

Bhagwati Charan Vohra Under Suspicion: July 1928 to Nov. 1929

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The revolutionary party formed in 1923-24 was named *Hindustan Republican Association*. This was the first significant attempt of revolutionaries from far and wide of Northern India based on well defined ideology which was both nationalistic and broadly socialistic. Obviously, the Russian Revolution of Nov. 1917 under the leadership of Communists led by Lenin had by now started influencing the radicals all over the world in a greater or a lesser degree.

One of its founders was Schachinder Nath Sanyal, the famous author of *Bandi Jeewan* (Life Behind Bars) who, as a junior to Rash Bihari Bose had been in the forefront of *Ghadrites'* aborted uprising of Feb. 1915 in Northern India, following which he had been transported for life to Andamans.

It was felt necessary to formulate a document on ideology as well as a written constitution. Accordingly a document named "The Revolutionary" expounding its ideology besides a written constitution which became popular as the "yellow leaflet" were expounded. As per "The Revolutionary", "The immediate object of the revolutionary party in the domain of politics is to establish a Federal Republic of United States of India by an organized and armed revolution... the basic principles of the Republic will be universal suffrage and the abolition of all systems which make the exploitation of man by man possible. The revolutionary party is not national but international in the sense that its ultimate object is to bring harmony in the world. In the spiritual domain the party aims at establishing the truth and preaching it... They do not believe that terrorism alone can bring independence and they do not want terrorism for terrorism's sake through at times they resort to this method..."¹

This pamphlet had been widely distributed all over India, and in Punjab too by the efforts of Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev, Bhagwati Charan.

A) The Kakori Case

It was in the days of Kakori case trials that I (Sukhdev Raj) came into contact with Bhagwati Charan, and this case then used to be the prime topic of discussion amongst the revolutionaries in Punjab.

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H.R.A.'s leading figure Schachinder Sanyal was revered by Bhagwati to the extent that he had named his son Schachinder after him. Bhagwati Charan had given Sanyal's book "*Bandi Jeewan*" to me for reading which made me yet more enthusiastic in following the path of revolution. We (Sukhdev Raj and Bhagwati) used to have exchange of ideas on Kakori phase of the movement to find out the loopholes in that strategy with a view to devise a line of action whereby we could paralyse the functioning of the government in order to realize our goals.

B) Webs of suspicion: the originator, Prof. Jai Chander Vidyalkar

"Having studied the history of revolutionary movements in some details, I (Sukhdev Raj) have found a tendency, quite widely prevalent amongst the revolutionaries, namely, to magnify petty suspicions, to the extent of attributing all kinds of far-fetched motives even to their close associates. Such tendencies find a fertile soil under the thick walls of secrecy.

This vicious rigmarole of mutual suspicions ultimately proved to be a bane for H.S.R.A. and a personal tragedy for Bhagwati Charan."

At one point of time there was a lot of hectic activity among us at Lahore says Yashpal. Bhagat Singh was actively associated with Kanpur-Delhi party centres. The prime issue was the rescue of Kakori prisoners. For this, some manpower was expected from Punjab but the foremost need was the provision of money. The U.P. unit of HRA had become paralysed due to indiscriminate arrests and warrants. As for Punjab, Jai Chander was the key person. Since Bhagat Singh remained mostly at Delhi and Agra paying only short visits off and on to Lahore, we were aware only of the tremors around without having any definite information.

Bhagwati was under great stress as a result of this stalemate. He had been funding party work from time to time till now. He was restless to find out as to what was actually transpiring, what were the bottlenecks, regarding which we ought to get in touch with the persons concerned. Jai Chander on the other hand was averse to any questioning. Bhagwati felt suffocated under such 'masterly inactivity' and aversion to an open argument in the name of 'discipline'. He was, ultimately, constrained to say openly that "in case Jai Chander did not move, we would not remain mute spectators."²

Jai Chander began entertaining apprehension regarding Bhagwati Charan since his student's sphere of influence in political life was on the ascent. In fact, disappointed with the fizzling out of 1922 Non-Cooperation Movement some of the Punjab youth were secretly getting in touch with the Communist Party of India (C.P.I.). But this had nothing to do with what later became known as C.P.I in the long run which came into prominence with Meerut Conspiracy Case in 1927, and which had been formed in 1924 at Kanpur.

Factually speaking, following the Russian Revolution of 1917, some adventurous persons from Punjab managed to sneak into that country via Afghanistan, and some of them on their return had set up a 'Communist Party'. They mostly kept themselves occupied with importing literature from Russia or Europe and secretly distributing it among the educated sections of society. Not being involved in any agitational activity the money received by them was also being frittered away. Bhagwati too was initially in contact with them and their mail and money from Peshawar used to be delivered at his Lahore address. Not finding anything worthwhile in their functioning and to pre-empt any police action because of them, he broke off his contact with them, also declining them the facility of receiving literature and money on their behalf at his address.

Jai Chander was expected to be mobilize funds at Lahore to aid the rescue of Kakori comrades. Sushila *Didi* was employed then as a Lecturer at Kanya Mahavidyalya, Jullundur. She came on a routine visit to Vohra's at Lahore. She too was approached by Jai Chander to contribute to the cause. *Didi* had no ready cash with her but she was determined to contribute. She responded instantly by offering the gold bangles she was wearing which had been bequeathed to her by her late mother for her wedding, saying that, "I have with me this gold, which I can part with; you may dispose it of".

It was understood that Bhagwati would dispose of the gold bangles and give the proceeds to the party; he was hesitant though, since he held *Didi* in high esteem, nay reverence. He was reluctant to do so, feeling rather disturbed about it. He was thinking of himself contributing the money equivalent to the gold's value from his own pocket instead. He was also thinking whether this much of money would be enough, and wherefrom the rest would come? In case the required amount is not made available, what shall be the disposal of the amount in hand. Let the rest of the amount first be collected, only then this gold may be sold he felt. A few days, passed in this state of indecision.

On the other hand, calls for money had been made by Jai Chander two/three times. Then the message came from him to the effect that the bangles if not sold so far, be got weighed and their worth assessed. Bhagwati said "Why so?" The reply from Jai Chander was that his sister's daughter is getting married, and these bangles would be utilized in the marriage, and her family would pay the sale amount. Thus the party shall obtain the amount of its proposed sale and the girl's family would save the labour charges.

Bhagwati protested; the bangles shall be sold and money would go to the party. Besides, the amount of money which was meant to be spent on bangles of Jai Chander's niece, ought also to go to the party... "If Sushila *Didi* could do without bangles, so could Jai Chander's niece, since his obligation towards the party far outweighed *Didi's*," said he.

The proposal mooted by Bhagwati would hit Jai Chander's pocket but more importantly it cast a reflection on his sincerity. He, in his 'wisdom', could conceive of no better way to vindicate himself than questioning the integrity of his 'antagonist' in the person of Bhagwati. He declared that Bhagwati *was a C.I.D. agent*, who had already betrayed the Communists. Not disclosing the bangle's episode to others, he kept on claiming that he had learnt from a *highly reliable source* about his being a police spy.

Jai Chander went to the extent of poisoning my (Yashpal's) ears, repeating the same allegation while also advising me 'in my own interest' not to disclose my whereabouts to Bhagwati, that too when myself and Bhagwati were both wanted by police and were putting up together. Jai Chander was persisting with vilification of Bhagwati, while being fully aware of the above. One could hardly expect such an absurd proposition from a person of Jai Chander's stature that *a C.I.D. man was absconding*. He stooped so low that eventually even when Bhagwati laid down his life on banks of the Ravi, he alleged that it was a hoax to camouflage his having gone in hiding.

But then in underground life there is little scope for verifications; it was next to impossible for anyone to *ask* for 'proof'. The word spread. People started believing. The conjectures were also made to the effect that what else could be expected from a *Rai Bahadur's* son. Someone went to the extent of saying that "Had Bhagwati so desired he could get a well paid job, or in the alternative could very well go into business with his family wealth... But why should he? He is in the employ of the C.I.D.!"

Had Bhagwati been leading the life of self-indulgence, frittering away money, a man in the street could understand as to why he was not in a job or a business. On the contrary, he would always be found confined to his room busy in reading/writing. Thus self-denying style of his too, was cited to support the allegation.

By and by, the matters came to the stage where it was being suggested he had joined political life with such gusto only to spread his net wide in the movement just in order to deliver all the eager participants into the police net. Consequently, suspicion became the order of the day; people started avoiding and being free each other too besides shunning him.³

As a matter of fact, the National College students were much influenced by the views of the teachers. Among them Jai Chander Vidyaalankar merits a particular mention. He used to constantly prod the students to be logical and inquisitive. He used to teach Indian History and Politics. He was eager that the students should go into the depth of history texts by following their own line of questioning. Often there used to be sharp exchange of views on topics like theism versus atheism, spiritualism versus materialism in his class. His viewpoint carried a lot of weight in the students' mind, who accepted it as cogent and mature. Hence he had a good number of student admirers, who were inquisitive and studious, of whom a

number of them later provided the core of revolutionary circle. As for the dealings of Jai Chander with Bhagwati in particular, when the H.R.A. Manifesto "The Revolutionary" was received by Jai Chander for distribution in Punjab in Jan. 1925, it was placed at the Gawal Mandi house of Bhagwati who managed its distribution in the region in Jan. 1925.⁴

C) Impact on the party : a dilemma:

The party comrades, particularly in Punjab were face to face with a tough choice — to trust Prof. Jai Chander's word or Bhagwati Charan's integrity. So far as the party workers of U.P. or Bihar were concerned, they didn't find it inconvenient to trust Jai Chander, the *Guru* of their Punjabi Comrades, since they never had direct dealings with Bhagwati *Bhai*, the reason being that they came to Punjab weeks after the formation of H.S.R.A. on 8-9 Sept. 1928, wherefrom Bhagwati was excluded.

Hence out of the seven members of Central Committee, only two had met Bhagwati, Bhagat Singh and Sukh Dev. Presently, Bhagat Singh along with B.K. Sinha were the inter-state coordinators, whereas Sukh Dev was party incharge of Punjab.

Bhagat Singh was feeling desperate those days, the reasons being political and familial both. The political context was the paralysing of party's functioning in the wake of Bhagwati being dubbed as the C.I.D. agent. It was nothing less than a mortal blow for the organization; the very notion of a person like him being a spy, implied that till now they all, had been dancing to the tunes of an enemy agent, and then in the days of Russian Revolution, there had indeed been instances where Czar's agents had themselves initiated revolutionary conspiracies. That Bhagwati was a C.I.D. man, had its impact everywhere including *Naujwan Bharat Sabha*, Congress. "From a highly reliable source, it is learnt he is a C.I.D. man" was the refrain here, there and everywhere.

Consequently, no effective attempt could be made for the rescue of Kakori comrades, one of the reasons being the lack of timely aid from Punjab. Again, it was Bhagwati who was made the scapegoat, who bore the blame for being responsible for the frustration caused by the said failure. The propaganda against him had spread to U.P. too due to efforts of Jai Chandra since he was deemed to be the all-in-all of the party in Punjab. So it was natural for them also to take him at his word.

Hence, it was mooted (at Lahore) to raise a new party of which Bhagwati would not have any clue, but the catch was that he knew almost everything. As for Jai Chander, he made everyone believe that precious little could be done while he was around since he is far too cunning and shrewd to be hoodwinked.

Bhagat Singh was torn between two incompatibles – one, he fully trusted Bhagwati personally, but then he felt handicapped only

because of him. Any fresh proposal for resuming party work was frowned upon by Jai Chander: "Bhagwati would come to know", and that would be the end of it. Bhagat Singh on his part was uncompromising in the matter of intrusion of matters like personal friendship in party affairs. Desperate, he even felt that if no headway could be made just because of Bhagwati his elimination could be the way out. Often he poured out his heart to me (Yashpal) and rued that the entire work stays paralysed because of this one person and then with a questioning expression on his face he quipped, "Could this rascal 'actually' be a C.I.D. man... I can't really believe."

As for me (Yashpal), myself and *Bhabhi* having studied together for *Parbhakar*, (Honours in Hindi) examination, my visits to them went on as usual. Often Bhagat Singh felt irritated on this score and would taunt me by saying, "You enjoy their hospitality and *chit chat* at leisure but are yet unable to unearth the hidden truth." I then had to say that despite my best efforts I had not been able to find anything showing him to be a C.I.D. man. Bhagat Singh while intently staring at my eyes would say, "So he is not a C.I.D. man?"

Finding myself at a loss for words I would say, "While everyone says so, who am I to contradict it; perhaps others may be having some proof." Since proof was missing but everyone was blaming him, I too preferred silence to candour.

One day, Bhagat Singh approaching me in a very grave mood, showing me a small revolver, said; "I'll shoot him today."

Somewhat annoyed, I said, "Responsibility shall only be yours!" He fell into a grave silence. Later, within less than 48 hours, what I saw inside Bhagwati's house, my eyes refused to believe; he and Bhagwati were comfortably seated besides each other on the hard bed, inclined on a big pillow, confabulating. Bhagwati, with his vest on, his hand groping his tummy; Bhagat Singh face showed that he was in a deep mental conflict; his trust in Bhagwati, by virtue of latter's transparent sincerity and maturity were in direct conflict with his loyalty to the party discipline, both the forces pulling him in opposite directions with equal intensity.

D) Search:

A few days later, Sukh Dev came to me and in a grim tone said, "This controversy regarding Bhagwati shall have to be sorted out."

"What? How" I said anxiously since his perplexity hinted that he was in a desperate mood.

"Presently, Bhagat Singh had taken along Bhagwati to his village Sanda; go and search his house as thoroughly as possible, scanning his personal files, records, etc. It is impossible that no clue worth the name be not discovered," said Sukh Dev.

Incidentally, I was suffering from an acute bad cold and was thus carrying in my pocket a herbal prescription meant to be brewed and taken. Arriving at the house, I knocked the door and *Bhabhi* being on the first floor saw me and I asked about her husband, whereupon she

said "Has not told anything. May be coming in a while, for food." Saying so she came down, opened the door and looking at my face said, "Are you having cold? Go and get the herbs, which I would brew and serve."

I already had it in my packet and requested her to first grind it before boiling. Agreeing, she took along the packet to the first floor in the kitchen to do the needful, thereby leaving me free for my probe on the ground floor which was actually to be searched. There was a spacious *baithak* (sitting room) on the ground floor, with a kitchen and sleeping room on the first floor.

I bolted the stairs' door from outside and kept my ears on the alert; in the meanwhile I kept hearing the sound of grinding on the top floor. With a free mind I busied myself in scanning the papers, publications, etc., everywhere, particularly in the almirah. I had also brought with me a bunch of random keys, in case I had to open a lock, but there was none to be opened. I came across sheets, papers here and all around. Some written note books were also there, one of which seemed to be a kind of preface to history of India's revolutionary movements, whose opening line read, "Rebellion is the birthright of every slave nation"; a few pages containing an account of *Ghadr* movement in Punjab were also there, all these accounts having been written in an inspiring diction. Also I found a few pages scribbled with poetry in the adjoining room there were boxes full of clothes, unlocked. I peeped into the store room too which was stacked with fuel wood. I carried out the search to the maximum extent possible but found nothing suspicious. In fact, most of the items I have enumerated above had already been shown to me by Bhagwati. He had always enjoyed reading out his own writings to me and perhaps to others too.

After about an hour, some footsteps were heard from the stairs above which signalled me to call off the search and unbolt the stairs' door. *Bhabhi* descended with the warm glass of admixture. In a tone of assumed surprise I said, "Bhagwati *Bhai* has not yet come!"

"May be he'll soon be here" said she and again went upstairs, which tempted me to do some more probing, and having finished my task I called *Bhabhi* to say "So now I am leaving".

"OK", said *Bhabhi* and bolted the entrance door after I had left.

Upon my return, I narrated in detail my futile attempt to detect some 'proof' to Sukh Dev "Even then shall we keep on suspecting" muttered Sukh Dev in irritation. He then spoke, as if he was addressing his own doubting self, "though the Communists were annoyed with Bhagwati, but none had anyone of them was ever arrested; their literature and money too remained safe and a secret with him. Even after he left them the communists never doubted his integrity".⁵

E) Bhagat Singh and Bhagwati Charan: Raja Ram Shastri—

They both were intimate friends; Bhagwati *Bhai* too was an avid reader like Bhagat Singh, who spent a lot of time in Dwarka Das Library, and was also a profound thinker. Now, secret organisations suffer from a peculiar malady — once somebody spoke against someone and suspicion was aroused, the entire scenario is drastically changed; even the trusted and trusting comrades start looking at the other one with distrust. Myself, and Bhagat Singh had often pondered over the matter. His stand was, “What should be done?” Talking about secret organisations, Bhagat Singh, used to mention that firstly, the moment a word spreads against someone, suspicion takes no time to sprout, and in the second place even the closest comrade starts doubting the other; this sometimes, impels the victim of suspicion to turn an approver and thereby betray his comrades, by disclosing all that he knows about his erstwhile comrades and the organisation to the police, which expectedly, results in grave consequences for the movement.

As for Bhagwati Charan, someone spread a word that Bhagwati was an agent of police/C.I.D., who conveys the innermost secrets of the party to them. Initially, this was talked about in whispers, later gradually in the open and loud. The suspicion kept on escalating. Of all the members of the party, Bhagat Singh was touched the most since Bhagwati was among the staunchest of his confidants, besides, also his being an ace intellectual, who had a profound understanding of the affairs concerning revolution and a good command over language. Once, Bhagat Singh while sharing his views with me on this thorny issue, observed that “I am at a loss to decide as to what I should do?... ..I can hardly swallow down my throat what is being said about him; he is my trusted friend and comrade both. He can never compromise the party’s interests, and if at all there is even an iota of truth in these insinuations against him, how can then the party survive at all? Yet when a comrade works for the party without caring for even his life, he has to be trusted.”

That day, during the course of this conversation, Bhagat Singh seemed to be in a gravely despondent mood. Eventually, when he went deep into the facts and circumstances of the controversy, he discovered someone among themselves had floated this “highly reliable secret” for his narrow selfish ends. Then only he heaved a sigh of relief; his faith in Bhagwati got restored.⁶

F) Bhagwati *Bhai* the stoic —

What needs to be taken special note of is the fact that though *Bhabi* and *Didi* had sometimes or the other mentioned the bangles’ episode, but despite my (Sukhdev Raj’s) close proximity to *Bhai*, he never uttered a word against Jai Chander. Even today, 40 years later, I am mentally re-living it while writing these lines.... “Bhagwati Charan’s selflessness, power of tolerance, and patriotism evokes nothing short of reverence and I bow to pay obeisance to that realized soul.

I had seen his family too as an ideal entity. His stout, well built gymnast like physique with his own spacious house to stay, sociable to a fault, who greeted everyone with a tight embrace, and his wife full of grace. Their chubby charming Shachi was not cynosure only of their eyes, but of the entire flock of revolutionaries and even beyond. Family did not lack in financial resources either. *Bhai* wore a *Khadar Kurta-pyjama*; with nothing to spend on except books. After joining the party he was lavish in extending financial support to the party.

Of the ironies of the life, which I have experienced, the foremost has been that while the Provider bestowed upon Bhagwati Charan and his family all the bounties, the anguish and crises of all kinds too descended upon them aplenty.”⁷

G) What *Bhabi* says:

My husband (Bhagwati) after doing his Intermediate – Science in 1921, had the desire to proceed to Germany for higher studies, in medical science. He was an introvert by nature and mostly kept quiet. Truly speaking, no one had ever explored this dimension of his personality. It is a fact that my husband thought profoundly and was serious by nature; none could possibly fathom his inner self. Among his contemporary comrades, he was regarded ‘serious’, which really he was. Somehow, this trait of my husband too became a fertile ground for suspicion in the party circles which had to function secretly to escape police wrath. During those days Pandit Jai Chander Vidyalankar, who was their professor of History at National College, and was highly respected for his radical outlook, started nursing a feeling that Bhagwati was very ‘dangerous’. He may overshadow him. By temperament, Professor Jai Chander himself was not in favour of any action, while the youngmen were itching for it. I believe he wanted to avoid taking a risk and wanted to mesmerize youngman just with his oratory.

May be perhaps he was a revolutionary of ‘intellectual type’. But of what use was this to those who are innately wedded to action. Assuming that this was indeed his position, he ought to have at least not discouraged his *chelas* from taking their turn in active revolutionary work. This was incumbent upon him since every youngman of the party had faith in him and held him in high esteem. But he desired to continue being a leader pure and simple. It also sometimes had happened that he directed others to reach a particular spot and then himself not being there. Such persons seek name and fame without any renunciation or sacrifice, but simply rely on manouvering to get the credit at the expense of others. If such kind of persons do not take others for a ride to subserve their own ends in some such way, where would they be? He had a deep rooted apprehension that Bhagwati Charan understands his above mentioned weakness, and he could overshadow him. Since he was son of a *Rai Bahadur* who had been conferred this title for his loyalty to the government, has plenty of money and has all the comforts of

life, it was not difficult to vilify him. Thus he was able to poison the minds of his students like Bhagat Singh, Sukh Dev, who were our bosom friends.

Of the two, possibly Bhagat Singh felt more disturbed about this state of affairs, and it is quite probable that it was he who had prevailed upon Sukh Dev to associate me in his escape from Lahore in Dec 1928. It may also be surmised that my husband's *silence* was deemed as half a consent as per the proverb – *khamoshi nim raza*, semi-consent. But I fail to understand till today (1972) why did they not *boycott* Bhagwati and stop visiting our house; they all continued to fall back upon us not only for money but even in my escorting of Bhagat Singh and Raj Guru to Lucknow/Calcutta, putting not only my life and reputation *both* at stake while also exposing our only child Shachi to risk of his life.

The matters went to the extent that since the house from where Sukh Dev Kishori Lal and Jai Gopal were arrested on 15.4.1929 while making bombs, had been rented by Bhagwati Charan in his name, this too was projected as a proof of Bhagwati's connivance with the police. Truly said, viewed through lens of suspicion, even a rope seems to be a snake.

I do not blame anyone on this count, but surprisingly they relied on us for money, comfort and almost any kind of support in their functioning, while simultaneously regarding us as suspects.

I distinctly remember that my husband felt deeply perturbed. Outwardly he seemed to be normal; used to take his meals as per his wont. He had a *Sitar* with him. Either he was found pouring over books or playing on *Sitar* and if someone tried to know as to what the matter was, 'nothing' was his reply. This was the kind of attitude and his state of mind in those days. Sushila *Didi* who was more than a sister to him and myself, both of us argued with him that when those people suspect you, why not get out of this imbroglio simply by keeping away and aloof. May be he did not disclose anything in this regard to me, but in the heart of hearts I saw through all this. Ultimately we were able to prevail upon him to join teaching at Jat College, Rohtak, which we were able to manage through some of our contacts. But he hardly stuck to the job for three four months to be back at Lahore.⁸

H) Renting of Kashmiri Building (Bomb Factory)

Consequent upon shifting of party headquarters from Agra to Delhi, it was decided to set up two bomb factories, one at Saharanpur and another at Lahore. Bhagwati had rented a part of Kashmiri Building on 16.3.1929 in his own name, the only known instance of its kind since of the dozens of houses rented by the party, none had ever been hired on the actual name of the occupant. The relevant document Ex P.D./2 was recovered from the landlord and the police issued warrants against Bhagwati Charan on this basis. The building was located in a street, a narrow lane near Qila Gujjar Singh road.

According to Yashpal, Bhagwati had rented this room to have a secluded place for his reading and writing since his writing interests encompassed poetry, history and much beyond. But then whenever Sukh Dev came to Lahore after 16.3.1929 he stayed in this building as if by right. Then Sukh Dev set up the bomb factory there.

Following the raid of 15.4.1929 whereupon Sukh Dev, Kishori Lal and Jai Gopal were arrested and the entire paraphernalia of bomb factory was recovered by the police, when I met him at Calcutta for the first time after our abscondence, my first question to him was, as to why had he rented the room in his own name. In reply he said, "How on earth could I be aware that they would start making bombs there". Thereupon I said, "If it were so, you ought to have told them to hire some other house for this purpose: His reply was, "Perhaps it may have taken so many days for them to do so!"⁹

I) The Reunion with Azad:

Significantly, both Bhagwati *Bhai* and Azad were working independently to rescue Bhagat Singh and Dutt from jail. Once when Azad sent his most reliable aide Vishavnath Vaishampayan to Lahore to assess the situation on the spot, his stay was arranged by someone who assumed that he had been sent by Bhagwati *Bhai*. The day when Vaishampayan expressed his desire to go back he got a message from Durga *Bhabi* through his host that he need not go back to Delhi, since he is required to stay back at Lahore. Taken aback, Vaishampayan could not make head or tail of this message and he expressed the desire to see her. Upon meeting her, it dawned upon him that all the allegations being levelled against Vohra couple were baseless. When Durga *Bhabi* learnt that he had been sent by Azad, she told him that her husband was very anxious to meet Azad. Thereupon Vaishampayan promised to persuade Azad to meet Bhagati *Bhai*, which he was then able to arrange and this all-important re-union took place at Kanpur sometime in November, 1929.

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