

Terrorist Activities in Tripura (1930-33)-

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Geo-politically Tripura was distinct from India because the rulers claimed themselves sovereigns, but the influence of the national movements on Tripura cannot be under estimated. The movements in Tripura were simply the action and reaction, stimulus and response of the movements of Bengal specially Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, Comilla etc.¹

Sources

The original unpublished sources exploited in this paper are (1) the files of confidential correspondence between the Dewan-shasan, Government of Tripura and the political Agent and the Inspector General of police, C. I. D. office, Tripura, housed in the Secretariat-Archives at Agartala ; (2) interviews with the living available terrorist and Marxist members of the State. Published source-materials are (1) the terrorist pamphlets, and (2) some relevant books.

Genesis

Before entering the theme of terrorist activities in Tripura during 1930-33, it is necessary to trace the forces underlying the rise of terrorism. There were a few internal and external factors behind this rise. Internally speaking, there was one Sanskrit Tol^a that did the spade work of terrorism. It was founded by Ramendra Bhattacharjee of Bejura during the 1920's at Ramnagar. The genesis of terrorism sprang to life due to the emergence of various Sanghas too. Some times, the Maharaja, Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya at the instance of the British took stern measures against those who shared the anti-British views. This led them to take recourse to the path of terrorism. Tripura was always regarded by the freedom fighters as a safe resort because the British law, usages, customs were inoperative here. The Maharaja, on the whole, enjoyed the independence of action in the sphere of internal administration of the State. Externally speaking, the Revolt Group in Chittagong under Surjya Sen was eager for immediate

and dramatic action. The Chittagong Armoury Raid case and the 'rich Spectrum of the Civil Disobedience Movement' provided the spark to ignite the terrorist activities in Tripura.

The important figures of Bengal terrorism like Surjya Sen, Ganesh Ghosh, Binoy Bose, Ananta Singha, Indumati Singha and others visited Tripura times without number facilitating the terrorists to be inspired in it. Revolutionaries such as Subodh Mukherjee (detenue), Surjya Sen (absconder of Chittagong Raid case), and Binoy Basu, the assassin of Lowman are said to have been given shelter by Manindralal Biswas of Tripura at Agartala.³ Besides, the revolutionary pamphlets were off and on smuggled out to and from Tripura by secret hands. The prohibited publications exercised an extraordinary influence over the "unbalanced" minds of Tripura youths. The object of these publications was to arouse hatred and contempt against the British and incite the readers to the crimes of violence. A few lines of one of such pamphlets can be mentioned here : "for the welfare of the oppressed millions, we want to wet the earth with the blood of our heart.....At best dominion status can be achieved through non-violence. Our goal is to establish the revolutionary government by countrywide armed rebellion. God of revolutions has awaken. Let him win. Nanyapantha bidyate Ayanaya (No other alternative but to this)".⁴

Organisation

There was a net work of Sanghas in Agartala and other important places. These were something like a martial organisation with hard and fast rules. The general work included organisation, propaganda and agitation. Organisational work included recruitment of new members and arrangement for their training. Collection of arms and money and the commitment of political dacoities were the important activities of the Sanghas. To start with, the earliest important club towards which a considerable section of Tripura youths gravitated was the Lily Blossom⁵ founded at the initiative of Jitendra Datta and Biren Datta during the 1920's at Ramnagar. There was also a Football team named Lily Blossom. It attracted the youths to be plunged into the terrorist activities. This was really the time of florescence of Tripura terrorism. The other important and powerful Sanghas were the Chhatra Sangha and the Bhratri Sangha. The former seems to have been emerged in 1927. It was founded by Nilu Mukherjee, Akhil Datta, Anil Chakraborty and others. After sometimes, some members

of the Chhatra Sangha dissociated with the parent body and started another organisation named Bhratri Sangha⁶ at the present V.M. Hospital quarters area of Agartala under the leadership of Umes-hlal Singha, and Sachindralal Singha.⁷ Bhratri Sangha ultimately emerged as the nerve-centre of the revolutionary activities and important political leaders of later times originally belonged to it. Among the important members of this Sangha were, besides Umes-hlal Singha, Sachindralal Singha, such men as Hariganga Basak, Trailokyanath Datta alias Larro,⁸ Nihar Chandra Das alias Nashu, Bhupesh Chandra Das alias Gainya, Somendra Chandra Sen alias Jhantoo, Chandramohan Datta, Gopilal Singh, Anil Sen, Sukhamay Sen, Biren Datta etc. It began to supply revolutionary books for the purpose of recruitment from the neighbouring British districts. This shows how vigorously the Bhratri Sangha of Agartala was pushing up the organisation.

In addition to these Sanghas there sprang up some other revolutionary Sanghas like the Milan Sangha, the Thakur Sangha, the Matri Sangha, the Chhatri Sangha etc. The Milan Sangha was founded by Sukumar Bhowmik in the year 1931 at present East Agartala Thana, Banamalipur but not at Milan Sangha Bus stoppage at Bardwali. It enrolled the members like Prabhat Chandra Roy, Jitendra Chandra Datta, Parbatimohan Bhattacharjee alias Bhota, Debaprasad Sen, Ananta Kumar De, Rajkumar Majumdar, Prafulla Kumar Nandi, Asit Chandra Bhattacharjee. The object of the Milan Sangha was to attain the freedom of the country by means of violence. In this Sangha members were trained in Lathi, dagger and sword-play. On 4.3.32 the then political Agent of Tripura said that this party was a dangerous one.⁹ Harendra Kumar Debbarma alias Sritukaya and Haridas Banerjee were the important members of the Thakur Sangha.

Regarding the split in the Sanghas, the opinions of the living terrorists differ. Sukumar Bhowmik, the founder of the Milan Sangha, says that in order to make the greater participation in the terrorist activities possible, separate Sanghas were created in different places of Agartala. Debaprasad Sen, an underground terrorist mentions that in order to clear the Sangha out of bad leaders, the necessity of founding separate Sanghas arose. Biren Datta, another underground activist, agrees that the ideological differences stood at the root of creating split in the Sanghas, other factors were of little importance. The political Agent of Tripura State pointed out that Sachindralal Singha had had a quarrel with Sukumar Bhowmik regarding the leadership of the Bhratri Sangha,

As a result Bhowmik started a separate organisation known as the Milan Sangha. The same case was responsible for springing up other organisations. There is no denying the fact that the ideology factor sometimes played an important role, but the prestige factor was in no way less important in giving birth to new Sanghas though the principal aim of all was to drive the British from India. As terrorism provided a new light to prestige here so David M. Laushey's view that power, prestige and the respect of the Bengali community always seem to have been considerations more important than ideology¹⁰ apparently appears to be true in this case. These differences in the modus operandi and ideology did not stand in the way of mutual understanding and forbearance among the groups. Taking congenial atmosphere of revolutionary activities, the Anushilan Samiti of Bengal started its functions here. R. C. Majumdar mentioned that "for the purpose of training its members, the Anushilan Samiti had two farms at Belonia and Udaipur in Hill Tipperah. These were outwardly, and in part really, agricultural farms, but they served mainly as centres for training. During day time the members worked as labourers in the fields but at night they were given training in the use of different kinds of arms, and practised shooting in the neighbouring hills. They had to work hard and lived under strict military discipline".¹¹ According to Karunamay Roy,¹² an octoganarian Gandhi-ite terrorist turned Marxist, whose main sphere of activities was Belonia-Feni area, this Belonia farm was located at Beltilla of Belonia town. He is well aware of its activities. Another centre is reported to have started at Melagarh. Another was at Kailashahar.

According to Tripur Chandra Sen, Anushilan Samiti had opened one secret branch at Raja Babu's house at Krishnanagar, Agartala, in 1931, under the leadership of Prabhat Roy, Sunil Debburma and Kanti Debburma. Kanti Debburma suffered imprisonment and Prabhat Roy was detained in Comilla jail in connection with an illegal possession of a revolver alleged to be smuggled from Tripura State. Another cell was opened at Narsing Akhra near the present Motor stand, Agartala by this time under the leadership of Anantalal De.¹³

The then political Agent and District Magistrate, Comilla in a secret letter dated the 10th April, 1932, to Dewan Bahadur of Tripura acknowledged the existence of terrorist activities in Sonamura. Pleader Babu Ananda Pal of Sonamura was reported to be a member of the Terrorist party. What is amazing is that an officer, Thakur Lalit Chandra Debburman, had anti-British ideas.

They delivered lectures against the British. Some terrorists often met at jungles and tillas in the State near about the new Sonamura Road. According to T. C. Sen, a small group of workers of Kalyan Sangha, Brahmanbaria, a branch of Yugantar organisation under the leadership of Hem Ghosh and Lalit Debburman worked in this State from 1928. Biren Datta¹⁴, a member of the organisation published *Tripurar Katha*, a progressive weekly news paper in Bengali from Agartala. Mani Biswas of Agartala was an important worker of this Yugantar organisation.

Activities

“Outer circle” was engaged in secret seditious activities like training of recruits in the use of arms, collection of money and fire arms, political dacoities, circulation of prohibited books and bulletins etc., besides physical exercises and social service. The “inner circle” used to leave Agartala at times for a destination and with some purposes not known to the ordinary members. Their sudden absence was not to be disclosed even after their coming back to Agartala. Satyaranjan Bose, an ordinary member of the *Bhratri Sangha*, says that the “inner circle” consisted of the members like Kshitish Chandra Banerjee, Priyanath Banerjee, Nishikanta Ghosh, Prabodh Dasgupta and Jogesh Chakrabarty and others. Davaprasad Sen gives a list of five members who were entrusted with the responsible revolutionary duties. They were Hari Kr. Roy, Debaprasad Sen, Debabrata De, Niranjana Ghoshal and Sachindra Datta. They could take on-the-spot decision.¹⁵

The most important of all the political dacoities which created a sensation was that committed at Agartala at about 8 P.M. on the 23rd day of Chaitra of 1342 T. E. (1932 A.D.). Five members of the Anushilan Samiti belonging to the group of Satish Pakrasi of Dacca District, committed this dacoity in a medicine shop, Amar Sudha by name after the name of the owner, Amar Bhatta-
charjee, near Agartala Municipality in connivance with Asit Bhatta-
charjee, the adopted son of the owner of the shop. It was practically a pawnshop.¹⁶ Krishnapada Chakraborty, aged 25, of village Eutshahi, Dacca District,, Sachindra Datta of Dharkar under P. S. Kasba and Pabitra Pal, aged 19, of village Dhamti under P.S. Debidwar were arrested after an exchange of fire in a house at Melarmath, Agartala town basing on the information of a pleader named Nagendra Sen of that locality. According to Debaprasad Sen, the organiser of this dacoity, the party consisted of 7 to 8 members. Biren Datta adds the name of Premangshu Bhatta-

charjee alias Tipoo and Anantalal De to this. Krishnapada Chakrabarty was sentenced for 9 years and other two 7 years rigorous imprisonment.¹⁷

Both the dacoities, one at Mogra Bazar on 13.6.32 night and the other on 27.6.32 night at Nayanbazar under Kasba P.S. Dist. Tipperah was organised by some members of the Milan Sangha of Agartala. Some Agartala Raj family members were also involved in it and the collection of arms and ammunitions was made easy as Arun Karta and Dharendra Debburma of Col. House, Agartala secretly assisted.¹⁸

In the Nayan Bazar Dacoity absconders Prafulla Nandi, Debasprasad Sengupta and Anantalal De and some unknown youths from Comilla side were involved. Complainants were taken over to Agartala to identify some members of the gang living at Agartala, but they failed to identify them for various reasons - for fear of losing their extensive business at Agartala and apprehending further troubles for them in future.¹⁹

Tripura terrorists collaborated with the Chittagong terrorists in supplying arms and ammunitions when the individual collection of arms proposal was mooted by the latter. Umeshlal Singha of Agartala is the first cousin of Anantalal Singha, the Chittagong revolutionary. Singha came to Agartala for the purpose of collecting arms. Umeshlal Singha was an intimate friend of the prince and so he had free access to the Maharajah's Armoury. Anantalal Singha sometimes in 1930, accompanying Umeshlal Singha and a maternal uncle entered the Maharajah's Armoury and a Magazine Room and throwing dust in the eyes of sentries came out with cartridges of about 500 different types of pistols and revolvers, leaving no grain of doubt.²⁰ With them were also the fifty cartridges of mouser²¹ pistols.

The gun used during the Tinsukia Mail Raid is reported to have been stolen from the custody of one member of the royal family by some members of the Milan Sangha.²² In the month of March-April, 1932, a pistol and a revolver were stolen from the state stock of arms through Basantalal Singha and Mahendralal Singha who were in charge of the state arms. These men were secretly connected with the revolutionary party. Another theft of arms reported was regarding two revolvers, one belonging to the late Her Highness of Belarampur and another to the present Maharani - Her Highness of Panna at the same times. The local revolutionaries were suspected to have been concerned in this political theft.²³

No political murder case was reported in this state during the period under review. But some of the Tripura terrorists collaborated with others in this in the adjoining British Districts of Bengal. F. J. Lowman, the I. G. P. of Dacca was fatally wounded by Binay Bose on August 29, 1930. This assassin was given shelter by Mani Biswas of Agartala. E. B. Ellison, the S. P. of Comilla was shot by an unknown terrorist in July 1932. Birendra Datta of Agartala was arrested in this connection on 26.3.1933. The news of the arrest was published in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* dated 28th March, 1933. But he was released as there was no evidence to prove that he was involved in this.²⁴

British anxiety

The paramount power kept keen eyes on the activities of the revolutionaries carried inside the native states and as in the case of other native rulers, persuaded the administration of Tripura to take such action against the political suspects, as were found suitable by them.²⁵ J.C. Datta, Superintendent of Police, Tripura State, in a secret letter dt. September 29, 1932 to the Reserve officer, Jail Superintendent, Commandant of Tripura State Military Force and Dewan Bahadur Shasan, cautioned that informations received from various quarters confirmed the belief that there might be some terroristic outrange at Agartala viz., Armoury Raid or rescue of political prisoners from the Jail or looting of the Treasury in the near future.²⁶

The British Government of Bengal was very much concerned about the unauthorised introduction of firearms and the "Red penetration" in the state. The then political Agent in a secret letter to Rana Bahadur dt. 7.10.32 described these terrorists as the Bolsheviks.²⁷ It indicates that the Tripura terrorists were by this time inspired by the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.²⁸

Attitude of the Maharajah

It appears from various evidences that Maharajah Bir Bikram Kishore Manikya was in some cases sympathetic to the Movement and the detenues. He in consultation with the Political Agent had granted a monthly allowance to Sachindralal Singha, Jitendra Kumar Datta and others.²⁹ In order to avoid the arrest of the terrorists he sometimes replied the British query with the words that "they might be concealed somewhere in the state". With the re-enactment of the B.C.L.A. Act, the teeth of repression were sharpened here and the Maharajah introduced fresh curb and weekly confidential report system upon the activities of the terro-

rists. The latter had to face detention, threat, house-searching, repression etc. Some living terrorists give this impression citing individual harassment and torture. When the Political Agent C. G. B. Stevens was shot on the 14th Dec. 1931 at his bungalow at Comilla, the Maharajah was deeply grieved at his death and closed the offices and institutions for three consecutive days."

Opposition

The terrorist activities received opposition from a small section of the people. A few officers of the state were against this movement. A mass meeting of some of the local Thakurs of Agartala, Tripura state, was held on 22.9.33 evening at the Lal mahal under the presidentship of Uzir Thakur of B. K. Debburman and the following resolution was passed condemning the terrorist agencies:

"We the Thakurs, who are closely related to the rulers of this state ever since the foundation of this historic kingdom of Tripura and who naturally have no connection or sympathy with any sort of political movement in British India do hereby raise our united voice of condemnation against such secret and most cowardly movements of the terrorists and do solemnly resolve to combine ourselves whole heartedly and take concerted action to safeguard the interest and goodname of the state and its ruler by checking such misguided movements of our youths who may be trapped unawares by these progandists in their fold. It is our bounden duty to preserve the time honoured friendly relation in tact which exists between the British and this state. We do humbly pray to H. H. the Maharajah Manikya Bahadur to adopt strong and immediate measures to crush such movement for good in this state".¹

Analogical review

The revolutionaries of Tripura worked in close association with their counterparts in Dacca, Calcutta, Comilla, Chittagong, Barisal, Brahmanbaria etc. Their guidance came from the Anushilan Samiti and Yugantar Party of Bengal. It is a fact that the terrorist movement in Tripura was not a big one, but it was not a movement in isolation. It is to be considered within the larger all India nationalist movement. Terrorism was mainly directed against the British imperialism and sometimes it went against the interest of the local authority. Local Government sometimes became repressive to quell it. That repression in stead of quelling it led to ignition. Terrorism was its general feature but anarchy was not its creed. The threat of terrorism had some effect on the poli-

cies of both the British in general and the Maharajah in particular. Generally speaking, people were in favour of this process to drive the British from India ultimately. The impact of the news of Chittagong Raid in 1930 had been so great upon the mind of the youngmen that even some members of the backward classes and womenfolk also took part in secret activities.³²

In some ways Tripura terrorism was analogous to the Bengal terrorism. Bengal had witnessed the greatest terrorist activities during 1929-34. Tripura terrorism also entered an active phase during the same period when some dreadful activities began to follow. From 1930 Bengal women began to take active part in the terrorist movement. In Tripura also the feminist participation though indirect was recorded and the Bhratri Sangha encouraged the female students of the girls' school and thus Chhatri Sangha was formed.³³ In Bengal the participants in terrorism were the Brahmin, Kayastha, and Baidya. Here also the same castes dominated the scene. With them a few Thakurs (nobles) joined though a great section of them abhorred the movement. This elite "Bhadralok" colour of the Bengal movement was not unseen here. The genesis of Bengal terrorism lied embedded in the anti-partition movement. But here terrorism arose as a direct sequel to the Chittagong camp. Hence it was less old but it was deeply rooted through the Bengal influence and then it was going on hand in hand with it. A considerable section of terrorists here turned towards Marxism in this period. The then political Agent, A. Gaffer recorded this trend but the Communists started their work before 1930. Sumit Sarkar's view that Indian communism really sprang, from roots within the national movement itself, as disillusioned revolutionaries, non-cooperators, Khilafatists and labour and peasant activists sought new roads to political and social emancipation,³⁴ was exactly the cause of terrorists' turn to Marxism in Tripura.

The terrorist movement had its limitations too. The active terrorists were only a minute fraction of the people. Their members at that time would not be more than 50. Though some activities started at Udaipur, Belonia, Sonamura, Kailashahar, yet Agartala was the main centre of activities. So the movement was somewhat localised and Agartala based in character. The middle class youthful boys were by and large the dramatis personae of this movement. Coordination among the dominant Sanghas was lacking. Besides to make it a broad-based platform the effort for the mobilization of the elemental tribes, Jumias, poor peasants, workers was not undertaken. Above all the general aloofness of

Muslims was conspicuous. Hindu communal colour of the terrorism throughout the country was not unseen here, but it was not religious in essence. R. C. Majumdar³⁵ asserted that the revolution was a four-pronged effort ; the youth, labour, peasant and army were its constituents. Only youth was smartening the revolution here. Yet the terrorism dealt a death blow to the already broken pax Britannica myth all over India and the significance of Tripura terrorism is to be considered in that perspective.

References

1. K. D. Menon (ed) ; *Tripura District Gazetteers, Agartala*, 1975, P. 118.
2. Debaprasad Sen and Biren Datta, the two underground terrorists, point out its activities. To them it was outwardly a literary society but practically a den of terrorism. Superintendent of Police, Tripura in his secret letter No. 508, dt. 19.11.32 to the Dewan-shasan acknowledged its existence : vide 1931-40, B-6, 5-12, Tripura Secretariat Archives, Agartala.
3. Note on Manindralal Biswas by the then Political, Agent, dt. 23.6.32. Op. cit. political, Secretariat Archives, Agartala. (Unpublished) Biswas had been carrying on a Motor business at Agartala since 1924. He was an active member of the Yugantar Organisation in Tripura. In the development of Tripura's transport system his name is well-remembered. Later he was converted to Marxism.
4. This pamphlet bears no signature or date. It surely belonged to the terrorist party. It has a monogram of rising sun, peacock, rose over the map of India.
5. Debaprasad Sen depicts the Lily Blossm as pioneering club to preach violence long with the other Sanghas. This fact is corroborated by Biren Datta. (Interview conducted with both at. 5.7.85 and 6.7.85 respectively).
6. According to Sukumar Bhowmik, the Bhratri Sangha was founded in the year 1929. (Interview with him on 5.7.85).
7. Umeshlal Singha and Sachindralal Singha had close link with the Chittagong revolutionaries. Umeshlal Singha was introduced with ex-detenué, Kiran Das to obtain from him a formulae for preparing bomb. Sachindralal Singha in collaboration with Indumati Singha was endeavouring to collect arms. Political Agent's note on Umeshlal Singha and Sachindralal Singha, dt. 23.6.32. op. cit. Secretariat Archives, Agartala.
8. The political Agent in his note dt. 23.6.32 mentions that

- Traikyanath Datta** was physical instructor to the Sangha and was an expert in handling arms as he had a knowledge of the mechanism of these weapons.
9. Note of Political Agent dt. 23.6.32, Secretariat Archives, op. cit.
 10. David M. Laushey, *Bengal Terrorism and Marxist Left*, Calcutta, 1975, p. 138.
 11. R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1975, p. 268.
 12. Interview with Karunamay Roy, dt. 24.6.85.
 13. Tripur Chandra Sen, *Tripura in Transition, 1923-57 A. D.*, Agartala, 1970, p. 57.
 14. Quoting from Tripur Chandra Sen's *Tripura in Transition*, p. 56, N. R. Roychoudhary, in his *Tripura Through Ages*, Agartala, 1977. p. 100 describes Rajendra De as the editor of *Tripurar Katha*. Actually he was a provisional editor.
 15. Interview with D. Sen.
 16. Debaprasad Sen recounts that the money that robbed were not so much and that even that amount had gone to the pockets of the local members.
 17. Tripur Chandra Sen, op. cit. p. 58
 18. True copy of extracts from secret information dt. the 18th July, 1932, Tripura Secretariat Archives.
 19. Secretariat Archives, Agartala, True copy of extracts.
 20. Anantlal Singha, *Surjya Sener Swapna O Sadhana*, Calcutta, Bhadra, 1384 B. E., pp. 216-221.
 21. Mouser pistols were terrible explosives. It could be used as a pistol by opening a part of it also, again it could be used as rifle by fixing that part. Suprakash Roy, *Bharater Boiplobik Sangramer Itihas*, (History of the Revolutionary Struggle in India) Vol. 1, Calcutta, April, 1980, p. 247.
 22. K. D. Menon, op. cit. p. 124.
 23. Tripura Secretariat Archives op. cit. Secret D. O. No. 22 dt. 26.4.32 by J. C. Farmer, Intelligence Branch, Lord Sinha Road, Calcutta to the Dewan Shasan, Tripura.
 24. Biren Datta recounts that he was not the assassin. He had some link with this murder. He identified Ellison when alighted from the horse near the Bungalow which was situated near the pond of Datta's Comilla house. He himself actually does not know the real assassin of Ellison. His implication in the case by the British was according to him, due to his prior active anti-British and anti-feudalistic work. He had already

started the peasant struggles against the oppression of the Zamindars. This infuriated the British and his name was easily implicated in the assassination.

25. K. D. Menon, op. cit. p. 119.
26. Letter of S. P. to Dewanshasan, Secretariat Archives, op. cit. (unpublished).
27. Gaffor, P. A.'s letter dt. 7.10.32 to Rana Bahadur, Secretariat Archives, Agartala.
28. The term Bolshevism was very much popular then like the Leftism and Communism of the present day.
29. When Sachindralal Singha was detained for his anti-British activities, he was granted a sum of Rs. 15/- as he was the only earning member of his family and his father, a police Jamadar in the state service also had retired.
30. 1931-32, *Administration Report*, Tripura state, p. 5.
31. Resoulution of the Thakurs, Agartala, dt. 22.9.32, Secretariat Archives, Agartala, op. cit.
32. K. D. Menon. op. cit. p. 123.
33. According to Debaprasad Sen and Sukumar Bhowmik, women were not allowed to participate directly. But their indirect participation cannot be underated. To be specific, one Miss Parul De, d/o. Banga Ch. De, retired Civil Surgeon supplied her father's revolver to Biren Datta, her tutor. Daughter of Lalit Chandra Debburma, S. D. O., Sonamura also handed over her father's revolver to the terrorist party. The women of Singha family (Sachindralal & Umeshlal) played also a big role in it.
34. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India (1885-1947)*, Calcutta, 1984, p. 247.
35. R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 283.