly respecting law. And these are the peace-makers and forces on the side of law and order which acclaimed General Dyer of the blood-soaked field of Jallianwalla Bagh as a hero and saviour. These are the advocates of law and justice who chuckle over detention of men without a charge and without a trial. These are the law-abiding people who uttered not a word—except in approval—when police batons broke innocent limbs.

(103) *Liberty*, Tuesday, August 4th, 1931 :—

RAMKRISHNA BISWAS EXECUTED AT MIDNIGHT.

CREMATION INSIDE ALIPORE JAIL.

Heavy Concentration of Police Forces.

At about 1 A.M. on Tuesday Ramkrishna Biswas was executed in the Alipore Central Jail. The jail authorities woke him up from sleep. As he was taken to the gallows, he shouted "Bande Mataram." Shouts of Bande Mataram were heard from outside. His body was cremated in the early hours of the morning inside the jail.

It may be remembered that Ramkrishna Biswas, who was also wanted in connection with the Chittagong Armoury Raid case was sentenced to death by a Special Tribunal on the 24th January last in connection with the Chandpur Inspector Murder Case.

On appeal the High Court upheld the judgment of the Special Tribunal and confirmed the sentence of death. A mercy petition was sent to the Government, which was however rejected. The matter was carried up to the Privy Council, but the Privy Council refused leave to appeal.

History of the Case.

The facts of the case were : Inspector Tarini Charan Mukherjee of the Railway Police was shot dead at the Chandpur station in the early hours of the 1st

December while he was escorting Mr. Craig, the Inspector-General of Police, who was coming from Chittagong. The assailants escaped.

Subsequently two youths Ram Krishna Biswas, aged 20, and Kalipada Chakrabarti aged 17, were arrested near Mehar, Kalibari Station a place about 20 miles off Chandpur by the police party headed by Mr. Bankim Chandra Das Gupta, A. S. P., Comilla, two revolvers and one live bomb being found in possession of the youths. It transpired that both these youths were absconders of the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case and the revolvers that were found in their possession being ones stolen from the A. F. I. Armoury on the night of the raid on April 18th.

Both Ram Krishna and Kalipada were tried by a Special Tribunal consisting of the late *Mr. R. Garlick, I.C.S. (President)*, *Mr. N. K. Bose, Retired Sessions Judge*, and *Mr. Adilzaman Khan, Deputy Magistrate*, under Section 302 I. P. C., 19-F., Arms Act and 4-B and 5 Explosives Substances Act.

A Life Sketch.

Ramkrishna is the fourth son of Kaviraj Durga Kripa Biswas of Saroatal (Chittagong). His uncle Babu Bejoy Krishna Biswas is the P. A. to the Commissioner of Rangoon. Another of his uncles is Rai Saheb Kali Kripa Biswas, a retired Police Inspector.

He passed the Matric. Examination in 1928 and stood first in the district of Chittagong, securing a scholarship of Rs. 10. Besides he secured the Muktakeshi scholarship of Rs. 5 from his school and the P. C. Sen Gold Medal.

He was all along the best boy of his class and a good sportsman on the turf.

He was a student of the Second-Year Science class when only 10 days before the final examination he met with *an accident**. The police was searching for him and he could not appear at the final examination.

He was a member of the B. P. S. A. His name appears on the list of absconding armoury raiders.

Belief in God.

While under trial in the Chandpur Inspector murder case he lost his father and he received the news very calmly. His firm belief in God and his true realisation of death have been conspicuous in his letters to his sister-in-law from the solitary cell of Alipore Central Jail. He realises death in its true light when he says in his letter "*My death is not a whim of an undisciplined life but there is God's blessing in it.*"

He consoles his mother, sister-in-law and other female members of his family by dropping a solemn line —that "*every woman should see the image of her own children in all the children on earth.*" He advises every body to surrender everything good or bad to the feet of God.

(104) In publishing the report of a meeting in connection with Ram Krishna Biswas' execution, the *Lokamanya* (Calcutta) of the 5th August, has the following :

Ram Krishna hanged.

A cloud of grief at Ram Krishna's execution.

Mourning Processions, Hartal and Condolence meetings in the Town.

Ram Krishna raised the shout of Bandemataram on the plank of the gallows in the Alipore Central Jail.

On Monday last Ram Krishna Biswas was hanged in the Alipore Jail in the small hours of the morning. On Tuesday morning the news spread throughout the town with the speed of lightning. Many students absented themselves from schools and colleges to express grief. Many processions were taken out in the town and meetings were held. There was partial hartal. A procession proceeded from Wellington Square under the leadership of S. J. Ajit Kumar Das, and reached College Square *via* Bowbazaar and Amherst Street where a meeting was held and prayers were offered for the peace of Ram Krishna's soul. A condolence meeting was held near the Ochterloney Monument under the presidency of Mr. Narendra Narayan Chakravarti. There was a large attendance of ladies including Sm. Mohini Devi, Mithi Ben, Sm. Bimal Prativa Devi, Dr. Prabhabati Das Gupta and

* Explosives went off and injured him.

others. About half a dozen processions with black flags arrived there from Burrabazaar and other quarters of Calcutta. A resolution, expressing grief, was adopted by remaining silent for 2 minutes without any speech and prayers were offered for the peace of the departed soul. From here the procession started towards Alipore Central Jail carrying black flags. Sm. Bimal Prativa Debi headed the procession and it peacefully dispersed near the gaol.

(105) The Daily *Vagnadoot* (Calcutta) of the 5th August publishes reports of Ramkrishna Biswas's execution with the following headlines :—

"The whole city overcome with grief at the execution. Complete Hartal in Calcutta. Monster meeting at the maidan. Crying *Bande Mataram* on the Gallows. Frowning at death at the restless Joy of Life."

In narrating the circumstances attending the execution, the paper writes :—

"To the amazement of everybody Ramkrishna ascended the gallows with a smiling face, and while putting the noose round his neck, he cried out *Bande-mataram*, a cry which was echoed from the other political prisoners in the jail and also from some people outside. Almost as the sound of *Bandemataram* died away, the unfortunate man's life terminated."

The paper writes thus about "Ramkrishna's message" :—

"Those who have heard the call of death and have responded to it wholeheartedly, to them death is not at all fearful but rather affords boundless joy. Shall I not share in that boundless joy?"

In an editorial paragraph the following appears :—

"Ere yet the anguish caused by Dinesh's execution in the mind of nation had quite died out, Ramkrishna has been executed. The public mind was prepared for this tremendous blow. The anguish of the nation at these untimely deaths has almost ceased to be anguish. It is like repayment of debts on our part for which there is no complaint. Still the wound graved in the inmost recesses of our hearts—who will heal it? The nation has now lost one today who, acting according to his own conscience, welcomed this lamentable death for the sake of its welfare. Mr. Justice Buckland in his judgment declared that Ramkrishna's offence was not that of an ordinary murderer, because underlying his deed was a spirit of unselfish self-surrender. But it is our misfortune that we cannot, nevertheless, praise the heroism of this man. We are an emotional race, and when the whole nation applauds the heroism of a man the warm blood in the veins of our young men begin to flow with electric speed. The showing of prowess is, after all, not the greatest thing, and we wholly forget that the national welfare cannot be achieved along the path of murder and thirst for blood. But again, what can we after all offer to these self-destroying daring men? We can only offer them a few words of praise from our lips. Those who have conquered life, those who have trampled on death—what will they do with tributes of respect from our poor, humble hearts?"

(106) Referring to Ram Krishna Biswas' execution, the *Swatantra* (Calcutta) of the 5th August writes :—

"The slave Indians had to mourn the premature death of more than 6 youths during the last six months. Before one wound is healed up, another grievous wound is inflicted thereon. Before one mourning is over, we have to make preparations for another mourning. Just feel the heart of that helpless and old "mother" whose youthful sons are being snatched away one after another from her lap. What can the helpless mother do? She stops only after tossing in agony. But the sighs issuing out of her painful heart cannot be futile.

The sinful hand snatches away the newly-growing, semi-blossomed, fragrant bud and crushes it under its pitiless fingers. Still the gardener has no right even to protest against this. He cannot even shed two drops of tears at it. Yes, he cannot even express love, veneration and honour or display devotion for it, calling it a martyr. Those who have got big noses smell the odour of violence in it and there is the apprehension of the excitement of the atrocious feeling of vengeance. To take life for life is possibly quite aloof from a feeling of vengeance, for there is neither any violence nor any sin therein.

Early in the morning the news was communicated to us that Ram Krishna Biswas had been executed. Our heart was benumbed. It was only yesterday that

a talk was going on there about his illness. Can an ailing person be hanged? The heart refused to accept it as true. The mind showed its inability to comprehend it. But we had to accept, we had to comprehend. In view of the incidents relating to Sardar Bhagat Singh, Rajguru, Sukh Dev, Dinesh and Harkisen we had to accept this arbitrary, illegal and impossible thing about Biswas.

How the Government, who fastened all the responsibility on the Congress, can murder their laws for their own end, has been proved more than once from the execution of these youths. Can any one have any confidence in the Government or their laws even now? How can the Government, by creating distrust, discontent, hatred and repugnance in the minds of the masses in this manner, maintain their rule in this country? It is difficult for us to comprehend.

But we know and understand this for certain that these executions of youths cannot cause any harm to India. The mind of the country has ever been elevated by the renunciation, forbearance and self-sacrifice of such martyrs. Their adoration and the expression of veneration and respect towards them have always created a feeling of renunciation, forbearance and self-sacrifice in their countrymen. The keeping of their ideal in view has created such a strong current of desire for becoming independent in the dependent countries, that it has been impossible for all the Powers in the world to combinedly repress it. Therefore, it is our belief, that the movement for swaraj in India has received strength from these executions, her strength has been increased and there has been an accentuation of the desire for swaraj. Therefore, it is our certain and clear duty to march forward with enthusiasm, instead of getting despired.

UNITED PROVINCES.

(1) In the course of a biographical sketch of "Azad" the revolutionary who was recently shot at Allahabad, the *Bhavishya* writes: "During the non-co-operation movement of 1921-22 he (Chandra Shekhar) was a volunteer pledged to non-violence. When he was brought to the court after arrest the magistrate asked him:—'What is your name?' Azad, in his passion for liberty, replied—'My name is Azad, my father's name is Swatantra (independent) and my home is Jail'. Well, how could the magistrate tolerate such words from the mouth of a tender-hearted boy? He ordered 'Azad' to be given 15 stripes. His tender body began to be tied. But he said,—'Why do you tie me? Flog me. I am standing.' Those who witnessed the scene trembled. Will flogging be really carried out? Yes, it was true. Strokes after strokes began to be administered and at every stroke the cries of 'Bande matram', 'Gandhiji ki jaya', etc., began to come out of Azad's mouth. But in the end the tender boy fell down unconscious. At that time he was only 14 years of age. From that time he became famous as 'Azad'. The blow of these stripes hit not his body, but his soul and it is said that from that very day he became a revolutionary. This inhuman punishment had a very bad effect on his mind." Then there is an account of his alleged connexion with the various revolutionary crimes. The article concludes as follows:—'Azad' kept up his love of liberty till the end. While he was alive no one belonging to the police could touch his body. Some persons say that after his death some well-wishers of Government kicked his dead body. Some persons also say that the dog of a white spectator was demonstrating his wisdom and faithfulness to his master by licking the blood from the wounds of 'Azad'. A special correspondent of ours saw with his own eyes and heard with his own ears that when the corpse was being placed in the lorry, the policemen very callously dragged the legs of the dead body. Some policemen complained of the corpse being heavy and for this reason, it is said, his body was also cursed. But they were also sometimes heard commending in whispers the bravery of 'Azad'. To-day at mid-day our special representative visited the scene of occurrence. The tree behind which 'Azad' gave up his life was laden with flowers and at several places the spectators have written 'Azad Park'. It is said that college students have carried away the earth from the place where his blood dropped.

(2) *Sainik*: Terrible! Thunderbolt! Murder! Three darlings of the mother killed on her breast! On the breast of the country its three lions have been killed through vindictiveness. While divine souls in heaven are rejoicing

in welcoming Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdeva this country is in agony. But are they dead? No. Though dead, they are immortal. The country will continue to repeat the stories of their self-sacrifice. As long as the cult of revolution exists in the country Bhagat Singh will be regarded as its high priest. The edifice of the freedom of the country will be reared on the foundation-stone of the martyrs. The plant of swaraj will be watered with their blood. The lolling tongue, thirsty for blood, was appeased only after licking the warm blood of the martyrs. Crores of Indians prayed that the lives of these men might be spared. But to whom did they pray? To those in whose hearts was blazing the fire of vindictiveness which had consumed magnanimity, clemency and humanity, whose hearts were not human hearts, but were covered with brutality and enmity. Brave martyrs! We shall raise your true memorials when we have become free. At present our hearts are beyond our control. We also raise our voice in unison with the voices that are coming from every corner of the country: Long live Bhagat Singh! Long live Revolution. In the course of an emotional article, the *Ballia Gazette* says that by giving their life on the gallows Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Deo did not die, but became immortal. Bhagat would surely have died one day on bed or even on a bed of flowers, but how could he have attained the glory which was bestowed on him by the gallows? Those who long to die a glorious death will receive encouragement from his death. What then does lamentation for such a death mean? What use is there in losing one's head over the death especially when India is out to crush brute force with soul force?

(3) A section of the press continues to glorify Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The *Abhyudaya* has brought out a special "Bhagat Singh Number" which is full of articles and poems paying impassioned tributes to him, though disapproving his policy and methods. Under the caption "At the Sardar's pyre" the paper contains an article by one "Satish" mourning Bhagat Singh's death and paying a warm tribute to his memory. In the course of the article the writer says: O immortal opponent of false peace and unbridled system of government, you are no more. We see that you are laughing at our cowardice, but we could not understand you fully. Our dear martyrs, we could not know even for a second who you were. But how could we do so? Our blind eyes did not possess that light. Oppressors could not even dare to look at the light which emerged from you and it was because of this that instead of regarding you as an object of worship they destroyed your existence and jeer at you calling you a murderer, a scoundrel and a blood-thirsty man and thereby shield the savage sentiments of their heart, their reprehensible jealousy and the selfishness of their souls. You are no more but your memory will remain in our hearts not for a year or two or a century or so, or even for a thousand or million years, but for ages and ages and in that inebriated memory, in the mad mania of that very memory we will continue to beg pardon of you and light the lamp of our life at your tomb with the oil of our tears, our venomous tears. Then its flame will continue to light the pitch dark path of the world and you will continue to cause its flame to glow with your memory. And when a terrible storm will rage, mountains will start crumbling down, a hue and cry will be raised all over the universe, deserts will be swept with sand, and when nobody will be able to see anything in the frightfulness of that terrible gloom—at time this lamp of ours will burn and we will offer this lamp to you lighting the whole world and you will begin to descend to receive the lamp and the sea of your joy will begin to kiss the sky. When we see you coming, riding clouds, to fill us with light at that time we will welcome you and place this lamp lighted by you on your own pyre, in your own hands. In another article in the same paper one "Natraj" pays a warm tribute to Bhagat Singh's love of liberty. Giving his reminiscences the writer remarks: On seeing Bhagat Singh it appeared as if Lord Krishna's philosophy of action, Sivaji and Pratap's war creed and Guru Govind Singh's Sikh cult had again manifested themselves in this era for the welfare of the subject country. These youths showed the world that even though crores of people in this subject country may have become so many corpses still there are to be found some such jewels among men whose sacred existence has no parallel in the whole world.

(4) The *Bhavishya* publishes an article by Prithwipal Singh, B.A., covering three pages of the paper, in which the writer seeks to make out that India cannot win independence through the non-violent methods advocated by Mr. Gandhi. The writer first puts the view of the anarchists who invoke bloody revolution in the following words: "Hail, Mother Durga! Make a terrible roar of revolution in India..... With thy divine power once more make

these cowardly Indians Shiva and Pratap. Inspire these unarmed men and make them wield arms and teach them such a lesson in heroism that they may challenge and attack the enemy and in an instant relieve the sacred soil of India of the burden of the cruel people." The devotees of this revolution, continues the paper, were Sardar Bhagat Singh, Sukhdeva and others who, fighting for the independence of India, attained immortality. One does not know how many young men are wandering about with their lives on their palms with the object of making India independent by means of guns, revolvers and daggers. Their goal is pure, divine and commendable, but their policy is not proper. In view of the present situation of the country we can say that violent revolution and terrorism cannot be conducive to our welfare. The writer then gives a long summary of Mr. Gandhi's diatribe against the present system of government as being fatal to Indian interests and deserving to be smashed through non-co-operation. Concluding, the writer says: It is our conviction that it is difficult to attain independence through Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent fight. Independence will be secured through some other policy. There is, however, no doubt that his movement will create the right atmosphere for the coming revolution. When we see our mothers and sisters being dragged by the hair and beaten with batons and see that they do not even heave a sigh; when we see with these eyes our small children being trampled by horses and subjected to showers of bullets, and see them sacrificing themselves cheerfully at the altar of independence, then will our hearts be pierced; blood will then vigorously course through our bloodless arteries. When we see with our own eyes fresh injustices and atrocities exceeding all bounds, then we shall become mad. From our hearts will burst out terrible flames. These catastrophic flames will spell the death of our enemies and will cease only when the chains of our subjection have been reduced to ashes. That will be the moment when our country will become free and we shall celebrate our victory.

PUNJAB.

(1) Krishan writes to the *Partap* (Lahore) of 26th March that the British Government succeeded in arresting and imprisoning Bhagat Singh, but could not crush his spirit, which remained undaunted till the last moment. Mother India can well be proud of such children who would never bow their heads before an alien Power, even though their necks be broken. It can be said without exaggeration that Bhagat Singh has become immortal. Some people may have differed from him in his life-time, but to-day every one has been convinced of his sacrifice. The whole nation is mourning for Bhagat Singh and his companions. Not only the mother who gave birth to such a son but even the country where he was born can well be proud of him.

(2) The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 26th March is sorry that the Government missed a golden opportunity of winning over the hearts of the Indians. If it had released the three young men it would not have been involved in any difficulties. It is ridiculous to think that these young men could do harm to the Government which has got its Police, army, machine guns and aeroplanes to establish peace, which has gold and silver to win over people to its side and over whose empire the sun never sets. If the release of these three young men was fraught with danger their death sentences could be commuted. There is, however, another aspect of this question and that is that the incident has made the atmosphere gloomy which was rendered peaceful by the united efforts of Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi. Now people can justly ask Mahatma Gandhi where his peace is. The Mahatma has no reply to give. It can be pleaded that these young men were charged with violence and the Government never promised to release such prisoners; but can the Government say on solemn affirmation that none of its men practised high-handedness against the peaceful Satyagrahis? Outwardly the Government wishes to strengthen the Mahatma's hands, but as a matter of fact it wishes him to lose his popularity. If this not the case it should say what it means by executing Bhagat Singh and his comrades four days before the opening of the Congress session. How can the Mahatma now ask people to approve of peace terms? The Government has spared no pains in placing an obstacle in his way.

(3) *Execution of Bhagat Singh and others.*—The *Akali* (Amritsar) of the 26th March says that the pride and vindictiveness of the bureaucracy have to-day sown the seed of wrath in the minds of the people by the execution of S. Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev, the beloved of the country. This will have the most dangerous consequences. We deem it necessary to state that the way in which the bureaucracy has tried to wash the stains of blood with blood will increase the flow of streams of blood. We should not avenge blood

with blood, but we should follow the principle of non-violence to efface oppression by moral pressure. If we try to avenge the murder in the way the bureaucracy has done, no mutual agreement is possible and it will eventually lead to disorder, destruction and ruin.

(4) The *Partap* (Lahore) of the 26th March remarks that people were very much aggrieved to learn that they had been deprived of the opportunity to see the faces of the martyrs for the last time. Every citizen of Lahore was shedding tears of blood in memory of the martyrs. Black flags with portraits of Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev on them were fluttering in the Minto Park, and the ladies could not check the incessant flow of their tears. The cries and mournings of people were rending the hearts of the hearers. The shouts 'Long live the Napoleon of India, Long live Raj Guru, Long live Sukh Dev' were being raised.

(5) In its supplement, dated the 26th March, the *Kesari* (Lahore), says that the Punjab Government has put an end to the precious lives of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades on the charge of murdering Mr. Saunders, A. S. P. The Indians regard them as martyrs because they have laid down their lives for their country and nation. The Government may hold them guilty of murder and Anglo-Indian newspapers may call them murderers, but their own compatriots justifiably think they are innocent. The most vile act on the part of the Government was that it did not hand over the dead bodies of the youths to their relatives, but burnt them by carrying them to some unknown place outside Lahore secretly at night and blotted out their physical existence from the world by throwing their burnt bones and ashes into the Sutlej. The Government has effaced the physical or material sign of these youths, but can it remove their memory from the hearts of their countrymen? No, never. The way in which the Government has acquitted itself in hanging Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades is a thing of which no civilised nation can feel proud. Is it not shameful that the Government did not permit the relatives of the martyrs to interview them for the last time? So mean is this act on the part of the Government that the Indians will never forgive it.

(6) The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 26th March observes that the Government has put an end to the physical life of S. Bhagat Singh and his companions but the general public is of opinion that they have won the 'crown of martyrdom'. The Government committed the Himalayan blunder of executing three patriots. It did not allow their relatives to interview them for the last time on a lame excuse. Similarly, it did not hand over their dead bodies to their relatives. This is an act of extreme callousness and shows the vindictive spirit, seeing that the dead bodies of even dacoits are delivered to their relatives. It is also condemnable that the corpses were sent to the Sutlej river and burnt there by means of kerosine oil. If this is true, gross insult has been offered to the tenets of the Hindu and Sikh religions. There is no satisfactory proof to show that the religious rites were performed in connection with the cremation. The District Magistrate's announcement is extremely unsatisfactory and untrue, as pieces of the dead bodies of the martyrs, which were brought to Lahore, were half-burnt. This is clearly an act committed against religion, morality and civilisation. It is a childish act of the officers of the Government which takes much pride in its advocacy of civilisation. As long as power rests in the officers of the bureaucratic Government such shameful acts will continue to be committed as will stain the justice and civilisation of the British nation. The Government and its well-wishers probably think that they have done a meritorious act by putting an end to the lives of the three martyrs and insulting their dead bodies; but this step is undoubtedly most condemnable. If the Government thinks that it can suppress agitation by removing their physical existence it is labouring under a wrong notion. The agitation will go on until the goal is reached.

(7) The *Hindi Milap* (Lahore) of the 27th March remarks that this painful occurrence is to be condemned not only because three promising young patriots have been snatched away from us but also because public opinion has been utterly flouted. This is a proof of our slavery, the very idea of which makes us restless. Is this the change of heart which was so much talked of and is this the regard which the present Government has for public opinion? As a result of the execution of the three youngmen, the whole world will be able to realise the wretched and helpless condition of India. Alas! What a climax of slavery! Even our bodies are not our own. S. Bhagat Singh and his companions have, in departing, shown to us where we stand.

(8) The *Partap* (Lahore) of the 2nd April publishes the following poem :—

“ The executed persons who shed their blood for the honour of the country have perturbed the whole nation.

“ On the bank of the Sutlej these words appear in the drops of their blood :

“ We could not be consumed, although the consumers tried their utmost to burn us.

“ All three of them, *viz.*, Sukh Dev, Bhagat Singh and Raj Guru, were present in Karachi. Those who came back from that city gave me this information.”

(9) The *Beopar Pattar* (Jaranwala) of the 27th March remarks that every Indian is shedding tears on the execution of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades. The whole country is in mourning and *hartals* are being observed everywhere. The youths are in great excitement everywhere. It is possible that Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders may succeed in pacifying them. The Government did not hand over the dead bodies of the martyrs to their relatives, but cremated them on the banks of the Sutlej near Ferozepore. Some pieces of flesh were recovered from the spot where the dead bodies were cremated. They were brought to Lahore and cremated with proper rites on the banks of the Ravi. Great excitement is prevailing against this attitude of the Government. When the Government thought it proper to carry out the executions against the wishes of the public, it is not known why it was afraid of handing over their dead bodies to the relatives of the executed men. The Government has committed a most deplorable mistake.

(10) *The Congress resolution on the execution of Bhagat Singh and others.*—The following is taken from the *Sunrise* (Qadian) of the 3rd April :—“ The attitude of the Congress is inexplicable. It stands for non-violence and admires violent young men. Those who think that by murdering Saunders and throwing bombs in the Assembly Bhagat Singh did a great service to the cause of India are quite justified in praising him. But the attitude of those who regard those very acts, which alone are responsible for their praising Bhagat Singh and his companions, as reprehensible, as a positive disservice to the cause of India, is unintelligible, inconsistent if not quite hypocritical. It passes our comprehension how by loudly praising and canonising those who were guilty of political murders you can bring home to the inflammable young men the futility and folly of the course they adopted. And this is exactly what the Congress by passing the above-mentioned resolution has done. The Congress has paid open and unqualified homage to the memory of Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru and yet expects those thousands of young men before whom this homage was paid and who saw old and experienced leaders loudly sobbing and actually weeping while mentioning Bhagat Singh's name, not to copy these misguided youths. This may be mahatmaic logic which we, poor mortals cannot understand.”

(11) *Bhagat Singh's execution.*—A correspondent writes to the *Asli Qaum Dard* (Amritsar) of the 6th April that Bhagat Singh's name has become conspicuous in the world. His sacrifice and bravery are being praised in India. His love for his mother country and the spirit he displayed to make India free have won for him such a high degree of martyrdom that he is now being praised by thirty-five crore Indians. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest apostle of non-violence, is showing due honour to him.

(12) *Bhagat Singh and his companions.*—The *Partap* (Lahore) of the 5th April publishes the following poem :—

“ We could not even carry the dead bodies on our shoulders ;

“ We could not even offer flowers to the martyrs.

“ The bold men died in the corner of the prison.

“ They could not even send their last message.

“ They were restless and slept in the lap of death.

“ They could not even relate what they had borne.

“ Alas ! the desire remained unfulfilled in our hearts.

“ We could not even cremate their dead bodies.

“ The pieces of the bodies were thrown into the Sutlej.

“ We could not throw their ashes into the Ganges.”

(13) The *Akali-te-Pardesi* (Amritsar) of the 11th April publishes the following poem by comrade Arjan Singh 'Gargaj' :—

“ Bhagat Singh and his companions have not died ; they have, on the other hand, shown strength.

“ Their martyrdom will infuse life into the revolution.”

“ The three heroes have sacrificed themselves for us.

“ Bhagat Singh raised the voice of revolution in India.

“ Take it for granted that the voice is coming nearer,

“ And a great thunder will be heard one day.”

(14) *Bhagat Singh*.—The *Milap Sandesh* (Amritsar) of the 8th April publishes the following poem :—

“ Behold Bhagat Singh's sacrifice ! There goes the bier of the Sardar of India.

“ O negligent person ! Rise and see the movement of freedom.

“ Offer thy head and overthrow the rule of the tyrant.

“ What would you gain without sacrificing yourselves ?

“ If you want to see freedom, have no fear of the gallows.”

(15) Krishan writes to the *Partap* (Lahore) of the 16th April that Bhagat Singh is now looked upon as a national hero by the whole country, firstly because his dauntless spirit and sacrifice are being applauded even by those who never shared his views and secondly, because the people think that justice was not done to him. The fair that has been held where his dead body was cremated is nothing but a protest against the policy of the Government. This fair will continue to be held every year and thousands of people will attend it and revive his spirit and memory. Attempts are being made to raise a memorial to Bhagat Singh, but we think the memorial is hardly needed, since Bhagat Singh has left his memorial in the hearts of every Indian and no power on earth can efface it.

(16) A correspondent writes to the *Akali* (Amritsar) of the 8th May that those Sikhs who supported the amendment appreciating the spirit of patriotism shown by Sardar Sajjan Singh did so because the country while conforming to the creed of non-violence had recognised the Kakori prisoners, those who had committed dacoity at Ahmadgarh and those who had murdered Saunders as its national heroes. If the Indian National Congress can praise the bravery, steadfastness and national spirit of Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades in glowing words is the case of Sardar Sajjan Singh different ? The spirit of patriotism is to be found in all these men and this accounts for their having been recognised by the Indian National Congress as heroes, in spite of its opposition to the programme of violence. Why, then, is Sardar Sajjan Singh being condemned by all ? Is it because he made a silent sacrifice and did not put in his defence ? Or is it because he gladly mounted the gallows without having preferred an appeal ? Just as the Congress in opposing violence showed sympathy with Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades, so have the Sikhs and the Central Sikh League acted in Sajjan Singh's case.

(17) *Bhagat Singh and his comrades*.—Sanam Rai, M.A., writes to the *Partap* (Lahore) of the 3rd May that the martyrdom attained by Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev and Raj Guru is the topic of the day throughout India and the masses are showing extraordinary devotion to the martyrs. People showered flowers on the spot where the martyrs had been cremated and applied its dust to their foreheads and also brought it home. It is, however, a pity that foreign cloth has been selling in every city. Indeed, we do not want to bring about a change in our lives, mentality, circumstances and views, and this is the reason why we have been in bondage for centuries past. To prove that one has imbibed the spirit of the martyrs one should show that in attaining the freedom of the country one cares neither for the opposition of his parents, nor for worldly comforts, neither for children, nor anything, else. If one cannot do this shouts of ' Long live Bhagat Singh ' and ' Long live revolution ' can be silenced by one machine gun.

(18) *The Bhagat Singh Memorial Fund*.—The *Bande Mataram* (Lahore) of the 29th June remarks that the Government is proving that it will not allow a permanent memorial to be raised to the martyrs, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Vir Raj Guru and Sukh Dev. An appeal had been proscribed and now another appeal has been proscribed. Does the Government think that it can impede the collection of funds for the memorial ? By their unparalleled sacrifices, these youths have erected their memorial in the hearts of the Indians which no temporal Government can demolish.

(19) The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 7th July 1931 publishes a story headed :—

“ The corpse of the revolutionary : the murder of an innocent person ”, which is summarised below :—

Parkash, a handsome youth, is sitting dejected in the Ram Bagh, Benaras. Tears are racing down his cheeks. He is soliloquizing thus :—

“ Freedom is our birthright. It must be attained. Slavery, Alas ! Death is a thousand times better than the life of slavery. Alas ! India is helpless to-day on account of this slavery. The brilliant lads of the country are dying of hunger ”.

Mr. Parkash, what are you doing ? It was Rabinder, an old friend of Parkash. After mutual confidences. they lay down to rest and were soon fast asleep.

(2)

Kicks and the shouts of “ Hands up ” aroused Parkash and Rabinder. They saw policemen aiming pistols at them. They were confused and tried to run away but the police officer gave the order to fire. Parkash’s foot was caught in the root of a tree and he fell down. A bullet whizzed past his ear. Another bullet struck Rabinder’s leg and he also fell down. The police put Parkash in fetters and carried away the unconscious Rabinder in hands. The news of Rabinder’s death spread like wild fire in the city. A local newspaper gave the following heading to the report :—

“ Free fight between the police and revolutionaries in Ram Bagh : 1 revolutionary killed, another wounded.”

People were filled with perturbation on reading the report. They flocked to Ram Bagh but there was a strong guard of the police and they had to return disappointed.

A youth is lying fettered in the Benaras police-station. A European police officer enters and asks the Sub-Inspector about Rabinder. The latter replies that he has 3 or 4 gunshot wounds on his legs but the news of his death has been circulated in the city. The newcomer says that if he listens to reason so much the better, otherwise recourse will be had to rigour.

L. Kidar Nath was a retired Tahsildar. He daily bathed in the Ganges, at the Mahableshwar Ghat as it was a little farther off from the city and people did not go there ordinarily. One day he was doing *Sandhya* (worship) on the river bank after taking a bath, when he heard a splash in the water, and saw two men running away. He jumped into the river and brought out the thing—a bundle. On opening the bundle he gave out a shriek and fainted. The news spread in the city and thousands gathered on the spot. They saw that the bundle contained the hacked pieces of the body of the youth who had been reported to be killed by police shots. A funeral procession of the body of the martyr was taken out. The body was cremated on the bank of the Ganges. People rubbed the ashes on the forehead and took it home as a relief.

(20) The *Vir Bharat* of the 9th July 1931 publishes the following article (especially for the *Vir Bharat*) headed :—“ The feelings of B. K. Dutt in the memory of Sardar Bhagat Singh ” :—

My dear friend, this dark and narrow cell would have afforded me pleasures and comforts more than one found in paradise if you—the cynosure of my ambitions—had been near me. But behold, dear friend, behold me, I feel altogether restless ; my heart trembles—nay, I myself am trembling at your morality, courage, patriotism, the dignity of your beauty. Oh embodiment of patriotism ! I am all perturbation in your memory, and I am waiting for you—the apple of the eyes of the motherland—in a restless and agitated state ; I am all attention to hear the cramp of your feet, O, come soon ! I am dying for you. But alas, friend, you are busy populating another world. Behold ! Mother India is running mad in your memory. For God’s sake come soon—where are you ? With a hoard of aspirations and yearnings, I fly from the hell-like cell to receive you, but you are nowhere to be seen. Friend, I get no trace of your conveyance, I am burning in the fire of your separation. O, come ! Such an indifference towards those who dote on you ? Behold the world appears dark and desolate without you. Don’t you really love me ? If you don’t love me, then why do you illumine the dark abode of my heart with your radiating image. Life without you is a dire burden. I am being frightened by the future of my solitary life. All of a sudden my eyes bid adieu to a bewitching world of imagination, and the

bright rays of the sun flood my cell with light, and it seems as if you were standing behind the door. I hurry to undo my cell-door, but my dearest friend I don't find anywhere. The sun blinds my eyes that were alit the whole night long with your image. Come ! the sun of my life, come, so that I might also see the dawn of the night of separation. My heart has flown through my eyes in your memory, and I am shedding tears of blood. Alas ! O friend, if God doesn't allow you to come to me, then you send me your address, so that I myself may leave this hypocritical world and come to you. See that you don't delay.

(21) The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore), Editor, Printer, Publisher, Asa Ram, of the 11th July 1931 publishes the following poem :—

The spring of revolution has again come in the garden of India,
 The poppy-bed of revolution is again going to flourish.
 Beware, O palace of autocracy of the West.
 Beware, sparks rise from the smoke of the sigh of the heart.
 There is going to be a war between slavery and freedom.
 The world is going to become the battlefield of revolution.
 All the lovers of freedom are ready with their heads on their palms.
 The rosy-cheeked (sweetheart) of revolution is coming fully arrayed.

(22) The *Vir Bharat* (Lahore) of the 30th July 1931 publishes the following :—

“ Dreadful revenge.

Murder of a national leader.

Bloodthirsty beasts of police ! First shoot me dead, then drink the blood of the poor peasants.

A youth's sacrifice in the sacrificial pit of freedom.

An interesting story.....from the pen of Mr. Prithi Raj Gardish.....
 (written) especially for the *Vir Bharat* :—

Lakhs of men are born and die in this world daily and none even knows their names, but the names of those who lay down their lives for the sake of their country shine like the sun of the world in the heart-piercing darkness, even on the day of judgment, not to speak of this world.

A long time has elapsed when Shriyat Surindar attained martyrdom, but his name is still on the lips of every child in India. There is a small old temple on the bank of the Ravi river, on which a tri-coloured national flag usually flutters. After taking bath, etc., devotees of the martyr every morning visit the temple and worship the martyr. Shouts of ' long live revolution ', ' long live martyr Surindar ' spread in the silence of the jungle and infuse the spirit of freedom on every side.

Shriyat Surindar had laid down his life for the object for which Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders are straining every nerve.

Shriyat Surindar had avenged the unjustifiable murder of Mohindar, a popular leader, and for this had to ascend the gallows.

He ascended the gallows, smiling and himself put the noose round his neck. While tearing into shreds its self-made so-called law, the Government in order to wipe out of existence the name and mark of the martyr, burnt his corpse most dishonourably on the river bank, without giving it to his relations, by pouring kerosine oil over it. The people have erected, as a memorial, a small temple at that very place, which is more sacred to the lovers of freedom than the holy places themselves.

* * * * *
 The article continues in this strain.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

(1) One Anandmohan Sahay of Japan contributes an article to the *Yuvak* (Patna) in which he urges upon the youngmen of India the advisability of becoming ' revolutionaries ' and of ' producing new and dangerous thoughts ', if they wanted to make their country independent. The writer contends that to become a revolutionary is the birth-right of every youngman.

(2) The *Yuvak* (Patna) publishes the following :—

“ Prisoner ! Never you waver from your path, this prison is not a joke.
Madhava was born in this very place and (he) destroyed Kansa.

The autocratic rule flared up, the consternation among the people was set
at rest.

The drum of truth and justice was sounded, the autocratic Government
could no longer exist.

* * * * *

Prisoner ! Let the wicked and tyrant rulers perpetrate serious atrocities.
Never mind them, their own oppressions would burn them to ashes.

The fetters would break of themselves and the body and mind would
become free.

The jail would become the heaven and the gibbet of execution the
throne.”

(3) In one of the articles published in the *Yuvak* (Patna) it is contended
that the slogan of ‘ Long live Revolution ’ has come to be widely known since
the Assembly Bomb incident. It is also said that youngmen are very fond of
this cry and that all attempts on the part of Government to suppress this have
completely failed. The following is also published :—“ * * * Bhagat
Singh is alive no more. The soul-force of Gandhi, the unanimous begging by
the country, the foiled attempts of the young—nothing could save him. Anyway,
Bhagat Singh is dead, the country does not like to-day the method of his work
but his cry has become the cry of the country. And on account of this cry
alone his name has been immortalised in history. * * * From every creek
and corner of India, at present, comes the cry ‘ Long live Revolution ’. The sky
resounds ‘ Long live Bhagat Singh ’.”

* * * * *

(4) The *Mahavir* (Patna) of June 21, publishes the following :—

“ Whose heart is ignited with the spark of freedom,

Who is anxious to efface his existence :

Let such youngmen, rich in promises, come forward to sacrifice their
head.

It would be only then that they would unfurl the national flag in an
independent country.

Brave men, take not rest till you die, stand in the arena of battle.

Obtain the beloved Swaraj or die.”

(5) In the course of a poem published in the *Mahavir* (Patna) of June 21,
it is said :—

“ Yes, I am a rebel, a revolutionary,

I am what you would style me as.

I care not in the least whether you
or the world calls me mad,

* * * * *

The fire of my heart is anxious to
destroy you

* * * * *

(6) The *Mahavir* (Patna) of July 20, publishes the following from
Jainarayan Jha, ‘ Bineet ’ :—

“ * * * * *

O Ye 36 crores ! give up depending on others now.

Have courage, stand on your own legs gladly.

* * * * *

Become a strong revolutionary, begin the battle of independence

The Universe would begin to quake, seeing you angry,

You are sure to win, this is certain.

Those who beat you will kiss your feet.

Let bands of intoxicated youth, put on crowns of thorn-

Have come out fully equipped for battle, unmindful of their loss of life. They are bent upon obliterating themselves and obliterating others, fighting a decisive battle.

This is the last hard fight between virtue and vice.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

(1) Commenting on the same subject (Bhagat Singh, etc.), in the same strain, the *Lokmat* (Jubbulpore) in its leading article remarks :—In sending the three patriots to the gallows in total disregard of the united demand of the nation, bureaucracy has only revealed its wanton mentality. There might have been a difference of opinion as regards the methods employed by them in achieving their purpose, but their intense love for their motherland and spirit of service in the cause of freeing her from the clutches of an alien bureaucratic domination were unquestionable. It was owing to their high sense of patriotism that they had to sacrifice themselves at the altar of nationalism. The Government of India has committed a great blunder in hanging these heroes. In its refusal to accede to the people's request for commutation of the sentence, the bureaucratic Government of the country wanted to suggest that the whole country was wrong in appealing for mercy, but time alone will show who was in the wrong. At any rate the failure of the people's attempts to save these martyrs shows that it is idle to expect justice in a slave country. The conclusion of truce with the Government and Mahatmaji's words had induced the hope that some concession would be shown to these heroes but facts proved to be otherwise.

Though these martyrs are no more, the ideal for which they sacrificed their lives is before the country, and it is the duty of every son of the motherland to strive incessantly for it. If they march forward towards the goal of complete independence with the weapon of non-violence in their hands, then alone would they be able to pay their homage to these heroic souls in heaven. No doubt the bureaucracy has given a challenge to non-violence by these hangings, but the country ought not to play into the hands of their opponents at this critical juncture by resorting to violence. We earnestly request them to use their power and influence in favour of peace and thus strengthen the hands of the Congress. The life of the bureaucracy is at its ebb and who can say that this exhibition of force may not be its last? When India becomes free, the people can merrily sing the song "who lives if India dies, who dies if India lives"! If India lives, these heroes would be immortal.
