

Revisiting Bagha Jatin: The Unsung Champion of Revolutionary Maneuvers in Colonial Bengal

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Abstract

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda became the role model for the unsung revolutionaries and thus rationalization of a Hindu identity was in the making. Jatindranath Mukherjee better known as *Bagha Jatin* took the reins of the revolution in Bengal after the stalwarts were put behind the bars following Alipore Bomb Conspiracy. He was a man of vision and accelerated the momentum of the revolutionary enterprise throughout India. A pan-Indian upheaval was masterminded by him and he maintained close proximity with Aurobindo Ghosh and Rasbehari Bose for chalking the blueprint of the nationwide revolution with foreign logistical aid. He was a man of action and the youths enthusiastically performed clandestine activities under his esteemed leadership. But unfortunately the contribution of Bagha Jatin, the lionhearted commander who thought much ahead of his time was always undermined by the historians of repute. This paper is a tribute to the unsung hero whose initiatives motivated thousands of youth to sacrifice their lives in the holy fire of *Deshbhakti* (love for motherland).

Keywords: Revolution, Religious nationalism, Secret societies, Enterprise

Setting the context

The revolutionary activities in Bengal were slowly gaining momentum from the second half of the nineteenth century primarily by the initiatives of the protagonists of the *Hindu Mela*, where the importance of physical culture was perceived. The movement started by the *Mela* and National Society for the widespread

consciousness about the value of physical prowess among the youths compelled the government to introduce physical education in the schools and it was also included in the syllabus of civil service examinations.¹ Socio-religious reformers like Swami Vivekananda tried their best to rejuvenate the nationalist feeling among the fresh blood of revolution. Certain key symbols of nationalism were used by Swamiji because of their multimodality, and he was capable of bridging different strata's of Indian society with a meaningful message that addressed more successfully than any of the earlier attempts of other leaders. The Psychoanalytic oriented theorists have tried to emphasize the role of the muscular monk as a cultural hero.²

Boer war was very much instrumental in infusing fresh revolutionary spirit among the youths of Bengal. The defeat of the proud and mighty British in the hands of the black skinned people created history in world politics. The myth of the invincible Union Jack was knocked down by the non-white race. Unfortunately, very few people of our country had the information of such a revolutionary event. The Boer war was also important in another aspect as it paved the way for formation of numerous secret societies. The seeds of the societies were primarily showed in Italy, Russia and China. They may be considered as the pioneers in the formation of clandestine societies. Initially the working of the secret societies in Bengal was in a preliminary stage of experimentation and it succeeded within a short time. According to Hemchandra Kanungo in the early days of secret society the aspirants started practicing physical culture with age old indigenous methods, which were very much scientific in nature.³ They also set off trying their hands in horse riding along with other martial practices like exhibiting the movement of bamboo stove, sword and other instruments of combat. But, initially they were unable to procure fire arms for practicing the target as well as performing action. They were also eager to learn about the explosives and the technology of the bomb making.⁴ Barindra Kumar Ghosh, the brother of Aurobindo Ghosh devoted himself working among the *bhadralok* class to which he belonged. He was instrumental in founding a few associations organized for the promotion of physical culture and in spreading revolutionary ideas to some minor extent.⁵

¹ Chatterjee , Amitava *Male Body in the Making: The Physical Culture Movement in Colonial Bengal* in Amitava Chatterjee (ed) , *People at Play; Sport Culture and Nationalism*, Kolkata, Setu, 2013,pp 140-141

² Bagchi Moni, *Bagha Jatin*, Siskha Bharati, Kolkata, 1968

³ Kanungo, Hemchandra, *Banglay Biplab Pracheshia*, Calcutta, Kamala Book Depot, 1928, p 48-50

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mukhopadhyay Asoke Kumar, *Agnipurush*, Ananda Publishers, Kolkata, 2004, p15

Early life

Jatindranath Mukhopadhyay popularly known as Bagha Jatin was born in the year 1879, (1286 B.S, 21 Agrahayan) in a village called *Kayagram* in the Kushtia District of undivided Bengal (presently Bangladesh) which was actually the maternal place of Jatindranath's. Umesh Chandra Mukhopadhyay, father of Jatindranath, originally hailed from *Riskhali* village of the district of *Jessore* (Eastern parts of Bengal). He was a man of dignity and high moral values. The devout Brahmin lived with enormous self esteem and was also noted as a man of simple living and high thinking.

Apart from the text books prescribed in the syllabus of the schools and colleges he was inclined towards other forms of reading like the tales of freedom struggle, biographies of Indian historical heroes and other tales of valour. The text which attracted him the most was *Bhagvad Gita*. When he was in the tenth standard of the Krisnanagar School he was awarded with *Shivaji Mahakavya* and *Bhagvad Gita* for his first prize in the physical exercise competition. He interpreted *Gita* in his own way and was mesmerized by the verses of lord Krishna which were delivered in the battlefield of *Kurukshetra*.⁶ The entire life of this revolutionary thus became tuned by the strings of *Gita*. These texts brought in a revolutionary ideology at the back of the mind for young Jatin.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay was yet another person who exercised tremendous positive influence on the thought process of the lionhearted revolutionary. The philosophy of *Bhagvad Gita* made him think twice about the spirit of religious nationalism which had a checkered past history.⁷ The classical historical heroes like Shivaji was brought in as icons for rejuvenating the nationalist spirit. *Bharat mata* was symbolic about brewing the spirit of revolutionary nationalism among the fresh blood. This symbolic worship actually drew attention of numerous people who at one point of time couldn't understand the language of the moderates or maybe they were frustrated with their modus operandi of appeasement politics.⁸

From the very childhood days Jatindranath was much inclined towards social service of the community and often got him involved in the work of rural reconstruction. He was acclaimed as '*Jatin-da*' because he had an inborn

⁶ The historical place where the epic battle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas were held in Mahabharata.

⁷ Mukhopadhyay Jadugopal, *Biplabi Jiboner Smriti*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, Academic Publishers, 1982, p 78

⁸ Kanungo, Hemchandra, *Banglay Biplab Pracheshia*, Calcutta, Kamala Book Depot, 1928, p112

leadership quality within him just like an elder brother. His quality to integrate with almost all the section of the boys made him extremely popular among them. Young Jatin also masterminded the regular physical culture among his association of students which was of immense significance for the youth of future generations. Once in April 1906, when young Jatindranath was residing his maternal ancestral house in *Kayagram*, a Royal Bengal Tiger became over active in the locality and was destroying domestic stocks of the poor villagers. The deadly animal was to be get rid of. Unfortunately the beast attacked Jatin, while search for it was on. The fearless, stout man retaliated bravely and killed the man eater with a mere dagger. Thus he became famous for this act of valour by the name of *Bagha Jatin*.

Spirited leader with high moral values.

With religious and philosophical bent of mind Jatin Mukherjee was transmuted to be a sincere protagonist of religious nationalism which was gaining momentum among the revolutionary youths. The commander insisted that the revolutionaries should stick to the principles of *Gita*;

*“Daibong Mashma Gamah Partha Naitat Twajjup Paddite
Khudrang Hridayadourballang Ttoktotishtha Pranatap”*

Here Lord Krishna urges Partha not to be distressed as it is unlikely of a strong and masculine man like Arjun to be disoriented and perplexed. He also advised Partha to shed off the mental weakness and blocks in order to retaliate against the enemies on a strong footing.⁹ This was exactly the need of the hour when the young minds were trying to retaliate against the Raj with full vigour and strength and as we all are aware of the fact that mental strength is the most important essence of physical power.

Bagha Jatin realized how urgent it was to have an all India militia, Indian National Army and to react against British squandering of Indian resources to safeguard their interests in China and elsewhere. In this context one can better appraise Jatin’s subsequent programme for indoctrinating native soldiers in the British regiment for the fight for freedom. Jatin was extremely passionate about the promotion of physicality among the Bengali youths. To begin with, under the encouragement of his employer Kennedy, he founded an athletic club with the local boys of Muzaffarpur where along with the study of *Gita* and other moral lessons of nature building he also introduced popular competitions of physical culture and football matches.¹⁰ Here one can find Jatin Mukherjee, sticking to the

⁹ Bhagavad Gita, p-25

¹⁰ Mukherjee Prithwindra, *Bagha Jatin: Life in Bengal and Death in Orissa (1879-1915)*, Manohar 2016. P-20

teachings of Swami Vivekananda, who always wanted a perfect admixture of religion and athleticism.¹¹

When we try to explore the nature of Jatindranath, we find a perfect amalgamation of softness and uncompromising attitude. He was a devout man and was comprehensible in his religious outlook. As he was influenced by the philosophies of both Bankim chandra Chattopadhyay and Swami Vivekananda, he was perfect and clear in his outlook about nationalism where religion meant a lot for him. After accepting the discipleship of Bholnanda Giri Maharaj, Jatin was apprehensive that he achieved the religious consciousness and *Brahmagyan* (supreme knowledge). He attained ultimate bliss of mind in the *Tapoban Ashram* of the hermit. Since his heart was extremely grief-stricken and perturbed for his mother's sudden and untimely demise, he was in search of tranquility. After returning from the peaceful world of calmness of the ashram, Jatin was appointed as the stenographer of the chief secretary Wheeler. This government job proved to be a shield for Jatindranath in carrying on with his revolutionary ventures for the motherland. Since he was holding such a responsible government office, nobody was even skeptical about his activities and never ever thought of vigilance on him.

Jatindranath Mukerjee, though has been neglected in the annals of the revolutionary history of Bengal has enormous contribution in the evolution of rebellious minds in Bengal as the region was actually experiencing an atmosphere of the revolutionary ethos. If Aurobindo is to be recognized as *Dronacharya*¹² of Bengal revolutionaries, Jatindranath was his most efficient and virtuous lieutenant as well as compatriot who carried the torch of liberation among the simple rustic youths throughout Bengal. He may be described as Jack of all trade and master of all. Mukherjee proficiently mastered almost all physical feats required for carrying on with the clandestine organization, such as swimming, cycling with the speed of an arrow, hunting, shooting both with pistol and riffle, wrestling like a professional wrestler, *lathi* and dagger play and boxing so magnificently that nobody could question his efficiency as a commander in the battleground. He was a master strategist who emerged as a tough Hindu leader and challenged the cultural superiority of the British Empire.

Within the configuration of a clandestine design for an insurrection, Mukherjee along with Barin Ghosh, started an indigenous bomb factory in Deoghar in December 1906. The same effort was repeated by Barin Ghosh in the Manicktala garden house. With the advice of Aurobindo, Jatin kept himself aloof from this

¹¹ Amitava Chatterjee and Souvik Naha, *The Muscular Monk: Vivekananda, Sports and Physical Culture in Colonial Bengal, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XLIX no 11 March, 2014, pp. 25-29

¹² Bagchi Moni, *Bagha Jatin*, Siskha Bharati, Kolkata, 1968, p85

project. ¹³Hence in 1908, Jatin was not arrested as one of revolutionaries, accused in the Alipore Bomb Case. Thus Jatin was kept untouched and he went on organizing the youths when modes of serious oppression were unleashed by the administration. He sincerely performed his task of preparing the ground for an armed revolution.

Revolutionary activities under his leadership

After the Alipore conspiracy was unearthed, Jatin was accepted as the unquestioned leader by the pan-Indian secret societies. Even Charles Tegart, the top brass of Calcutta police once mentioned that Jatin Mukherjee was a master strategist. His planning had a great success rate. He never wanted to repeat the wrong strategies adopted by the rebels during the Sepoy Mutiny. Jatin was of the opinion that revolution should be formulated among the sepoys who will be involved in the insurrection and the revolutionaries will engage themselves in the disruption of communications, and transport system of the government. Thus the authority will be crippled without proper information and swift movement of their militia will be disrupted. It was also assumed by the master strategist that the government will thus fail to tame the fire of the revolution and suppress the revolt.¹⁴

The activities of Jatindranath were duly acknowledged and appreciated by Sister Nivedita, who herself supported the cause of the Irish revolutionaries. Jatin frequently visited the Baghbazar house of sister situated in the Bosepara lane. Other revolutionaries also very often visited sister's place, *Bhogini Nivas*. She clearly mentioned that Jatin was a spark, who was capable of burning the entire nation with his insurgent ventures. This perfectly elucidates the revolutionary instinct which was obvious in the nature of *Bagha Jatin*. Nivedita tried to mould the mentality within the revolutionaries and pervade them with the knowledge of world revolutions by making them acquainted with the basic texts about revolution.¹⁵ Bagha Jatin made his apostles read the autobiography of Mazzini as he strongly believed that a detailed reading of this book will help the rebels to master the techniques of guerrilla warfare which was the need of the hour for the radical freedom fighters of Bengal. The prediction of Swami Vivekananda that Bengal was in the verge of a massive upsurge was also being eagerly expected by the revolutionary commanders like Jatin Mukherjee.¹⁶

¹³ Guha Arun Chandra, *First Spark of Revolution*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 1971,p-162.

¹⁴ Bagchi Moni, *Bagha Jatin*, Shiksha Bharati, Kolkata, 1968.p- 76

¹⁵ Mukhopadhyay, Jadugopal, *Biplabi Jibaner Smriti*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, Academic Publishers, 1982,pp 132-133

¹⁶ Ibid, p 135.

During the turbulent phase of 1908 when *Swadeshi* movement was in its full swing 'Shramajeevi Samabay' a new patriotic organization developed. Situated in the Harrison Road it was more like a shop owned by Sri Amarendranath Chattopadhyay of Uttarpara, who was originally from the district of Hooghly. Initially he was an ardent follower of Surendranath Banerjee, but latter he became attracted towards Aurobinda Ghosh and was baptised in his revolutionary ideals. He was a mettlesome revolutionary who was also one of the most trusted disciples of Jatin Mukherjee.¹⁷

Swadeshi Dacoity became a common political crime of the day. Jatin himself engineered some of these robberies and Narendranath Bhattacharya was considered as the most trusted and efficient lieutenant of Jatin Da, as far these activities was concerned. After the series of daring robberies conducted prior to 1910 the police became exceptionally active and gained some success by arresting some youths who were very much active in these clandestine activities. One such arrested from Darjeeling was Lalit Chakrabarti, a youth comrade of Bagha Jatin especially active in *swadeshi* robberies. He first disclosed the name of Jatin Mukherjee and his core group of thirty two revolutionaries. After the Samsul murder case when Jatin was named once again by Birendra, the intelligence department became somewhat sure about the involvement of Jatin Mukherjee in all sorts of seditious activities in spite of being a government official. After repeated failures the British police finally succeeded to arrest Jatin on 27th January, 1910. The day he was arrested from Calcutta, the police recovered a script named 'The Scheme and Formation of the Vigilance Committee', from his place, which was exclusively written by him about the forthcoming revolutionary ventures. It may be considered as a blueprint of future upheavals in Bengal. Thus Jatin was designated as 'dangerous' revolutionary by the sleuths of the intelligence branch.¹⁸

Jatindranath Mukherjee along with Narendranath Bhattacharya and fifty other revolutionaries were convicted in the famous Howrah-Sibpur Conspiracy Case also meanly known as *Howrah Gang Case*. The case was brought before the public in I9I0 and I9II. Quite a few revolutionary groups were intertwined in this case. Naren was among those arrested, but the case against him was unconvincing and although the Home Department noted earlier cases and that he carried with him copies of inflammatory literature (issues of Aurobindo's paper the *Karmayogin* and another paper called *Dharma*), he had to be released.¹⁹

¹⁷ Sedition Committee Report 1918, source: South Asia Archive.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Home Department, I9II, cited in. Leonard A. Gordon, Portrait of a Bengal Revolutionary, The Journal of Asian Studies, Feb., 1968, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Feb., 1968), pp. 197-216

These actions and serious contributions of these militant nationalists were hardly focused by the mainstream Nationalist as well as Marxist historians who sometimes even undermined their sincere efforts for the cause of the nation. There is no denial of the fact that Jatindranath tried to amalgamate all the revolutionary groups under a single umbrella so that a Pan-Indian insurgency can be collocated to oust the colonial government. This thought was further restructured later with a new vision by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and I.N.A. Thus the mode of violence and non-violence went hand in hand for the struggle for independence, and the contribution of these unsung revolutionaries can never be undermined.

The Detective department of the colonial administration never let him loose and always shadowed him almost in each of his movements and activities. Other two famous contemporary revolutionaries who operated from other parts of India were V. D. Savarkar and Rashbehari Basu. Both of them were considered to be real threat against the British imperialism. Jatindra Mukherjee also respected Savarkar's rebellious acumen. Rashbehari Basu masterminded the bomb attack on Lord Hardinge but he was saved by whiskers. In this phase Jatindranath met with Rashbehari Basu and reviewed the idea about organising a Pan- Indian coup d'état so that the foreign yoke can be forcefully thrown out of the motherland. Both of them shared the identical view that, freedom is to be wrested rather than prayed.²⁰

After Jatindranath took over as the commander, dynamic revolutionary activities started happening in every nook and corner of the Bengal presidency. On 23rd September 1913, three rebels shot a hyperactive police officer Haripada Deb in college square which was considered as a fairly crowded place in the heart of Calcutta. On 30th September a bomb was hurled on an official carriage in Bhadrashwar in the Hooghly district, but unfortunately the target was missed by whiskers. In the same year Amritalal Hazra alias Sashanka was taken in to police custody for Rajabazar Bomb Trial. Police evacuated the stored explosives from his house and he was deported for fifteen long years. While searching his house the police recovered 'Swadhinata Patra' (revolutionary pamphlet) where it was clearly mentioned that the only target of the dedicated revolutionaries of Bengal should be the elimination of white officials and their trusted native collaborators who were considered even more dangerous for the nation.

'All-India Armed Uprising ' had not been envisaged singlehandedly by Rash Behari Bose. It can be considered as an established fact that in 1915 an analogous venture had been made by Jatindranath who was personally familiar with Sachindra Nath Sanyal. Anukul Chakravarty, rightly mentioned that there was a basal difference of outlook between, Rash Behari Basu and *Bagha Jatin* about their

²⁰ Mitra Sudhir Kumar *Bagha Jatin (Biplabi Bir Jatindranath Mukherjeer Jiboni)*, Sriguru Library, Kolkata, B.S. 1355

strategy and plan of action. Yet the two revolutionary leaders held each other in the highest appreciation and they tried to coordinate their activities.²¹ Sanyal further informs us that echoing Rash Behari Basu, *Bagha Jatin* was also determined to integrate all major revolutionary coterie in North India, though the latter's domain of revolutionary enterprise was mostly restricted to Bengal presidency and to some extent in Bihar and Orissa. Bagha Jatin made energetic arrangements for a synchronous uprising in Bengal.²² Contemporary literature also reveals the fact that Jatindranath tried a unified mutinous upheaval so that the British administration feels the tremors simultaneously in different centres of the country. While administering judgement in the Rajabazar Bomb Trial Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee mentioned:

*“The circumstances that bombs of this particular type have been used in various places..... points to the conclusion that more than one person is engaged in those transaction. The bombs are not the hands work of one individual though they may be the work of one controlling mind.”*²³

Inspector Nipendra Chandra Ghosh played a key role in accelerating the pace of the Rajabazar Bomb Trial. He was never forgiven by the revolutionaries who were just waiting for the suitable opportunity to teach him a lesson. The perfect opportunity came when he was getting down from a tram in Shovabazar crossing and was shot dead by a couple of revolutionaries. One of them managed to escape but Nirmal Kanti Roy was nabbed by the locals. He was trailed twice in the Calcutta High Court. His defence counsel comprised of renowned barrister Norton, C.R.Das and attorney Hirendranath Dutta. The youth was however acquitted by the court after a long trial.²⁴ These activities actually enhanced the pace of the rebellious ventures. Numerous actions were hence forth recorded. Deputy Superintendent of police Basanta kumar Chattopadhyay was targeted in his own residence but he survived luckily. When bomb was hurled in his place a head constable along with two other attendants were seriously injured. But the police was clueless and failed to arrest anybody in this particular incident.

In this context one should take a note of the fact that by early 1914 the country was going through an atmosphere of discontent with the top heavy administration of the

²¹ Anukul Chakravarty's Presidential Speech at the commemoration Meeting of All-India Uprising, held at Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta on February 21, 1915

²² Sengupta Saumya, *Indian Independence Committee: Some Aspects on Different Schemes and Group Rivalries*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 2013, Vol. 74 (2013), pp. 532-538.

²³ Mitra Sudhir Kumar, *Bagha Jatin (Biplabi Bir Jatindranath Mukherjeeer Jiboni)*, Sriguru Library, Kolkata, B.S. 1355, p 93.

²⁴ Chattopadhyay Sachindranath, *Bagha Jatin*, Indian Associated Publishing Company Private Limited, Kolkata, 1880 B.S

British rule. The revolutionaries who were fighting for the cause of the nation from outside the subcontinent i.e. from U.S.A. and Canada (Ghadrites) provided moral and material support to their counterparts in India. This provided an additional fillip for the Bengal revolutionaries and boosted their enthusiastic spirit. The insurgents of Bengal under the efficient supervision of Jatin Mukherjee were raising funds through political robbery for a huge armed insurrection to put a full stop to the colonial rule in India. These activities of Bagha Jatin and his men are vividly described in the Sedition Committee Report of 1918. The British government had formed this particular Sedition Committee to investigate and report on the nature and extent of criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India.²⁵

The metropolis by then was not safe for the revolutionary chief and thus was forced to leave the city. Initially Jatin and his men wanted to seek refuge in the Raj estate of Burdwan, but the Maharaja informed about his incapability to provide asylum to the most wanted revolutionary leader of his time. This clearly points out to the fact that these landed magnets always sided with the colonizers for achieving some pseudo fame and also acted as collaborators in the later days. Finally the chief was transposed to an apparently solitary place named Kaptipada, which is located thirty miles from Balasore town. It was situated in the estate of Mayurbhanj and was shaded by deep forest. The commander was accompanied here by four of his young, trusted and efficient comrades – Chittapriya Roychowdhuri, Nirendranath Dasgupta, Monoranjan Sengupta and Jotish Pal. They were keen to settle here also for the geo-strategic importance of the place, as they were eagerly waiting for the armed consignment of the second ship which was supposed to anchor in Balasore.

Universal Emporium in Balasore was the office of clandestine operations for the rebels. Before leaving for Kaptipada, the commander left necessary instructions for Saileshwar, who was the proprietor of the emporium. Bagha Jatin was feeling comfortable to stay in that hideout because it was an ideal place situated in the confluence of Mahanadi and the Bay of Bengal. German ships were also supposed to anchor them within its proximity. He used to stay in the village, in the disguise of a hermit, clad in saffron clothes and was known as *Sadhu Baba* (pious and religious person) to the local folks. He used to mix freely with these rustic people and used to nurse them whenever they were down with illness. Being a devout Hindu, he was thus performing his duty towards humanity and also waiting for the perfect opportunity to strike back on the British forces.

²⁵ Das Dr. Rup Narayan, *Bagha Jatin : An Unsung Hero*, Orissa Review, January 2007.pp 39-43

Conclusion

The top brass police officials of Calcutta under Charles Tegart, in association with the chief of central intelligence agency G.D. Denham along with others vowed to put a full stop to these ever increasing seditious activities. On 7th of August 1915, the office of Harry & Sons of Calcutta was raided as it was surveyed that this company regularly carried on with clandestine activities. After the thorough raid certain confidential as well as significant revolutionary documents were seized from the suspicious site. The evidences confiscated from this location opened up new dimensions for the sleuths who advanced towards Balasore with a secret clue. This indicator was not at all revealed to anyone, except a few top officials and thus Bagha Jatin had no idea that his hideout has been traced and he was also absolutely not prepared for this unexpected incursion which was elaborately and cautiously planned by the cops of the intelligence department.²⁶

The commander was informed about the forthcoming raid when the enemy forces advanced to a much closer proximity, leaving very few options for the daring comrades. The heavily armed force was waiting for the morning sun and the shelter of Jatin was combed immediately, but the party returned empty handed only with some books and a hand written diary of the leader. The British forces left no stones unturned for searching the magnificent and gallant revolutionary leader of the time of the then Bengal. The shrewd British officials again played their unscrupulous tricks and cornered the group of four along with their supreme commander. The lionhearted revolutionaries fearlessly resisted the mighty British force, but the operation proved successful for the British. *Bagha Jatin* succumbed to serious injuries caused from the British bullets.

The truth of the fierce battle of Buribalam has been forcefully distorted by the imperialist historians of repute followed by their native counterpart. It was never a mere skirmish as the commander was in a mood to do or die. The official documents have been suspected for exclusions and hyperbole and most likely understatements. The historians of post-colonial India also maintained their deliberate silence. The state sponsored history was perhaps not willing to bring out the contribution of these revolutionaries who never took the path of compromise like other veritable political messiah's.

²⁶ NAI, Denham and Ryland *Reports on the Balasore Affray* (Home/Political proceedings of the Government of India, Nos. 48-61A), October 1915.

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