

“Breen in Bengal” – Links Between Irish Revolutionary Literature and Indian Revolutionary Violence in the Early 20th Century.

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Popular historiography surrounding the independence movement in India conjures up images of Gandhian policies of non-violence and non-cooperation. International inspiration and intervention in the Indian independence movement within the literature is overwhelmingly ascribed to the contemporary communist thought emerging in Europe, chiefly in Germany and Russia. The common perception of the Indian revolution as anti-violence, or at least non-violent, ignores the diverse interdimensional element of the movement, especially regarding geographical variations.

‘The Bengali Terrorist Movement’ reached its height during the 1920s and 1930s. It emerged amongst a dominant campaign of non-violence and often came into conflict with populist pacifist ideals. The movement also possessed the unique feature of a continued Irish influence. Irish people were influential in forming some aspects of the Indian struggle for independence, but formal political collaboration through an anti-colonial lens was limited.¹ Connections between the two political wings of each respective movement — whether between the Indian National Congress (INC) and the various incarnations of Irish nationalists — seem to appear as mere expressions of mutual admiration.²³ In the early genesis of the INC, Irish political thought was common knowledge amongst members in many ways, but by 1928, Nehru attests, any awareness of Irish nationalism had evaporated.⁴ Where it had not evaporated, however, was the province of Bengal.

Bengal emerges as an ‘outlier’ in the popular historiography of the Indian Independence Struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Bengali revolutionary terrorism, in groups such as Anushilan Samiti and Jugantar, were violent in their manifestation and carried an Irish influence, as did events in Chittagong in 1930 in particular.

The Tradition of Political Violence in Ireland.

Physical force nationalism as a legitimate form of political patriotism came to the forefront of Irish Revolutionary politics in the mid-19th century. Young Ireland, a political and cultural movement founded primarily by Dublin-based intellectuals, emerged as proponents of physical force nationalism during an era of peaceful O’Connellite Constitutional Nationalism. The split between Young Ireland and Daniel O’Connell and his repeal movement in 1846 is, in many ways, similar to the division between Gandhi and the Revolutionaries in Bengal. A populist and ubiquitous leader – coincidentally both trained lawyers – whose movement relied heavily on peaceful and democratic means came into heavy conflict with a generation of restless, middle-class young men promoting tactics of violence as a ‘legitimate’ vehicle to achieve military victory.

This ‘genealogy’ of violence against the backdrop of populist democratic movements continues through the rest of the 19th century, as do the quarrels (much like those seen in India) about the correct methods of achieving national independence. The Fenian movement emerges as the heir apparent to the physical violence tradition of Young Ireland. The Fenian Dynamite Campaign (1881-1885) gained

¹ One of the most prominent attempts at Irish-Indian Influence was Thomas Davis’ “India, Her Own and Another’s” (1840) featured in the *Nation*.

² Sri Aurobindo, *Sri Aurobindo: Bande Mataram; Early Political Writings*, vol. 1 (Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publications Department, 1998). 431.

³ “Address delivered at the India freedom dinner of the Friends of freedom for India, on February 28, 1920, at the Central opera house, New York city”, DA962. D39, South Asian Digital Collection, Library of Congress, 101 Independence Ave, SE Washington, DC 20540, United States.

⁴ Michael Silvestri, “‘The Sinn Fein of India’: Irish Nationalism and the Policing of Revolutionary Terrorism in Bengal,” *Journal of British Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 454–86. 461.

notoriety as an international Irish program of terrorism to solve the Irish national question,⁵ coinciding with the equally international epoch of Charles Stewart Parnell and his Irish Parliamentary Party's (IPP) advocations for Irish Home Rule in Westminster. The Fenian bombing campaign, which ran almost parallel to Parnell's political heyday, unspectacularly fizzled out by 1885, as the increasing arrests of Fenian dynamiters deterred prospective recruits from joining the cause.⁶ As the remaining Young Irishmen went on to organise the Fenian movements, the remaining Fenians would continue to form the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Revolutionary Terror and Political Terror in Ireland, 1916-1923.

The idea of martyrdom for the cause and continuous links between each generation of Irish revolutionaries became increasingly important with each failed revolution in Ireland. The increasing fervour surrounding bloodshed and the veneration of revolutionary martyrs is best exemplified by Pádraig Pearse in his graveside oration at the funeral of former Fenian Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in 1915:

*[...] the fools, the fools, the fools! They have left us our Fenian dead, and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.*⁷

Pádraig Pearse, as president of the provisional Irish republic, would in 1916 inflict on Dublin City what esteemed Irish writer W.B. Yeats calls a "terrible beauty".⁸ The Easter Rising is crucial to understanding the Irish impact on Bengal. On Easter Monday 1916, an Irish force around 1,200 strong — either members of the Irish Volunteers or James' Conolly's Irish Citizen Army — took over various buildings across Dublin. The new Provisional Government of the Republic of Ireland set up a government in the General Post Office (GPO), where the "Proclamation of the Irish Republic" was read aloud by Pádraig Pearse, and Young Irelander Thomas Francis Meagher's tricolour was raised.⁹ The timing of the Rising, at Eastertide, was not a coincidence, as the Supreme Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) — chiefly Pearse — wanted the association of Irish martyrdom with the Martyrdom of Christ to be wholly apparent.

The Rising was quickly quelled by the British Government, with fighting coming to a halt on Easter Saturday.¹⁰ 260 Irish civilians, 82 Irish Rebels, and 143 British soldiers lost their lives during Easter Week.¹¹ The initial reaction from the Irish public was overwhelmingly negative. The tide would quickly change, however, when sixteen men were executed for their role in organising or taking part in the 1916 Rising. The most unpalatable of these executions was that of William Pearse, who was executed seemingly because he was the younger brother of Pádraig Pearse, and James Connolly, who was shot tied to a chair, as the wound he had gained during the Rising rendered him unable to stand. Due to the innate secrecy of the IRB, it is impossible to know whether or not this Rising was intended to be a failure. To Pádraig Pearse, however, it was all the same:

⁵ Deaglán Ó Donghaile, "Anarchism, Anti-Imperialism and 'the Doctrine of Dynamite,'" in *Literature, Migration and the "War on Terror,"* ed. Fiona Tolan et al. (Routledge, 2013). 5.

⁶ Richard Kirkland, "'A Secret, Melodramatic Sort of Conspiracy': The Disreputable Legacies of Fenian Violence in Nineteenth-Century London," *The London Journal* 45, no. 1 (August 12, 2019): 39–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03058034.2019.1649523>. 45.

⁷ Seán Ó Lúing, *Ó Donnabháin Rosa*, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Dublin: Sáirséal agus Dill, 1979). 289. Translated from Irish.

⁸ W B Yeats, *Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats*. (London: Collector's Library, 2010). 154.

⁹ Maureen Buckley, "Irish Easter Rising of 1916," *Social Science* 31, no. 1 (1956): 49–55. 52.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹¹ Glasnevin Trust, "1916 Necrology, 485" (Dublin: Glasnevin Trust, 2017), https://web.archive.org/web/20171214221924/http://www.glasnevintrust.ie/_uuid/55a29fab-3b24-41dd-a1d9-12d148a78f74/Glasnevin-Trust-1916-Necrology-485.pdf.

*"Bloodshed is a cleansing and a sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood. There are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them."*¹²

The failure of 1916 is not inherently negative when looking at the effects of 1916 in Ireland and indeed abroad. The martyrdom of the sixteen sparked outrage in the Irish people, and in India, and Bengal in particular, this small blow was still inspirational.¹³ As Nehru keenly observed about the event,

*The Easter Week Rising [...] by its very failure attracted, for was that not true Courage which mocked at almost certain failure and proclaimed to the world that no physical might could crush the invincible spirit of a nation.*¹⁴

If Pádraig Pearse had lived to see his ideological successors in physical force nationalism in both Ireland and Bengal, he surely would not have been worried about the "manhood" of India and Ireland. The men and women who were arrested for their part in 1916, those who would later wage and ultimately win the Irish War of Independence, would 'graduate' from Frongach in 1918 after a general amnesty for Irish political prisoners was issued.¹⁵ The violence during the War of Independence (1919-1921) was a heightened version of all previous iterations of Irish physical force nationalism.

Daniel 'Dan' Breen, a member of the IRA, is often credited with being the man who fired the first shots of the Irish War of Independence. On the 21st of January 1919, Dan Breen, under IRA Captain Séumas Robinson, took part in an ambush of two RIC officers in Soloheadbeg, Co. Tipperary.¹⁶ Dan Breen also gained fame as one of the first revolutionaries to publish his autobiography about the War of Independence in 1924 with Talbot Press.¹⁷ This was not remembered in Ireland as a classic of the genre however, perhaps overshadowed by his comrades Tom Barry and Ernie O'Malley in sensationalism and literary prowess respectively. It is India, specifically in Bengal, where, amongst a select few other Irish Revolutionaries, Dan Breen and his book *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (1924) found their fame.

Political Violence in Revolutionary Ireland, in India.

The Indian-Irish relationship had changed drastically since the advent of WW1, and so had the image of the Irishman in the Indian imagination.¹⁸ Bengali nationalists had begun increasingly looking outwards for violent inspiration, as Valentine Chirol, a critic of Bengali terrorism, writes in *History of the Freedom Movement in India* that Bengalis;

"Of all Indians had been the most slavish imitators of the west, as represented, at any rate, by the Irish Fenian and the Russian anarchist"

Éamon de Valera became a problem for Westminster in terms of Colonial cohesion.¹⁹ During the course of the War of Independence, he returned to his country of birth, embarking on a fundraising campaign for the IRA across the United States in his official capacity as president of Dáil Éireann. One such stop

¹² J. Augusteijn, *Patrick Pearse* (Springer, 2010). 242.

¹³ Aditi Sen, "The Proscription of an Irish Text and the Chittagong Rising of 1930," *Indian Historical Review* 34, no. 2 (July 1, 2007): 95–121, <https://doi.org/10.1177/037698360703400206>. 101.

¹⁴ Quoted in Richard P. Davis, "India in Irish Revolutionary Propaganda 1905-1922", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, Volume XXII, No. I, 1977.

¹⁵ Justin D Stover, "IRISH POLITICAL PRISONER CULTURE, 1916-1923," *CrossCurrents* 64, no. 1 (2014): 90–106, <https://doi.org/10.2307/24462363>. 91.

¹⁶ John Dundon, "The War of Independence and the Civil War," *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 35 (2021): 60–73, <https://doi.org/10.2307/48635741>. 60.

¹⁷ Dan Breen, *My Fight for Irish Freedom* (1924; repr., Dublin: Anvil Books, 1997). IX.

¹⁸ Silvestri, "The Sinn Féin of India," 459.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 460.

on his fundraising' tour was the "Friends of India Society" on February 28th, 1920. Addressing the society, he dedicates his speech to;

*"The memory of the Martyrs who gave their lives to make India and Ireland Free and Independent"*²⁰

In his address he links the struggles of India and Ireland, using the American Revolution as a reference point. The triad of anti-colonial trouble for England — Ireland, Egypt, and India — is naturally mentioned also.²¹ De Valera is certain of Indian links to the contemporary Irish cause, telling attendees, "Patriots of India, your cause is identical to ours".²² De Valera made it clear that his words are not aimed at proponents of non-violence or pacifism. In his speech, he tries to justify violence as such.

*"No one appeals to physical force except as a last resort when there is no hope of securing justice otherwise".*²³

This is not only de Valera's justification of violence in Ireland to American donors attending that evening's dinner but also an endorsement of anti-colonial violence wherever necessary. Although a gifted statesman, a fact that would appear later in his career, and indeed a committed democrat; as head of an anti-colonial revolutionary government de Valera was not opposed to anti-imperial violence, whether in India, Ireland, or Egypt. De Valera suggests the need for violence, telling the crowd, "If ever the sword was legitimate, it is in a case such as ours!",²⁴ And "Can we, struggling for our freedom, afford to fling away any weapon by which nations in the past achieved their freedom?".²⁵ Éamon de Valera's speech is not aimed at a particular group of physical force proponents in India, but rather encourages all Indian nationalists to "act as we have tried to act".²⁶ Éamon de Valera, as an inspiration for India, and trouble for the Empire, did not end in February 1920. Éamon de Valera's suggestion to Indian patriots to free their homeland through physical violence became a genuine fear for those in Westminster, who felt that the Irish had been rewarded for terrorism by being given a state.²⁷

The Irish State during the 1930s was indeed still supportive of anti-imperial violence abroad when Subhas Chandra Bose — the founder of an Irish-style Volunteer force, the India Nationals Army (INA) in Calcutta in 1928 — came to visit Ireland in 1936.²⁸ Bose, Gandhi's antonym, was an aggressive radical and a proponent of revolutionary terrorism.²⁹ Bose was invited to visit the Dáil and discuss nation-building with Fianna Fáil government ministers.³⁰ Bose also met with the family of hungerstriker and Lord Mayor Terence MacSwiney. Bose would write positively of Ireland in his statement entitled "Impressions of Ireland" released after his visit, praising the casual and policy conversations he held with government ministers.³¹ The special relationship between India and Ireland, or at least between India and de Valera continued to the founding of an Indian state in 1947. Nehru visited Ireland in 1949 after it officially became an independent republic, and was the first foreign dignitary to speak in a fully independent Dáil Éireann.

²⁰ De Valera, *Ireland and India*, 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²² *Ibid.*, 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁴ De Valera, *Ireland and India*, 23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷ Silvestri, *Sinn Féin of India*, 460.

²⁸ See: Kate O'Malley, "Subhas Chandra Bose and Ireland," in *Ireland, India, and Empire Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919–64* (Manchester University Press, 2017).

²⁹ Kate O'Malley, "LEARNING the TRICKS of the IMPERIAL SECESSION TRADE: Irish and Indian Nationalism in the '30s and '40s," *History Ireland* 18, no. 4 (2010): 32–35, <https://doi.org/10.2307/27823026>.
33.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

³¹ O'Malley, *Irish and Indian Nationalism*, 34.

The influence of Irish Revolutionary literature served as perhaps the greatest influence on Bengali revolutionary movements. Except for de Valera, there are no substantial direct and official connections between the Irish Revolutionary Government and Bengali revolutionaries. Rather, a handful of revolutionaries in Bengal were superficially inspired by the successful physical force revolution in Ireland via written accounts, and a number of these admirers of the Irish tried to put these works into practice.³² Irish revolutionary literature, rather than the literature of any other violent revolution, became popular because of the inherent anti-British sentiment contained within the texts and the characters also present within. Pádraig Pearse was the sacrificial idealist, Breen the pragmatic rebel, Michael Collins the military genius, Terence MacSwiney the holy martyr, and de Valera the nation builder.³³

The links between Pearse and movements in Bengal were tangible. In a report published in 1937, by the British Government in India, entitled “Terrorism in India 1917-1936”, details of a “revolutionary pamphlet” distributed in 1925 in Bengal are revealed.³⁴ This leaflet suggests to any young idealist that “an armed revolution is the only way to establish [...] a Federal Republic of the United States of India”.³⁵ The Irish campaign of guerilla warfare is cited as the model for this supposed armed revolution. Literature that was widely published across India by the Hindustani Republican Association in 1929 entitled “Long Live Revolution” called for young Indians to “make India another Ireland and the reins of government are in your hands!”.³⁶ The explicit mention of Pearse arises in a pamphlet entitled ‘The Youths of Bengal’, produced in 1929 by the Chittagong Branch of the Indian Republican Army. It calls for the young spirited men of Bengal to,

*Read and learn the histories of Pearse – the gem of Young Ireland, and you will find how noble is his sacrifice; how he stimulated new animation in the nation, being made over independence.*³⁷

Dan Breen’s *My Fight for Irish Freedom* became the most popular autobiography in the region – perhaps due to his timing more than anything. Chinmohan Sehanabis called the work “one of our Bibles”, and Niranjan Sen Gupta adopted it as his manual for revolution.³⁸ Breen’s work was also perhaps the most accessible, being translated into several Indian languages, including Hindi, Punjabi and Tamil.³⁹ One such translation was completed by Bhagat Singh of the Hindustani Socialist Republic Association.⁴⁰ Breen’s ‘manual’ increasingly became an issue for the British government in Bengal, as Governor John Anderson noted that Breen represented the “Individual terrorist as a heroic and romantic figure”.⁴¹ Sir John Anderson had experience with Irish ‘terrorists’, having served as undersecretary for Ireland from 1921 – 1922.⁴² What made Breen influential was the fact he was not a professional soldier, academic or ideologue – but still he alone had ‘declared’ war on the British Empire by firing a single shot.⁴³ Revolutionaries in Bengal, inspired by 1916 and Breen, felt as if they did not have to be wholly militarily successful, but at least try. Daniel Breen’s popularity in revolutionary circles in Bengal led to

³² Peter Heehs, “Foreign Influences on Bengali Revolutionary Terrorism 1902–1908,” *Modern Asian Studies* 28, no. 3 (July 1994): 533–56, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0026749x00011859>. 543.

³³ Silvestri, *The Sinn Féin of India*, 467.

³⁴ Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department of the Government of India, “Terrorism in India” (Simla: Government of India Press, 1937). 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 211.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

³⁸ Cited in Leonard A Gordon, *Brothers against the Raj: A Biography of Indian Nationalists Sarat and Subhas Chandra Bose* (Kolkata: Rupa & Co, 2008). 103.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 470.

⁴⁰ Michael Silvestri, “The Bomb, Bhadrak, Bhagavad Gita, and Dan Breen: Terrorism in Bengal and Its Relation to the European Experience,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21, no. 1 (January 5, 2009): 1–27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550802544383>. 14.

⁴¹ Cited in Silvestri, *The Sinn Féin of India*, 470.

⁴² Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism*. 23.

⁴³ Aditi Sen, “The Proscription of an Irish Text and the Chittagong Rising of 1930,” *Indian Historical Review* 34, no. 2 (July 1, 2007): 95–121, <https://doi.org/10.1177/037698360703400206>. 102.

his autobiography being banned under the Indian Press Act of 1910. The Indian Press Act of 1910 aimed to prevent the semination of “seditious literature”, including the details and documentation of revolutionary activity abroad, especially those revolutions about the removal of crown forces, and even more specifically in Ireland.⁴⁴ The British Government in India knew Breen’s work to be influential for these young nationalists, with the previously cited 1937 report produced by the British government on political terror in Bengal mentioning that Niranjana Sen Gupta had formed the secret revolutionary organisation, Jugantar, based on the principles outlined in *My Fight for Irish Freedom*.⁴⁵ Among the titles included alongside the proscription of *My Fight for Irish Freedom* were literature about Irish revolutionary Countess Constance Markievicz, details about youth movements in Ireland, biographies about Young Irelander John Dillon, as well as de Valera, and other historical texts on the revolution in Ireland as a whole.⁴⁶ Breen’s influence is best seen in the Chittagong Armoury Raid – or the Chittagong Uprising in 1930, a self-conscious imitation of the events of Easter 1916 as described by Breen in his book.

Chittagong 1930 – a reflection of Dublin 1916.

With less than 100 or so rebels in Chittagong in 1930, failure was a known inevitability. Organising, like how Volunteers had organised, was simply not possible in India for a variety of reasons. Yet, Bengali revolutionaries knew that military failure had not deterred rebels in Ireland – in fact, military failure had been a galvanising factor in rallying popular support in Ireland. Surya Sen, the leader of the Chittagong uprising, is recorded as recounting the words of Young Irelander James Fintan Lalor,

*Somehow, somewhere, and by somebody a beginning must be made, and the first act of resistance is always and shall ever be premature, imprudent, unwise and dangerous.*⁴⁷

This was the quote that was found in Sen’s pocket when he was captured in the aftermath of the Rising.⁴⁸ With Fintan Lalor ringing in their ears, Surya Sen and Ganesh Ghosh met in Calcutta in 1929 to plan armoury raids across Bengal. Both men, having read the pamphlet entitled “Youths of Bengal” released that same month, were inspired by Pearse’s programme of death and martyrdom described in his writings.⁴⁹ On Good Friday, the 18th of April, 1930, around 75 men led by Ganesh Ghosh and Lokenath Bal began raiding the British Armoury in Chittagong. The plan, almost directly modeled off 1916, included plans to attack armoury magazines, guardrooms, and barracks and to destroy communication lines. Also included in these plans was a massacre of Europeans in their clubhouse within the region.⁵⁰ The timing of the rising in 1916 was a deliberate action taken by the Indian Republican Army. Other elements of the 1916 Rising were emulated, including the hoisting of a national flag, and Sen reading the Proclamation of Independence, as Pearse did in 1916.⁵¹

Although experiencing some initial success, especially in isolating Chittagong from the rest of Bengal and acquiring some arms, the rebels failed to raid a single bullet, and came vastly unprepared in terms of food and supplies. As for the planned attack on the European Club, for all the knowledge they possessed on the Easter Rising, they had little knowledge about the Christian traditions associated with Easter itself. There were no European officers present in the Club that Friday, as drinking alcohol is

⁴⁴ India Office Library, Publications Proscribed by the Government of India, ed. Graham Shaw and Mary Llyod (London: British Library, 1985). viii.

⁴⁵ Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department of the Government of India, “Terrorism in India” (Simla: Government of India Press, 1937). 25.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 49, 30, 80, 44, 136.

⁴⁷ Sen, *The Proscription of an Irish Text, and the Chittagong Rising of 1930*, 98.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 111.

⁵⁰ Sen, *The Proscription of an Irish Text, and the Chittagong Rising of 1930*, 112-113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 115.

generally impermissible on Good Friday.⁵² After a gallant encore by the revolutionaries in the Jalalabad hills – in an attempt to copy the guerilla warfare of the Irish War of Independence,⁵³ and the deaths of 80 British soldiers and 12 revolutionaries, the fighting ceased. Sen would eventually be captured in 1933 and was executed in 1934. The rising in Chittagong did not have the effect in India as Breen or Pearse had, and non-violence as a form of political protest would continue to dominate the Indian revolution.

Conclusions

There are clear differences between the successes of Irish Revolutionary Violence and Indian Revolutionary violence, especially focused in Bengal. On a practical level in terms of sheer population numbers, one can't expect the level of national organisation to take place in India as in Ireland. To be able to achieve political synthesis amongst such a diverse nation is not a task comparable to the organisation of a generally heterogeneous Ireland.⁵⁴ The father of Irish Republicanism, Theobald Wolfe Tone, founded his 'Society of United Irishmen' with an ecumenical vision in mind. All iterations of Irish nationalist politics were naturally heavily Catholic, but included a vocal Protestant minority. Revolutionary violence in Bengal, however, was overwhelmingly, if not completely Hindu. Although Irish physical force nationalists had previously come into conflict with high politics, by 1918, the political wing of Sinn Féin was able to fuse with the military wing of the party, the IRA. As such, the existence of the Sinn Féin government was able to provide political legitimacy for the IRA as a national army defending the sovereignty of an independent nation. The Indian National Congress was not able to provide this critical support for any revolting group in Bengal – nor did it have any political will to. India, under the non-violent leadership of Gandhi, felt as if it was capable of freeing itself using other methods.

The relationship between the nations that emerged out of the British Raj (India, Pakistan and later Bangladesh), and Ireland was in many ways altered by the diplomatic relationships established between the two nations, and indeed the hardships both experienced during this exact epoch. Both experienced the births of their independent Republics during this era – India in 1947 and Ireland in 1949. India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, alongside Ireland, also experienced the pain and violence of the divisions of their respective countries on religious grounds, and indeed the mass refugee crises that arise from partition of this nature. One can glean from a close analysis of foreign influence on violence in Bengal, that although their ideology was mainly Russian, their tactics were Irish. Men like Surya Sen and Pádraig Pearse were divided by oceans and time, and yet their ideals, values and actions mirror one another in many ways. What can be seen is genuine mutual appreciation for the anti-colonial work carried out by each nation and a legitimate appreciation for Irish Revolutionary Literature.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 115.

⁵³ Amit Kumar Gupta, "Defying Death: Nationalist Revolutionism in India, 1897-1938," *Social Scientist* 25, no. 9/10 (September 1997): 3, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3517678>. 24.

⁵⁴ Office of the Census Commissioner for India, "Census of India 1931" (Dehli: Government of India Publications, 1933).

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