Chapter 3

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA
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If Mrs Besant were the mother, Malaviya was the father of the Banaras Hindu University. True Mrs Besant conceived the idea but it was Malaviya who was able to put it into a practical shape.

I

FACTORS LEADING TO THE IDEA OF FOUNDRING A UNIVERSITY AT BANARAS: NATIONAL AND POLITICAL

Most of the people of India unanimously voiced that "the supreme credit of founding this institution goes to this great educationist and lover of Motherland". This great centre of learning according to V.A. Sundaram is "certainly the noblest monument of Hindu genius in this century - a single man's master creation". Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya - "a model of lofty Indians minded integrity" and sincerity is a man about whom almost all paid their highest tributes and regards and showered his character with all the beautiful connotative phrases and adjectives.

Even a foreigner, the Director of Scotlandyard who was in charge of safety of the Indian representatives in the Round Table

1 V.A. Sundaram, Banaras Hindu University: A Symposium.
2 Ibid.
3 Tej Bahadur Sapru in a Convocation Address held on 30th November 1941 in Banaras Hindu University: A Pamphlet, p. 3.
Conference remarked "Gandhi is of course a saint and a seer, but there is something of the Lord in the eyes of Pt. Malaviya...."

His strong faith in God, his patriotism, his spirit of modernism with a great respect for ancient ideals, his zeal for education; his balanced combination of high idealism and practical realism; his abiding interest in developing the scientific, technological studies, his selfless devotion to the cause; his indefatiguable energy and endeavour; his sweet persuasiveness with tremendous tact, strong optimism; his influence over the native princes; his popularity among the Hindu masses for the "crystal purity" of his pious and orthodox character; his power of eloquence with a "rich melodious voice which Gandhiji characterized as Malaviyaji's silver voice", his biggest beggary for the cause which was "beaten only by Gandhiji", his strong optimism; his adaptability and compromising moderate nature; his sense of provincialism and strong determination to raise the United Provinces on the same plank with other progressive and prominent provinces of India; his political sagacity; his religious bigotism; his great love for ancient classical Hinduism; and overall his middle class Indian origin; profoundly rewarded him to be one of those very fortunate Indians who could fulfil their cherished dreams into

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6 J.B. Kripalani, "Madan Mohan Malaviya", Ibid., p. 43.
7 Ibid., p. 44. Gandhiji called him 'Bharat Ratna' 'Dharmatma'.
reality; and were attributed with great honour and appreciation and enjoyed the same for a considerable long period during his life time.

The idea of a Hindu University at Banaras was crystallized in the master mind of Malaviya not only out of intellectual and educational inspiration to kindle the knowledge and wisdom among the thirsty minds of millions of Indians but other aspects viz. religious, social, economic, political and personal causes also played tremendous influence on him and urged upon him vigorously to establish in the United Provinces one of the highest academic institutions in India - a wonder of the age which turned him into a great educationist and achieved for him a permanent place in the history of India. The Banaras Hindu University garlanded him with an immortal fame - the greatest cherished desire of a human mind.

Religious Cause

"The purest specimen of classical Hinduism, the heart and soul of Banaras Hindu University", Madan Mohan Malaviya, a product of Indian renaissance could not disavow the religious and scholarly aptitude of his ancestry. The doctrine of hereditary transmission of qualities may not be always true but it was typically exemplified in the life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in respect of religiousness and love for classical Sanskrit literatures. He belonged to a respected orthodox scholarly vaishnava

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Dr Annie Besant said in a lecture entitled "Man's evolution through religion" at the Fergusson College, Poona, cited in S.S. Joshi, "Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji: A Tribute and Reminiscences", in Malaviya Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 100.
Brahmin family at Allahabad.

His grandfather Premdhar was a great devout religious Sanskrit scholar who translated well known dramas like \textit{Vendi Samhar}, \textit{Mrichha Katik} and others. His father Brajnath was a reputed preacher who earned a great reputation for his learning and piety. Even the great maharajas of Banaras and Darbhanga paid respect to him almost like a Guru. Brajnath earned the title "Vyas" as an exponent of Bhagavat and Puranas. He also produced several notable devotional works in Sanskrit.

His mother Moona Devi was a deeply religious lady who influenced him profoundly from the very infant stage. It is said every

9 Originally the family of Malaviya belonged to Malwa but due to reasons his ancestors migrated to and settled at Allahabad. The people of Allahabad called them as Mallaïs in order to distinguish them from others and from the word Mallaïs they were called and known as Malaviyas. For details see, \textit{Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya,} pp. 1-2: \textit{Interview with Padma Kant Malaviya} quoted in S.L. Gupta, \textit{Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya - A Socio-Political Study,} pp. 1-2; \textit{Padma Kant Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.}

10 Malaviyaji's grandfather has been referred to by different authors in different names, as Gadadhar (by Akkad), Padmadhar (Abanindra Kumar Vidyalankar), Premdhar (Sitaram Chaturvedi) etc. Premdhar's father Sridhar was also a Sanskrit Scholar. Abanindra Kumar Vidyalankar, \textit{Malaviyaji,} p. 1. \textit{Padma Kant Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.}

11 Brajnath was the fourth son of his parents, \textit{Ibid.}

12 Reciter of Katha, stories and sermons from ancient scriptures.

13 Pandit Madan Mohan published his father's written book entitled \textit{Siddhanta-Darpan} through the Abhyudaya Press before his father's death and fulfilled his desire.

14 It is said that she was very much affectionate even to the street children. Akkad, \textit{Malaviyaji}, p. 6.

15 Braj Mohan Vyas in his book "Mahamana Malaviya" remarked that as the embodiment of purity Maharshi Vasistha felt himself purer by marrying Arundhuti, Brajnath also thought like-wise by marrying his pious wife Muna Devi. Braj Mohan Vyas, \textit{Mahamana Malaviya,} p. 11.
morning and evening Moona Devi used to make him kneel by her side, take his little hands into hers, and fold them to produce God's sacred names with great devotion. Thus from his very infant stage Malaviya became attached to the dominant religious influence of his heredity and environment and did his best to follow that goal. "A parental pattern of motivation", with automatic dependent behaviour of the child, which as the earliest attachment of man impelled to increase the religious tendency largely by repeatedly imitating his parents.

Days passed by. Malaviya was then a little boy of great devotion. He used to listen with a spell bound attention the stories of Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagavat and Purana recited by his father. All these had an abiding impression on the soft mind of little Malaviya and imbibed in him an influence so much so that even after passing his B.A., he had a strong desire to be an exponent of Indian scriptures and give religious discourses like his father and grandfather. The love for Sanskrit literatures and devotion to "Dharma", these two basic qualities were deep-rooted and put a permanent imprint in his character by the influence of environment also.

In the evolution of character hereditary tendencies mark only a starting point of a man's career the direction of which is however, very considerably determined by the influence of

environment. Pandit Mohan Malaviya was blessed to have the both. After the basic training and learning at home he was sent to 19 Sanskrit Pathasalas and came into close contact with two 20 21 Acharyas Hara Devji and Pandit Devakinandan respectively who had an immense influence in moulding the child's character and personality with deep religious ideals and principles. When he 22 was only nine, the Upanayana was performed and Madan Mohan became a full-fledged Brahman with much more rigid attitudes. "To be a great devotee", was his only goal at that time. He narrated that he was greatly overjoyed when his father once blessed him saying that he was a great devotee. There was a time when his religious bent of mind became a cause of great alarm to his family members. As he recollected, "I...used to chant gayatri mantra everyday for hours together. My family members grew greatly alarmed at this and feared lest I should turn a monk and therefore, they began to keep strict watch on my movement". But Malaviya's materialistic mind defused their apprehension. He did not become a monk. It is said that Malaviya assured her mother that he would never become a monk.

19 First Sri Dharma Jyanapadesh Pathasala and later to the Vidya Dharma Pravardhini Sabha.

20 Haradevaji was the founder of the first Pathasala. He was a sanyasi but a strict disciplinarian. He laid great emphasis on Sandhya and other rituals of Hindu Dharma.

21 Pandit Devakinandan, the teacher of Vidya Dharma Pravardhini.

22 Sacred thread ceremony.


24 Ibid.
The cultural atmosphere of the two pathasalas enabled him to learn and recite verses from Gita and other books of ancient literature and culture. His passion for Sanskrit learning and religion increased more and more. But his father Pandit Brajnath Vyas, though a Sanskrit scholar could read the writings of the wall correctly. Realizing the growing importance of English, Malaviya was admitted to the English medium district school at Allahabad, passed the entrance examination from Calcutta University and joined Muir Central College.

With a rich legacy of moral and intellectual background Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had all the qualities of head and heart. He easily attracted the attention of the teacher like Pandit Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, the Professor of Sanskrit. The seeds of religion and love for Sanskrit literature which were already sown in his young mind was nourished with great care by Professor Bhattacharya. Through his influence, he was fully turned into an orthodox Brahman with strict disciplinary system.

25 In this respect both Malaviya and his father were greatly influenced by his uncle Pandit Gadadhar Prasad who was a high school teacher at Mirzapur.

26 Professor Aditya Ram Bhattacharya was a great scholar. He was one of the members of Indian National Congress and founded Hindu Samaj at Allahabad and confronted much to found the Macdonnel Hindu Boarding House, Prof. Bhattacharya was a very enlightened and progressive man with high intellect. Though he was an orthodox in religion, he was never conservative, but moderate, pleasant and liberal minded. He had no ill will towards any sect and had friends amongst the Muslims and Christians. (Malaviya was probably more attracted for his devout Hindu orthodoxism.) The Modern Review, vol. XXX, no. 5, pp. 621-2. Malaviya, Mahamohpadhyaya Pandit Aditya Ramaji, Bhattacharya, M.A. Ki Jankshipt Jeevani (Prayag, 1922).
"He sang hymns and prayed regularly". He believed in the theory of incarnation or rebirth, the sacredness of the cow, never ate publicly, or with any person lower than his own caste. He believed in Brahmanical supremacy and essentiality of caste system in society. He was "guided by a discerning faith in his own interpretations of the Hindu scriptures". He became a person who could sacrifice all except religion. To him, "Hindu Dharma" was the very breath of life. "It pervaded his whole life as nothing else did. All his activities - political, social, educational were centred in it". In a speech he expressed his life philosophy emphatically. "It is one of the settled convictions of my life that religion is at the foundations of all greatness and goodness, and that without an abiding religious faith no affair of man can succeed".

With such a mental history Malaviya found that the Hindu religion had lost its pre-eminent position and undergone a sad change. He observed:

Religion is now mainly the pursuit of a few persons here and there. Barring a few exceptions, men who are endowed with intellectual

27 M.R. Jayakar in his autobiography, "I once stayed with Malaviya for a whole eight weeks, occupying a room near to his. I never once had the chance of seeing what he ate, although I was privileged to observe most of his daily habits". The Story of My Life, vol. I, p. 352.


29 Ibid.


gifts are mostly absorbed in the cares of office or professional business, and scarcely ever think of religion. Those who are possessed of wealth and power are, in too many instances, so engrossed in their temporal concerns that they have little thought of the spiritual interests of their dependents or neighbours or even their own. (32)

He correctly pointed out that one of the causes of decaying Hindu religion is the lack of classical culture and Hindu learning. Sanskrit which is the fountain head of all the Hindu language or literature had become a dead language. The study of Sanskrit which is essential for the moral greatness and material prosperity was confined to Brahmanas and even within that class it was not widespread and it was not pursued with any definite aim due to economic reason.

Brahmana boys here and there take it up partly, from the sense of religious duty but mainly from the force of immemorial custom, and such of them as have a sufficiently keen intellect to acquire a proficiency in some branch of Sanskrit literature become its votaries rather from its inherent fascination, than from motives of worldly benefit; for the scanty remuneration of a Pandit is far from being commensurate with the time and mental exertion which his studies cost, or with, the order of intellect which they demand. (33)

But it was not an easy task for a true Brahmin to submit to the humiliation of Hindu religion and the apathy towards the Sanskrit literature - specially for a man like Malaviya with his religious, moral and intellectual background. He thought that education was the one thing on which Indians should never consent to relinquish

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33 Ibid.
their hold because man exists for knowledge and that the limitation of knowledge is *adharma* or unrighteousness. He urgently felt the necessity of a highest educational centre which would produce men of learning who would recognize the power of religion, restore it to its rightful place, and "impart instruction to the people in the great lessons of truth, purity, rectitude, self-control and unselfish devotion to duty which are so copiously taught in their ancient literature". The revival of Sanskrit learning would be one of the principal goals of that institution.

**Social Cause**

Other than the spiritual aspect the absence of religion from social point of view was a great alarming force. He had a perfect knowledge of the truth that the greatest strength of the Hindu consisted in their number. Though intellectually and educationally, in trade and commerce in brain and body, in mind and muscles, in the acts of peace and war, in potentialities the Hindus were second to none, their numerical strength was the chief source of power. But for the conversion and other social vices the whole Hindu community had begun to decrease. The Census from 1891 to 1901 revealed a very alarming picture. During this period the Hindus had decreased by 5,84,701 i.e. it decreased

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34  *Modern Review*, vol. V, p. 163.

by 3 per cent from 1891 to 1901. But the followers of all
other religions had not decreased. At the same time Mussalmans
had increased by 8.9 per cent and Christians 27.9 per cent.
From 1891 to 1901 more than six lakhs of Hindus became Chris-
tians, specially in the United Provinces where the Indian Chris-
tians had increased by 200 per cent.

Among several important reasons of decay or decrease viz.
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the famine, and the social vices, the misinterpretation of
Hindu religion was another most important cause for the growing
unpopularity to it. Most of the people did not know the true
definition of religion. According to Hindu religion "That is
religion which ensures temporal prosperity and eternal bliss".

But generally peoples think that Hindu religion primarily teaches
denunciation of worldly pleasures and their ultimate goal is to
become a yogi and sanyasi which hindered economic progress.
Though the Hindus pursued far higher aims and achieved success
in those pursuits of which any nation may be proud, they failed
to understand that "the ancient religion takes cognizance of all

36 The Hindus increased by 10 per cent from 1881 to 1891.
Had the growth rate been same as that of the period
1881-1891, the Hindus would have numbered 22,85,04,899
in the year 1901. See Census Report from 1891 to 1901.

37 Ibid., p. 372.

38 Some of the social vices viz. prohibition of the remarri-
age of widows among many Hindu castes, owing to which
women of child bearing age remained childless, early
marriages and the Hindu despise towards lower or depres-
sed class whose touch to them causes defilement.

39 Vaiseshika Darsana, quoted by Malaviya in the cover page
of Malaviya's prospectus of a proposed Hindu University.
Reprinted in S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the
Banaras Hindu University.
human concerns, whether of the present or future life. The Hindu civilization was the production of Hindu religion. To be a perfect balanced individual one has to undergo different aims in different stages. The four great aims of human life are dharma or duty, artha or wealth, kama or enjoyment of lawful pleasures and moksha or final bestitude. So from the social and economic point of view the revelation of inner philosophy of true Hinduism was necessary through an academic institution which would preach the correct interpretation of Hindu Dharma through their alumni.

Other than these the Hindu race had lost their moral and intellectual greatness of the past Hindu society which was utterly disorganized and disintegrated. Most of the Hindus were pursuing their own aims regardless to the effect of his actions on the society to which he belonged. Mutual trust and mutual co-operation disappeared. Morality which comprehends all the virtues for harmonious existence of mankind was degraded. So the enlightened, prosperous and well organized communities of men was very small number and its main cause was the relaxation of the power of religion among the Hindus. Hence for the promotion of the social integrity and deplorable Hindu community religious teaching was necessary. In this way the prevailing socio-cultural milieu nourished his idea of a Hindu University with special emphasis on Hindu religion and ancient culture. He found that scepticism and materialism had spoiled the younger generation of the society. The crowds of the so-called anglicised

40 Ibid., p. 52.
41 Ibid., pp. 50-62.
class, were the followers of English intellectuals instead of their own and had entirely forgotten their own literature, developed a strong apathy to the past, hopeless and aimless for the future. They were copying English way of living and began to imitate in dress, diet, manner, language, hated Indian things and thus created a new class of persons who were more English than Indian.

Lala Lajpat Rai beautifully described the class when he wrote:

He took his dress, he took his cheroot and and also his cup and beef steak. He began to live in houses built and furnished in the English way. He detested Indian life and took pride in being anglicised. Everything Indian was odious in his eyes. The Indians were barbarians, their religion was a bundle of superstitions, they were a set of narrow minded bigots, who did not know that man was born free. So the English Masters went to church and read the Bible, they did the same.... They knew nothing of their own past history and they glorified in being 'Sahib'. (42)

It was very difficult to witness the situation which was fatal for the evolution of Indian culture for a man like Malaviya with his orthodoxy and strong respect for ancient culture and civilization. It was very painful for him to witness the process of slow poison which was crawling in the Indian society. He

42 Lala Lajpat Rai, Young India, pp. 110-13; See Kalyan K. Chatterjee, English Education in India, pp. 59-64, for his comments on the class.

43 Madan Mohan had a strong apathy against those fellow-students who blindly and ludicrously imitated English manner, in dress and demeanour. He did not like them. He wrote a farce in Hindi entitled "Gentleman" in which he criticized those anglicised persons through the character of Jhakhar Singh. Sita Ram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 11.
perceived that their originality in thought and efficiency
dwarfed and had become mentally slave, of the English people.
Hence, how could the people be educated with proper and right-
eous learning unless there be an institution for it? How could
be fostered vedic learning in Brahmns and reinforce them to
their duties in these days except through an institution? He
knew very well that 'pious wish to organise or incitement would
not serve the purpose. This was the high time to create such
an institution in India which would regenerate and revibrate
the Hindu community.

Economic Cause

But it was not only the religious, social or cultural
factors, which fomented the classic soul of Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya. He was quite aware of the greatest problem that nation
faced. It was the struggle for existence - the economic deter-
ioration which engrossed the whole attention of the nation. The
higher questions of morality and piety, of philosophical specula-
tions as to the proper use of life transcendentral problem of the
human soul, and its relation to the great Absolute, no longer
engaged the attention of man, but all fightings at it were a mad
fight to live physically. The realistic mind of Malaviya accep-
ted the changed circumstances, and paced with proper rythms. He
felt that the nation should try to solve the problem boldly by
taking the bull by the horns. Only knowledge without practical
application into life was of no use. Culture and utility must go

44 Hindoo Patriot, 6 November 1903. Nehru Memorial Museum
and Library.
hand in hand for the good of the individual and the improvement of the nation. He thought that if the education system only cultivated the minds of the students with theoretical knowledge and if the students were engrossed only with thinking and philosophizing high lofty ideas the world would stop. Malaviya had the practical sagacity to realize that religion, culture and civilization had a very close connection with the economic condition. Starved nation could not progress and revival of culture and practice of religions would not bake the bread. Even the great sages were not altogether destitute of practical insight. Their various laws, regulations and systems show that they also knew the art of living. According to Hindu religion, the two great aims out of four, were attainment of material prosperity and enjoyment of lawful pleasures. But India's acute poverty and decreasing return of people's income in comparison to other nations of the world was a dreadful picture for which they should be alerted. He revealed the fact that India's daily average per capita income was only one anna while England's was nearly twenty times and America's twenty-one times higher. Even that poor daily income was tending to decline. But the peculiar fact was

45 Chaturvarga (Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha).

46 The first Prospectus of Malaviya's Proposed Hindu University, S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, p. 62.

47 A speech delivered by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in a meeting held at Amritsar on 30 September 1911. For details see Banaras Hindu University: A Symposium, edited by V.A. Sundaram, pp. 52-53.
that those people lived in a country which was abundant in natural wealth. Their land was as fertile as any in the world. But while living in a prosperous and rich country, he questioned, why majority of the Indian should remain half starved and ill clad? By analyzing the situation he found that the discouraging picture of the Indian economy was due to the ruinous anti-industrial policy of the British Raj and the ignorance of the Indian people. He observed that deliberate attempts were being made to throttle the Indian industry by following the policy of free trade in order to make room for manufactured articles of England. The British Government was evidently preparing India to be an agricultural country for providing England with raw materials and to serve as a market for her finished goods. He saw while the Western world proposed and grew rich day by day as a result of scientific investigation, India continued to wonder in darkness. He expressed his feeling by saying:

It was due to our ignorance of science that we sent out our raw materials to foreign countries and reimported them in the form of finished articles by paying many times the value of the raw materials. This continuous drainage of wealth from India was one of the causes of her stark poverty. (50)


49 In seconding the resolution III of the Seventh Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in 1891 Pandit Malaviya vehemently accused the Government of India's reluctance to check the growth of the poverty. For details see speeches of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 224-35.

50 A Speech by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at Amritsar. V.A. Sundaram, ed., Banaras Hindu University: A Symposium, pp. 52-53.
Apart from this macro economic considerations he became aware of the shortfall of the prevailing educational system in the micro level also. The absence of scientific and technical curriculum in the educational institutions began its output more than what was required for government services or other public professions. The result was that the unfortunate educated youths were left hopelessly stranded on the road and thereby created an acute unemployment problem. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was fully conscious of the utilitarian aspect of education and its relationship to vocational pursuits and unemployment. He prescribed that the steps should be taken for developing the teaching of science and technology in the educational institutions.

Political Cause

Besides the alarming economic condition of the country the prevailing political atmosphere of India assisted Malaviya to crystallize the idea of establishing a national university to a great extent. Lord Curzon's viceroyalty and his antagonistic policies led to the growth of the militant of nationalism. The newly emerging fervour of nationalism and the repeated conflicts with the official policies on education, there arose a movement for the organization of national education. Malaviya's scheme of the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University was to some extent against Curzon's policy of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness,
and turning them practically into departments of Government. The contemporary atmosphere of progress and protest and the newly insurging cultural nationalism firmly gripped the mental aptitude of politically conscious Madan Mohan, which intensified his determination for the establishment of a National University. His ideal university he desired, would be a different from the existing universities being only examining bodies. Here played another aspect of his mind which had hardly any relation with idealistic attitude.

II

FACTORS LEADING TO THE IDEA OF FOUNding A UNIVERSITY AT BANARAS: PERSONAL AND PRACTICAL

Malaviya collaborated with others to pursue his goals and satisfy needs. The religious, social, political, economic and educational needs of India drove him to found an academic institution at Banaras to check the all-round deterioration. Here his

51 Resolution of the nineteenth Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1903 on the Universities Bill. Malaviya supported the Congress resolution in a speech. For details see "The Universities Bill", in Speeches of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 535-45. Also see Anni Besant Chapter.

52 But what differed Malaviya from other great and prominent educationists viz. Gokhale, Annie Besant, Rabindranath Tagore is that all these promoters of learning attempted to implement their ideas from the lowest to the highest academic institution. The positive reason behind Malaviya's starting from the highest academic institution could be that he believed in the 'filtration theory' in the field of education and designed to start from a University which will teach a few and through them the masses of people would learn by and by and create an ideal atmosphere in the society with national solidarity and prosperity, moral and spiritual greatness with a high intellectual status of the ancient Hindus.
idealistic and conscious mind with all the human virtues played an important role to achieve the goal. But equally strong another force which consciously or unconsciously roused his desire to pursue the same goal was the ambition, love of power and fame and immortality and strong sense of provincialism which were the attributions of his practical and materialistic mind with its natural instincts of all human limitations and imperfections. These two opposite dimensions of human mind - one conscious, idealistic, imaginative, romantic, bright and moralist - the other unaware, orthodox, materialistic, flexible, narrow and self-serving purpose of nature had made Malaviya's mind a most unpredictable, undefinable and complicated one which turned him into one of the most controversial figures in India.

Malaviya had some special qualities which proved that he was an ideal leader. His good physique, strength and stature, self-assertiveness and self-confidence, superior mental ability, amiability, friendliness, sympathy, tact, initiative, fearlessness, industriousness, loyalty, perseverance, versatility, vision, intelligence, teaching skill and faith made him distinguished among others. Moreover, he had certain social skills. He knew the need to establish rapport with other persons. He had the quality to motivate other people in order to form a group to

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53 Dr Kashi Prasad Jaiswal in his book "Rajya Tantra" observed that the Malaviya Brahmins were intelligent and very much materialistic. P.K. Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.

54 Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea remarked "He had a fascinating appearance". Montague remarked "He is a man of beautiful appearance". P.K. Malaviya Papers. N.A.I.
strengthen his views or findings. As a leader, he knew the need to protect his co-followers under his able control. These leadership traits with the favourable situations and followers made him one of the most effective leaders for a considerable period. Malaviya's three main aims of life were: (1) to be a Kulapati - the teacher of religion; (2) the head of the Hindu community in northern India and ultimately (3) a national leader of India. He felt that Banaras Hindu University being a denominational religious and central academic institution would provide him with ample scope to fulfil his ambitions.

Like a true Brahmin Pandit Malaviya had an idealistic religious bent of mind with a strong craving for the acquisition of highest knowledge and wisdom for 'Atmajnana'. Similarly his strong, practical self-seeking mind most likely aspired for something more than that. Starting with a humble desire of being an exponent of Indian scriptures and initiator of religious discourses, he wanted gradually to be a prominent 'Kulapati' like Vashishtha, Bharadwaja and others. He knew well the definition of a Kulapati. "That Brahma sage is called a Kulapati who teaches ten thousand students supplying them with lodging, food etc."

55 Self-knowledge.

56 During the Ramayana period, Vashishtha and Bharadwaja were the two prominent Kulapatis. Their Ashrams consisted of ten thousand residential students teaching and maintaining by supplying them free lodging, food etc. For details see S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, pp. 1-9.

57 Malaviya referred in his pamphlet "The Hindu University: Why It is Wanted and What It Aims At". Ibid., pp. 146-7.
His frustration to achieve an M.A. degree in Sanskrit made him more adamant to fulfil his aspiration of being a Kulapati by founding a university under his able guidance, following the style of ancient India with different branches of learning and get a recognition in the religious as well as in the academic world. This latent aspiration tallied with his social aim of life in course of time to be a chief of the Hindu community which ultimately led his way to politics.

From social point of view also he thought that the Hindu University would enable him to be a champion of Hindus providing him enough scope to better the present condition and future prospects of the community and consequently, bearing on National solidarity. He thought that if he would succeed in his mission people would easily accept him as the chief of their own community.

This mass acceptance as a leader had a far-reaching political consequence. He could foresee that gradually the religious community was taking over the role of the nation. And with their co-operation an all India platform in the form of an academic

Malaviya could not finish his M.A. studies due to severe financial stringency. The circumstances he described "after passing my B.A. I had a strong desire to be an exponent of Indian scriptures and give religious discourses like my father and grandfather. But my family was poor and I owed a duty towards it. Just then a post of teacher fell vacant in the local Government school, in which I had studied, and in which my cousin, Pandit Jai Govind was the Head Pandit. He advised me to apply for the post. But I wanted to devote my life to the propagation of Sanathan Dharma and so I refused. He then complained about it to my mother. My mother came to persuade. I looked at her. There were tears rolling down her cheeks. All my ambitions were drowned in her tears". Sitaram Chaturvedi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 13-14.
institution would equip him to attract the people of India to listen to his voice. His fame as an educationist and as one of the commander of Hindu society would offer him better standing in the forum of opinions. The British Raj would recognize his power and prestige. He would become one of those few fortunates who would deserve Nation's gratitude as a great political leader. This ambitious scheme haunted Malaviya to establish the Hindu University at Banaras.

Seldom he was consciously aware of the goals which he was seeking but his motivation could be deduced from the behaviours and activities.

From his very childhood Malaviya's quality of being a good organizer was revealed. At the age of nine he organized a Sandhya Dal, which used to go to the bank of the river Yamuna to perform Sandhya every day. During his school life, he organized a gavatri club, where a sort of competition in gavatri recitation was held. Muir Central College at Allahabad provided him ample opportunity through the literary and debating societies, to increase and sharpen his competitive and leadership qualities. It was nothing but to promote self esteem. It is thought that people enter for examinations, races, and competitions of all kinds in order to evaluate themselves. His command over the public and to get applause and appreciation from the mass and to

59 S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, p. 3.

60 Michael Argyle, The Psychology of Inter-Personal Behaviour, p. 128.
stand on a higher platform above the people started from the very beginning of the boyhood. Pandit Devaki Nandan the teacher of Vidya Dharma Prabardhini Pathshala used to take little Malaviya to the Annual Magh Mela and trained him to deliver speeches on the religious matters. Thus the spirit of self-confidence, boldness, pursuasiveness, the power of interpreting mass psychology, love for power and the intoxicated taste of commanding the mass at large was imbibed and nourished in the soft, plastic mind of little Malaviya. His dominant social motivation seemed to be a desire for praise and recognition and bolstering of his grandiose but precarious self image. This spirit drove Pandit Malaviya from home to society from society to province, from province to national pulpit.

During his college days he took a leading role in a social service Association called the 'Hindu Samaj' which gradually took the shape of a central Hindu association extending its activities all over India. In this connection, he came into

61 See above f.n. 19.

62 Malaviya's love for politics had a religious sanction, Mahabharata - the Hindu epic says - "In politics are realised all the forms of renunciation; in politics are united all the sacraments; in politics are combined all knowledge; in politics are centred all the world". Presidential Address by Lala Laipat Rai 1925, quoted in "Condition of India": Being the Report of the Delegation sent to India by the India League in 1932, p. 137.


64 The inaugural meeting was held in the Palace of the Maharaja of Banaras at Prayag and prominent Hindu leaders from all parts of the country attended. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
contact with many influential Hindu leaders.

His organizing efficiency gave birth to a public library at Prayag known as 'Bharati Bhawan' and his popularity among the Hindus was on an increasing return. Gradually, the environment atmosphere, and change of government policy along with personal qualifications and good fortune, provided Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with sufficient reasons to dream himself as a great political leader of India. United Provinces being the most orthodox, Brahmin dominated region and Allahabad being a urban locality had certain features which provided Malaviya enormous scope to involve in the political world.

Like all other urban localities, Allahabad consisted of people engaged principally in manufacturing, mechanical persuites,

Among them Raja Ram Pal Singh of Kalkankar is worth to be specially mentioned who helped Malaviya to a great extent to be a political leader from his middle class origin. The first meeting between the two was not pleasant at all. In the inaugural meeting of Hindu Association, Madan Mohan Malaviya (who was one of the organizers) intervened when Raja of Kalakankar was talking to the President. Raja was greatly annoyed and criticized Madan Mohan Malaviya in his Hindi paper the Hindustan. But Malaviya's sharp intellect did not slip from his keen observation. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

One of Malaviya's rich neighbours, a lover of Hindi had made a large collection of books on literature and philosopy. In December 1884, it was converted into a public library—known as Bharati Bhawan. District Board and provincial government's grants were awarded for its maintenance due to his personal effort and technique of persuasion. S.R. Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 15-16.

trade, commerce, profession, government and other non-agricultural occupations, within a man made environment. Along with a heterogeneous density of population, with more numerous contacts, with a wider area of inter-action system, with a predominance of secondary contacts, and predominance of impersonal, casual and short-lived relations, consequently for the greater complexity, many foldedness, superficiality and standardized formality of relations, the cry for a better leadership was more and more acute.

Passing through a period of transition and bewilderment the concept of leadership was also undergoing a change and new pattern was emerging out. New type of leadership from professional and publicist of middle class society with a democratic leaning, young, enthusiastic, selfless, and based on merit and functions, took place of the traditional leadership of rais, which was based on factors of status, wealth, age, caste and family with an authoritarian attitude. Government policy in the political system also undertook a great change. Local patronage system had been developed. Professional clients of the business magnates achieved greater authority and importance as representative and common denominator.

70 Ram Charan Das, the Banker of Allahabad, helped Malaviya tremendously.
Malaviya who had an in-born aptitude for politics availed the opportunity and started the political career in his first appearance in the second session of the Indian National Congress. His speech brought him in the limelight of political world, and his dream to be a great leader was heading towards reality. The editorship of the *Hindustan* was offered to him by Raja Ram Pal Singh of Kala Kankar which he readily accepted leaving behind the teaching profession. He knew very well that to climb up the political ladder the career of a publicist would provide him an extra advantageous position to build up personal relationship with influential personalities of the locality. He was correct and with their help and also by his own merits soon he formed a group of educated men with progressive outlook and ideas. With their support soon he became a member of municipal board of Allahabad and the political legislative council respectively in

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72 The session was held in Calcutta, 1886.

73 Malaviya was very ambitious from the beginning of his career. He had no aspiration to become a teacher in Allahabad School. He was forced to take up this profession due to financial stringency, and did not hesitate to resign whenever better scope to enter into politics was offered. At that time most of the Indian Political leaders were associated with newspapers. For details see A. Natarajan, "History of Press in India", *Calcutta Review*, vol. LX, no. 5, 1877, p. 373. A.C. Mazumdar, *Indian National Evolution*.

74 Among them Raja Ram Pal Singh of Kalakankar and Ram Charan Das Banker of Allahabad were specially important who contributed to a lot to get up on the political ladder. For details see *Prayag Samachar*, 15 March 1901. *NNWR (NWP & Oudh)*, 1901.
the year 1891 and 1903.

Malaviya's association with Hindu Samaj and later with Sanatam Dharma Sabha, his participation in the Nagri campaign and cow protection movement, depicted him as an orthodox Hindu leader of the United Provinces. He joined Congress only to have a continental platform to specify the United Provinces interest and to fulfil the ambition of seeing him as a leader of India.

The reintroduction of income tax in 1886 and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission in 1888 disappointed men in the United Provinces. Provincial politicians thought it wise to be closely associated with the Congress for their local advantages. With that view the Congress session of 1908 was invited at Allahabad. It was the most successful session yet held and the wide range of United Provinces' interests and associations reflected the extent to which the province had been

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75 Malaviya participated in a deputation along with the leading personalities of the United Provinces on 18 July 1903 at 11 A.M. on his Honour the Lieutenant Governor at Lucknow to discuss certain grievances, relating to school education in these provinces. For details see The Hindustan Review, vol. III, July 1903, pp. 122-24.

76 The Nagri campaign concluded with a triumphant end in the Nagri Resolution of 1900.

77 In Allahabad three cow protection organizations were set up. Here the Cow Protection Movement which was potentially more inflammable, most impressive and pervasive manifestation of the Hindu revival. For details see F.C.R. Robinson, "Consultation and Control - The United Provinces' Government and Its Allies, 1860-1906", Modern Asian Studies, vol. V, no. 4, 1971, p. 328.

78 These two movements provided Malaviya ample scope to verify his personality among the Hindus.

stirred up.

In the vigorous campaign for the purpose of awakening this province from its former apathy Malaviya played an important role. He had a strong sense of provincialism and optimism determined to raise the United Provinces on the same plank with other important progressive states of India like Bombay, Madras and Bengal. He alleged that the United Provinces remained at the bottom of the list in the educational progress, which was a misfortune, rather than the fault of these provinces. A mixture of past superiority and present inferiority complex created a competitive attitude in the mind of Malaviya. This competitive attitude developed against those provinces who had the good fortune of having the favour of the British Government in India.

Malaviya was very much conscious about the fact that during the Hindu, Buddhist and Mohammedan periods the United Provinces were the seat of the highest of civilization. He considered that the inhabitants of these provinces were not less intelligent than those of any other part of India, nor there was any climatic drawback that could account for any backwardness of


81 Note on the Provincial Congress Committee, File 553 of 1917 general administration department, Uttar Pradesh Secretariat Record Room Lucknow; quoted in C.A. Baylay, in the "Local Roots of Indian Politics", pp. 2-3.

82 Ibid., p. 355.

83 Indian People quoted in the Hindustan Review, vol. VIII, 1903, p. 124.
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83 Indian People quoted in the *Hindustan Review*, vol. VIII, 1903, p. 124.
these provinces. It was the discriminating policy of the British Government which was responsible for the prevailing disgraceful condition of the United Provinces. He expressed his grievances by presenting a comparative picture in different spheres between the United Provinces and other progressive states, like Bengal, Bombay and Madras. In the matter of appointments of Indian in higher posts in the United Provinces, a principle of partiality was also followed by the Government. Regarding the most important aspect of life like education he contemplated the position of these provinces and sadly expressed; These provinces which were the home of learning and refinement both under the Hindu and Mohammedan regimes, have now to bear the reproach of being the most ignorant provinces in the Indian Empire. He said:

...while education has been steadily advancing in every other provinces, it has remained backward here, with the result that there are only

84 In a speech in 1886 National Congress meeting, at Calcutta Malaviya pointed out that while the people of the United Provinces contributed the largest amount of revenue larger than that of rich Bengal and larger still than that of Bombay the percentage of the revenue allotted to United Provinces provide for the administration of these vast provinces and for internal reforms was much smaller than that allowed to any other province in India. In respect of lump grant "the government" Malaviya pointed out, "followed the same principle. While 50 lakhs had been allotted to Bengal, Bombay and Madras, only 30 lakhs had been given to the United Provinces. In the matter of appointments in the United Provinces the same policy was followed. For details see Speeches of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 383-9.

85 Madan Mohan Malaviya in a speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in April 1904 under the presidency of Sir James, J. Digges La Touche, Financial Statement 1904. Speeches of the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 357.
ten boys out of a hundred of the school going age who receive any education in these provinces, whereas 22 to 23 per cent of the boys of the school going age are at school in Bombay and Bengal.... (86)

When the Government of India explained the cause as the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of education, he objected and said:

It is not the indifference of the advanced ambitious classes but the lukewarmness and parsimony of the Government of India that accounts for the want of satisfactory progress in primary education.... and none but the Government of India is responsible for this chronic want and the consequent absence of healthy growth in education. (87)

In the matter of the higher education also these provinces suffered a lot for the step-motherly attitude of the government. He said "As regards higher education, it is a matter for regret that the expenditure incurred on it in these provinces also compares unfavourably with that incurred in other provinces".

He was very much frustrated over the history of the Muir Central College at Allahabad. He alleged that though the education commission recommended that the institution should be kept as a model institution the government did not extend that measure of support which it should have received as the principal state college in these provinces. The future prospect of the Muir Central College at Allahabad to be a great seat of learning of


87 Ibid., pp. 359-60.

different subjects with a large and vigorous staff to educate
the young men of different tastes with the help of government
endowments made Malaviya more provincial in his attitude.

A provincial inferiority complex spurred in him to take
up project of a spectacular educational plan of founding a unique
national university which would be a hall mark in the higher
education in India. His rage was against the policy "To him
who hath, more shall be given". He visioned:

...the university will in course of time become
what Universities in other countries are - a
seat for the advancement of the highest learning;
for the discovery and development of talent; for
the promotion of scientific knowledge and re-
search; and the elevation of professional
standards. (91)

He was determined to create an institution which would create
jealousy to others. Presumably he himself was suffering from
jealousy complex regarding the progress and advancement of other
principal states of India. We could not but think that when the
United Provinces would be able to create a teaching and residen-
tial university unknown in the history of education in India,
the other existing institution would suffer from jealousy complex.
So he cautioned the Lieutenant Governor, Sir James John Digges
La Touche against it and said "I also hope, Sir, that the new
scheme will not be allowed to suffer from any narrow jealousy
of other institutions".

89 For details see ibid., pp. 365-8.
90 Ibid. (Malaviya: speeches of Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya), p. 353.
91 Ibid., p. 365.
92 Ibid., p. 365.
This competitive attitude was nothing wrong on the contrary a healthy sign of development, no doubt, in the matter of progress. Still, it was definite that a feeling of nationalism did not generate in the mind of Malaviya from the very beginning of his political career like some other patriots of India. In the threshold of his political career his sense of provincialism failed to call the people of India unanimously to improve their existing conditions in general by facilitating them better scope of education providing them more revenues and enhancing their prestige and honour by appointing Indians in the responsible posts as his emphasis was only on United Provinces. But at the same time, the outcome of the bright side of his provincialistic attitude was the emergence of the Hindu University in the United Provinces with pomp and grandeur in contrast to Bengal National Council, and the Arya Samaj Gurukul University etc. which was started very humbly in the teeth of government opposition. At that time the idea of a National University in Bengal was in the air. He attempted heart and soul to diminish the credit of Bengal's new educational experiment for a National University by a counter spectacular.

93 At that time Bengal's movement for a National University was on full swing. A mammoth mass meeting of the Calcutta students was held on Sunday, 12 November 1905 evening at the grounds adjoining the Cornwallis Street, to consider the steps to be taken for establishing a National University. Sister Nivetiatta, on behalf of the Dawn Society first addressed the meeting. Mr A.C. Banerjee said it was a time that a Swadeshi University should be started at once. Mr A. Chowdhury said that the question of a National University was agitating the public mind and since the days of the universities bill agitation. It was calculated that an amount of 10 lakhs of rupees for initial expenditure and an annual subscription of

(footnote contd.)
National Hindu University at Banaras. From the very beginning he differed from the National Council of Education in Bengal in respect of Government recognition. The former defied the government interference and so did not ask for its favour or recognition, while the latter welcomed it in order to get a strong popular support.

Thus Malaviya's sense of provincial patriotism instigated him to join hands with the British Raj in order to gain the better side of the progressive states' enterprises and hoist the flag of success in the United Provinces in face of Bengal's attempt originating from the intellectuals and revolutionaries.

At that time provincial flavour in the air was high. The Indian people observed "The melancholy fact is too obvious that Rs.40,000 was required. More than 6 lakhs of rupees and another decent sum from Maharaja had been promised. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal said that the Indian Colleges should dissociate from universities. The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13 November 1905.

The movement progressed rapidly and another conference of the leading educationists and public man were held in the premises of land holders association in Park Street. Trustees of the fund in aid of the National University were appointed. Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Rash B. Ghosh Raja Peary Mohan Mukherjee, N.N. Ghose, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Rabindranath Tagore, S.N. Banerjee, Hirendra Nath Dutta, Ramendra Sunder Trivedi, Mr A. Rasul etc. were among them. The Amrita Bazar Patrika reported "one gentleman has promised 5 lakhs in cash or an annual income of Rs.20,000 from immovable property. Another person promised 2 lakhs in cash and a magnificent house. The third one promised one lakh in cash. Another reliable gentleman promised Rs.30,000 grant annual income. Small sums have also been promised. It was difficult to estimate the total amount. The Amrit Bazar Patrika, 17 November 1905.

Parents for the sake of their children's future hesitated to send them to schools, colleges and universities which were not recognized by the government.
while the national sentiment is faint provincial feeling and provincial jealousy are paramount. From this provincial feeling and jealousy, a strong anti-Bengali attitude was created in the Northern India.

Mrs Besant observed the manifestation of this spirit in the college itself, in the managing committee and among the teachers and the students. Mrs Besant said: "It is the eternal Bengali and up-country feeling". The resentment against the Bengali in northern India was due to their success in the learned professions and even on the official appointments. The north Indians always complained that the Bengalis were enjoying more than their due share. This intellectual superiority of Bengalis was reacted by the ambitious group of North Indians. Among them

95 Indian People, 13 September 1908.

96 Mrs Besant wrote in the Central Hindu College Magazine August 1908 quoted in Indian People, 13 September 1908.

97 A correspondent writing to the Aligarh Institute Gazette, of the 23 September complained that most of the teachers in the schools in these provinces were Bengalis. NNWR, 1908, p. 838. N.A.I.

98 Mrs Besant's observation quoted in Indian People, 13 September 1908.

99 Bengal's intellectual activities were carefully watched by the other provinces. The Nasim-i-Agra, 7 February 1907 commends that the action of the Bengalis who were taking steps to start their own institutions with a view to make education national would be adopted all over India, so as to make the people self-supporting. NNWR (NWP), January-June 1907, p. 172. N.A.I.

100 In southern India and on the west there is no anti-Bengali feeling, because the Bengalis are not in evidence there like in northern India but there is intense caste jealousy, Indian People, 13 September 1908.
there were "men who talk glibly of national unity and the need
for sinking all differences at the national Congress are confirmed
and inveterate anti-Bengalis at heart." F.C.R. Robinson rightly
observed: "Politicians in the United Provinces disliked and dis-
trusted the Bengalis, who were prominent in Congress,..."
Malaviya was one of them.

His keen sense of provincialism also revealed itself in a
number of instances. First, in the proposed first industrial
conference Malaviya favoured the name of the Maharaja of Gaekwar
as President instead of C.Y. Chintamani and Ganga Prasad's pre-
ference to Mr R.C. Dutt. Next the suggestion of Babu Kali
Charan Banerjee's name or Dr Rash Behari Ghosh's name was not
favoured or even seconded in the election for the Presidentship
in 20 August 1906. The third example was regarding the

101 Indian People, 13 September 1908.
102 F.C.R. Robinson, "Consultation and Control the United
Provinces' Government and Its Allies, 1860-1906",  
103 C.Y. Chintamani to Gokhale dated 27 August 1905.  
Gokhale Papers, File No. 108. N.A.I.
104 C.Y. Chintamani suggested to Gokhale the name of Babu
Kali Charan in a very confidential letter dated 2 August
1905. Mr Malaviya and Ganga Prasad did not like that
he should hold communication with any one on such a
subject. Gokhale Papers, File No. 108. N.A.I.
105 In this respect Malaviya was not much of an exception.
A general anti-Bengali feeling persisted at that time
which was expressed by C.Y. Chintamani to Gokhale that
there was not much chance of Babu Kali Charan Banerjee's
or any other Bengali's election. His apprehension proved
correct when in the meeting held on 20 August 1905, the
proposal of Rash Behari Ghosh as the President was raised,
there was not even a person to second it. C.Y. Chintam-
mani to Gokhale, 27 August 1905, Ibid.
appointment of a new principal of the Central Hindu College due to the resignation of Mr Arundale. It was true that when Pandit Sunderlal, Maharaja of Darbhanga and some others were in favour of appointing an European Principal, Dr Bhagwan Das and Govinda Das endeavoured to appoint an Indian Principal. Apparently, Malaviya supported them but at the same time, the governing body with Malaviya's strong influence "was averse to the appointment of a Bengali and a proposal to appoint Mr Chakravarti also met with little support". Malaviya rejected Dr P.C. Roy's name on the ground of his ill health.

Another example of Malaviya's provincialism and opportunistic, unjustified attitude was revealed when he insisted on Pandit Sundar Lal to contest against Shri Charu Chandra Mitra. Over

106 See Annie Besant Chapter.

107 Personally Malaviya was not completely against the appointment of an European Principal. Malaviya wrote "We desired to find an Indian scholar for the post". He wrote to R.P. Paranjpyee dated 30. IV. 17. "We are discussing now whether we should not ask Dr Harold Mann to take up the principalship of the college of science. I hear that Dr Mann is getting Rs.1,500/- at present. Is that so? R.P. Paranjpyee Private Papers, File No. M-12 NMMML.


109 Malaviya wrote in a confidential letter to R.P. Paranjpyee dated 30. IV. 17 (Sic) "Dr P.C. Roy is not in robust health". R.P. Paranjpyee Private Papers, File No. M-12, N.M.M.L.

110 A famous lawyer of Allahabad. He was trusted both by the Indians and by the British Government. Later he became the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University.
this issue many of Malaviyaji's friends and associates were very much annoyed at his move. Along with others Pandit Bal Krishna Bhatta, the editor of the Hindi Pradeep criticized Malaviyaji's stand. It is said, he rebuked and asked him:

Why Madan Mohan? What has happened to you? What has Pandit Sundarlal done for the good of the people? He has never taken part in any activity conducive to the welfare of the people. Why do you support him then and canvass to get him returned to the council? Why do you oppose Charu Babu who has dedicated his whole life to the service of the people and who is your great well-wisher also? Why do you work against him? Why don't you try for yourself? (111)

Malaviyaji replied "Time is not ripe for me to contest the elections for the Council". This incident flashed two-fold motives of Pandit Malaviya. In the first place, his anti-Bengali feeling and secondly his strong sensitiveness to receive public feedback i.e. to judge the reaction of the people. He was not quite sure about his success in the election. So he worked vigorously to elect his own candidate who was a man of Allahabad, even he was not so worthy, and thus prepared his own ground for the future.

Malaviya's sense of provincialism was further nourished by the "Boycott movement". One of the reasons, which made him averse to it was that the movement was backed mainly by the Bengali population at Allahabad, among the non-students C.Y.


112 Ibid., p. 119.
Chintamani wrote to Gokhale, "I do not yet know a single non-Bengali who sympathizes with the New Party. Among the Bengalis were a few, I think, there are, on whose support the students rely". In the Boycott movement Malaviya severely expressed his anti-Bengali attitude. He admitted that the circumstances in which Bengal was placed, boycott was legitimate and it was very natural to react for the people of that province and talk of boycott movement. But only for Bengal Malaviya was not prepared to involve the country as a whole. He admitted Bengal's justification to move the boycott movement in the twenty-second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1906. He said "We again and again clearly express our view that under the circumstances in which Bengal was placed, boycott was and is legitimate".

But he was not prepared to go further as he hoped that "time will never arrive, when other provinces will be driven to the necessity of extending the boycott". So he proposed that the "Country as a whole will repudiate the sentiment". Even he was prepared for a breach - a division, in order to dissociate others from the "noisy Bengal boycott movement". Being a man, who followed Dharma strictly in his private life, and knowing

113 From C.Y. Chintamani to Gokhale, 15 March 1907. Gokhale Papers, File No. 108. N.A.I.
114 Speeches of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 575-6.
115 Ibid.
116 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
118 Gopal Krishna Gokhale remarked Perhaps none can beat Malaviyaji in his tenderness of heart and feelings. He never turned any body disappointed from his door whatever may follow. Sitaram Chaturvedi, Ibid., p. 111.
fully well that to help and support those who were in danger and distress was a Dharma - his sense of justice and voice for the right cause choked when the Bengalis suffered and were humiliated at the hands of the repressive ruler. His sense of provincialism disappointed the people of Bengal. He failed to extend his heart in a greater aspect and proved himself a man of contradictions. Malaviya's provincialism was mingled with an undaunted optimism. It is said that he was very fond of quoting the Sanskrit verse which means Arjuna had taken two pledges - never to be meek and submissive - and never to withdraw from the battlefield. In the political battlefield he did not submit to the Bengal boycott movement. It made him so much antagonistic that in order to counteract Mr Bipin Chandra Pal's meeting at Allahabad at 5.00 P.M., he invited another counter-meeting almost at the same time at 5.30 P.M.

The people of Bengal in general also reciprocated the feeling and could not consider Malaviyaji as their well-wisher or a person who honoured their sentiment. It was proved when a Hindu-Muslim-Sikh conference was scheduled to be held at Allahabad

119 Once his eldest son Rama Kant came to him sobbing and complained that one of his friends had snatched his ball. He at once rebuked him for having come without taking his ball back. Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 121.

120 Ibid.

121 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 4 February 1907. The Amrita Bazar Patrika reported that attempts were made to hold a joint meeting, but failed. It also reported that "Allahabad is now a scene of the triumph of Swadeshism and boycott".
at 2.00 P.M. on 1 November. Malaviya requested a Bengali Hindu leader to join the meeting on both the dates and wanted to know who else should be invited from Bengal. The referred leader of Bengal cabled back us as follows:

Dates unsuitable for Bengal owing to previous engagements and court opening. Most suitable dates are preliminary fifth, open session sixth and seventh. (123)

Afterwards in a letter the gentlemen explained the whole circumstances to Malaviyaji which revealed the truth behind. He wrote:

The general feeling amongst the Hindu Bengalee friends here is that Bengalee Hindus are always being ignored and that the Bengali Hindu leaders with regard to these matters of all India importance and that the dates for these conferences are fixed without looking the convenience of Hindu Bengal and unconsciously the presence of Bengal has been avoided. Hindu Bengalee friends very strongly feel that in spite of the provincial Hindu conference at Malda, the date of the Poona conference was so fixed that it clashed with the Malda conference and indirectly all the opportunities of attending that conference were snatched away from Bengal and injustice was done to the Hindus of Bengal where the depressed class problem is particularly non-existent - taking advantage of the Hindus of Bengal and the question of untouchables, which was one of the most vital Hindu questions, was settled without consulting Bengal leaders. Bengal was not consulted about the dates and the dates were thrust on them which were most unsuitable and as a result none of them could attend that conference. (124)

The fact that after the Poona conference, the conference at Allahabad was invited again without consulting them shocked all the Hindu friends of Bengal and they point blank refused to attend.

122 The letter in which Malaviya was accused by the Bengalee Hindu leader was unsigned. B.S. Moonje Collections (Malaviya). N.M.M.L.

123 Ibid.

124 Ibid.
such conference where matters were likely to be settled not by mutual consent but by overpowering the true feelings. The Bengali Hindus preferred to keep away from this sort of all India politics. Under Pandit Malaviya's presidency - these two repeated incidents one at Poona and the other at Allahabad, at least focusses the truth that Malaviya either ignored the sentiment of the people of Bengal out of his provincial superiority or inferiority complex. As a leader and as the President he failed to create the congenial atmosphere among the Hindus irrespective of provinces. In the conference at Allahabad Bengal and Punjab were vitally interested and to fix the final dates of the meetings without consulting the Bengal Hindu leaders was nothing but to keep Bengal suppressed under the influence of other provinces - specially the United Provinces which had been regarded by the Lieutenant Governor Sir James Meston "the seat of an advanced political movement the most active and well organized outside Bombay". Provincial feeling was sore at provincial disgrace. This spirit of provincialism persisted in Pandit Malaviya to a very advanced age when according to Varnagram Dharma, which he strongly supported, one should lead a life of sanyasi

125 B.S. Moonje Papers (Malaviya). N.M.M.L.
126 Ibid.
with the ultimate desire to achieve Moksha. 

So it was very natural that the instinct of provincialism had a marvellous role in founding the Hindu University at Banaras, in the United Provinces, as a unique academic institution above all the existing universities of the country which would spread his name as a great educationist in the world of learning and intellects, as a religious teacher, as a champion of Hinduism and ultimately would pave the way to be a national leader. But another force silently and fiercely played behind the curtain, the impact of which tremendously contributed to the emergence of the denominational institution in the United Provinces. In the attempt of a foreign lady to establish a Hindu University in the same United Provinces who ultimately became the chief rival in fulfilling his latent dream to be a Kulapati, the commander of Hindu community and a great political leader in India.

III

CONFRONTATION WITH ANNIE BESANT

Malaviyaji's entrance in politics was welcomed by the then political world. The Indian national leaders found in him versatile talents and decided to utilize those for the cause of motherland. S.N. Banerjea wrote:

128 Malaviya did never wish it for himself (R.K. Malaviya, Jeevan Jhalkivan, p. 100). He violated the path laid down by Shastras or Gita's main preaching "Nirasakta Karma" or detached duty. So his claim "I am led by the apron strings of the Shastras" (S.L. Gupta, op. cit., p. 388) is not justified.
My memory goes back to the event of 1886 when my young friend first time spoke at a meeting of the Calcutta Congress. He was so young that he had to be lifted upon a chair in order that the audience have an opportunity of having a look at him. The audience was more charmed by the eloquence of the youthful orator than by his good looks and that speech, one of the very best that I have heard, made a deep impression upon the minds of the Congress gathering and pointed him out as one of the future leaders of the Congress movement. (129)

The study of law and joining to the Bar was at that time considered to be a necessary preliminary to be a successful political leader. Veteran politicians suggested study of law mainly for two reasons. First, the knowledge of law had an extra advantage to fight legally and constitutionally against the system of the British Raj. Secondly, to build up a band of young enthusiastic boys, independent of their professions, who would not hesitate to defy or deny the illegal acts and measures of the government without risking their bread.

It is said, Mr A.O. Hume, in the first session of the Congress, advised Malaviya to complete his education with the study of law. When he was an associate editor of the Indian Opinion he started the study of law. Malaviyaji's study of law was nothing but a preparation of a solid ground for a political career. With his keen intelligence and sharp memory, he soon took the LL.B degree and joined Allahabad bar in the year of 1893. His brilliancy and power of eloquence quickly distinguished

129 P.K. Malaviya Papers. N.A.I.
131 Indian Opinion was owned by Mahamahopadhyay A.R. Bhattacharya.
himself as a promising lawyer. Hence Hume advised - "Mr Madan Mohan! God has granted you keen intellect. If you work sincerely for ten years in this profession, you will surely beat all your contemporaries and then you will be better qualified to serve your people and country on account of the respect and name that you will have earned by then".

But ten years were too long to wait particularly for Malaviyaji when a new bright star had appeared and started shining in the sky of northern India. That star was Mrs Annie Besant. She plainly told the Indians:

Let not the conservative instinct of the ancient civilisation make you utterly close your eyes to the needs of the present, to the demands of future.... As India is lying today...is prone to the ground helpless degraded - nothing scarcely of its power, and little of its knowledge remain, strangled in the fetters of custom that have grown round her limbs through centuries - is she to lie there till her swoon passes into death, so that the light that India shall again give to the world shall be the light of her funeral pyre, the flame in which is perishing a dead civilisation? If India has still something of her ancient spirit of love, of patriotism, of devotion, then it is possible the change we long for may come. Choose you, the choice is yours and not mine. For me, as long as breath remains in me, I shall strive to help this land, the greatest of all the lands, in the past, in the future, if you will. (134)

132 It is said Malaviyaji was on the same rank with Pandit Sundarlal and Motilal Nehru. His earnings were Rs.8,000/- per month.


134 Quoted by Iqbal Narain Gurtu in "Mrs Annie Besant, Founder of the Central Hindu College", paper read on the golden jubilee of the Central Hindu College; Banaras Hindu University, 14 November 1952. Iqbal Narain Gurtu Papers, Speeches File No. XII. Private and Manuscript Section. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (NMML), New Delhi.
Mrs Besant's thoughts, speeches and activities made the people of India spell bound.

But the conservative group of Hindus could not welcome her and found a powerful competitor in their fields of religion, social customs, political and educational mission. Malaviya was the head of that orthodox group in the north Indian Hindu religious world but masked as a progressive Hindu leader in the political arena. He could not remain silent with the advent of the new wave created by Mrs Besant and left Bar in spite of Hume's advice to serve the people and the country better. No doubt "he had the ball at his feet but he refused to kick it", owing to materialisation of a much more ambitious project which would turn him as a renowned man not only in a particular and specialized field of law but a glorious name in the pages of history. Praising his sacrifice Gopal Krishna Gokhale once very humbly said:

Why do you call me a great sacrificer? ... I was born in a poor family and became a teacher. From teachershhip, I rose to my present status. The sacrifice is that of Panditji. He was born in poverty and from poverty rose to the position

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135 Mr V.S. Srinivasa Sastri wrote to Vaman Rao in a private letter, 5 June 1924, "Mrs B. (Sic) is simply wonderful." Srinivasa Sastri Papers, N.A.I.

136 Malaviya's efficiency in and his reluctance to continue legal career was admired by the Judges of the Allahabad High Court. His wonderful efficiency again was proved in 1922 when he pleaded in defence of the culprits of the 'Chauri Chaura' incident. The Chief Justice addressed in the court that the wonderful ability with which Malaviya pleaded the case had earned him the gratitude of all accused. He on behalf of himself and his colleagues congratulated him on arguing out this case, in such a brilliant manner. He said that nobody else could have presented this case better than by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. No better laurels can a lawyer aspire for in his legal career than this.
of an eminent lawyer earning thousands of rupees per month. He tasted richness and when the call came to him from within to serve his motherland he sacrificed his all and again converted to poverty. His is the sacrifice, the real sacrifice, not mine. (137)

Gokhale was right. Malaviya sacrificed a lot for the motherland no doubt but it was more a diplomatic design in the theatre of politics to prevail upon the masses by a spectacular stunt to fulfil the ambition of his life and counteract the popularity of a powerful rival like Mrs Besant, an infidel, in his eyes.

Mrs Besant and her Theosophy was looked down upon by the orthodox Hindus as a great threat to Hinduism. Though to them Christianity was also another powerful rival religion but they considered Theosophy as the immediate, direct camouflaged enemy disguised as their friends. To the orthodox Hindus, Christianity came in avowedly as a foreign and aggressive opponent. Theosophy on the other hand, at first came as a professed supporter and advocate of our Hindu religious and social system. But in practice it promulgated a so-called esoteric religion which stood in polar opposition to most of the essential tenets of Hinduism, and it also allied himself with or advocated destructive social reform movements. To them Theosophy was nothing but a hodge-podge:

a curious mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity and science. The witches cauldron in Macbeth had fewer ingredients in it than those which seem to be boiling in the cauldron of theosophy. The Egyptian crocodile, the

137 Quoted in Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 2.
Assyrian bull, the Hindu monkey, the Christian dove, the owl of Minerva and the rat of Ganesh-Daityas of Hindu religion and the cyclopes of Homer - the Hindu Rishi, the Christian saint, the Buddhist hermit, the naturalist - Darwin. The imposter Cagliostro, the band of Huxley, the leg of Tyndall, the entrails of Swedenborg, all these curiosities and delicacies are being boiled together to serve as a grand dish for those whose spiritual palate likes variety....(139)

But optimistic orthodox Hindu group at the same time observed in the context of religious and social confusion that "Hinduism is nothing to fear from the emergence into transient prominence of the waves of protestantism. Whatever their volume and force". They expressed their undaunted attitude when they declared: "Fierce waves raised by stormy winds clash themselves in vain against the unyielding shore. The whitening forth and foam make a great impression and form a great attraction. But soon the perturbed and tumbling ocean or lake resumes its normal calm...." The optimistic orthodox Hindu group thought that the advent of Theosophy was like a meteor. They were perturbed no doubt but did not consider Theosophy as a great permanent

139 Bishan Narain Darja staunch supporter of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who referred Malaviya as a most esteemed friend of his with whom he had the privilege to work for country's cause for more than twenty years. He wrote in an article entitled "Sings of the Time" 1894 quoted in Iqbal Narain Gurtu in a lecture "Mrs Besant and the Central Hindu College". Iqbal Narain Gurtu Papers (Speeches), File No. XII, NMML. Leader, 27 December 1909.


141 Ibid.
threat of Hinduism, as great as an enemy to be reckoned with. They held that in spite of much organized effort and the vast extent of its sources drawn from all quarters of the world, it had not secured many devoted, gifted or influential adherents.

But Malaviya's aspirant soul was not consoled. He deduced that Theosophy financed by men of alien faiths belonging to higher latitudes and possessing superior and sustained power of active aggression under the able guidance of Mrs Besant was playing the role of a peace-maker in the turbulent religious world. It admitted freely to its fellowship and to its platforms, men of every faith, soothing way their antagonism, creating mutual understanding, thus drawing them out of the atmosphere of controversy into the atmosphere of peace. Theosophy was a "saviour" to those liberal Hindus, who loved their religion but could not follow its every rigid principles. At the same time they did not like to be a prey to the alien faith which as a conquering political power tried to impose itself on subject races alienating them from their ancestral creeds, ruining domestic life, stirring up antagonism between parents and children.

Theosophy allowed readmission to caste, laboured for the raising


144 Ibid.

145 Malaviya ultimately in a later period motivated by the political interest worked for the shuddhi movement or readmission to caste.
of marriageable age, promoted inter-marriage and inter-dining among sub-castes of the same caste. Such despotism of Theosophy in the helm of Hindu religious and social customs could not be tolerated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a descendent of a staunch orthodox, Panch gour Brahmin family, who was by common consent the head of the orthodox community in northern India.

The Malaviya family nourished a strong pride of birth and such were the blind convictions of their purity of blood that they did not consider other Brahmins as equal to themselves. They had an interesting history which proved how mighty was their vanity of birth. The Malaviya family originally lived near Ujjain in the Malwa region of Central India. Some four hundred years back they left their original Homeland as a protest against the order of the local chief to dine together along with another section of the Brahmins called the Panch Dravida whom the Panch Gours considered as lower than themselves. Their pride of ancestry was so much so that inter-dining and inter-marriage were strictly prohibited. Allahabad was the stronghold of this community consisted of two hundred families or so. Owing to

146 Lajpat Rai, Unhappy India, p. 520.

147 According to Puran Bhagwan Sri Krishna's "Shiksha Guru" (academic teacher) Maharshi Sandipani was of Malawite and his Ashrama was at Avanti. Dronacharya, the teacher of Pandavas and Kauravas also belonged to that caste. Moreover, when Yudhisthira performed the Yagna the post of Acharya was offered to the Malaviyas and as a reward they earned property and were settled at Kashmir. P.K. Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.

148 S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; A Socio-Political Study, p. 1.

149 Ibid.
their limited number, the Malaviyas had to confine themselves for the choice of matches, for their sons and daughters within these 200 families. The result was that large number of marriages sometimes took place within the same Gotra and Pindas which were strictly forbidden by Manu and other shastras. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the worthy successor of the Panch-Gour family who also followed the rules and restrictions of their family tradition and customs to the letter. He also associated himself with the Brahmin dominated society. His western education could not deviate him an inch from the so-called superstitious rites. In this respect Pandit Malaviya neither followed shastras nor the rules of eugenics but followed the legacy of his proud Malaviya family. Those who deviated were severely punished by him being the head of the orthodox Malaviya community. The famous Malaviya caste case in Munsiff's court at Allahabad was the highest proof of his strong orthodoxy and narrow, sectarian, cruel, crude, unsympathetic and superstitious mind. In this context Laxmi Kant Bhatt, who was excommunicated by Malaviyajee for the offence of violating the rules of marriage wrote

160 Malaviya once said: "If we were to go back to Manu's system, that would be a wonderful thing. But I would take what Manu has given us and what modern science has given us. I would combine both". Royal Commission on Agriculture in India 1927. Evidence RCA, VI, 716, Q.No. 39853 quoted in S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, p. 338. But here he followed none. According to Manu this type of marriage within the gotra and pindas are strictly forbidden. Science also decries it.

151 Ibid. In this case Pandit Satyanarain, Malaviya was the complainant against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who excommunicated the former for his alleged offence of having dined with Laxmi Kant Bhatt, who violated the marriage rule of the Malaviya community.
an open letter to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. There he narrated the incident which led to the Malaviya caste case.

Laxmi Kant Bhatt's first daughter was married to Govind Malaviya, the youngest son of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Owing to poverty and limited scope of choice for match in the Malaviya community, his second daughter was married to Pandit Ram Chandra Kukreti B.A., Bar at Law of Dehradun. At the instigation of Pandit Malaviya, Laxmi Kant Bhatt was declared a 'pariah' and all social connections were cut off. When Laxmi Kant's mother was on her death bed, a 'fatwa' was issued in the house of Pandit Malaviya that any member of the community joining the funeral ceremony would be taken as an ex-communicated one from the so-called pious community! Malaviya's daughter-in-law, the daughter of Laxmi Kant was not allowed to have a last look at the dying mother. In the same open letter, Laxmi Kant wrote: "I cannot have the impertinence of challenging Pandit Malaviyaji but I would request him and his henchmen with humility to contradict if I have any misstatements here".

But Malaviyaji did not contradict the allegations. It means that those allegations were not baseless. The matter did not end there. This open letter created a sensation among the people and the press. Suddenly a news in the Bengalee shocked

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153 Ibid.

154 Bengalee, 19 August 1927.
a large number of people. In the news Laxmi Kant Bhatt contra-
dicted the spirit and statements made by him in his "open letter"
to Malaviya. But the press did not, as usual, leave the matter.
By enquiring it Kesawa Rao revealed and reported that L.K.
Bhatta was repeatedly threatened by his son-in-law. Pandit
Govind Kant Malaviya and his daughter that if he had not unreser-
vedly withdrawn his allegations against Malavijee, both of them
would commit suicide. Ultimately Laxmi Kant Bhatta had no
other alternative but to yield to the sentimental force of love
to his daughter and signed upon whatever was dictated by his son-
in-law, Govind Malaviya.

The reporter expressed his surprise and wrote: "Under
these circumstances the public can judge what value is to be
attached to this Free Press report".

155 In the vagaries of Free Press titled "Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya's cowardly move", M.R. Jayakar Papers, File
No. 406. N.A.I.

156 The news reported that it seems Pandit Govind Malaviya
had sent telegram and registered letters requesting
Laxmi Kantjee to save the prestige of Pandit Malaviya.
Afterwards, Laxmi Kant was invited to Banaras specially
for the purpose and he was told by his son-in-law "Look
here, you don't realise how much influence my father and
myself have got in the country. The Free Press and the
associated press are always in our hands and if I choose
to damn you at all, my contradictions will be scattered
through the country in a day". But Laxmi Kant was in-
corrigible and so Pandit Govind Malaviya had to try
other questionable methods. He silently hurried down to
Calcutta and tried to influence his mother-in-law with
emotions and sentiments. It is said, "that Govind Malavi-
yea brought a letter of his wife to the same effect
which melted the heart of the poor outcaste lady (Laxmi
Kant's wife) when Mr Bhatt came home the story was
repeated which prevailed upon him. Ibid.

157 Ibid.
This incident unveiled the narrow orthodox nature of Malaviyaji. For the sin of having married a daughter to another high caste Brahmin he excommunicated him and others who dined with the former. Such a venomous relationship with the relatives and unjust treatment at the hands of a great leader of Hindu community and such detestable tactics could not be explained other than his superstitious and dogmatic orthodoxy. It is a sheer irony that the same person indulged in the above acts at the same time when he was the hero of the Hindu Sangathan movement, and the champion of Shuddi movement in his public life!

Professor S.L. Gupta observed that: "Malaviya was definitely opposed to inter-caste and inter-religious marriages because these were contrary to the shastras. Such marriages were not regarded respectable by the great bulk of the Hindu community..." Again he remarked that "Malaviya maintained that marriages between sub-sections of the same caste and between members of the same caste residing in different provinces had scriptural sanction". He also held that "It would be a great step

158 Other than Satyanarain Malaviya, Kapil Deva Malaviya, who went to jail for his patriotic work during non-cooperation movement and was a zealous public worker of Allahabad, was also excommunicated by him. M.R. Jayakar Papers, File No. 406. N.A.I.

160 Malaviya opposed B.N. Basu's special marriage bill, H.S. Gour's special marriage bill in 1925. He also opposed the Hindu marriage and succession bill, 1944. S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, p. 393.

161 Ibid.

towards social integration if for instance, all the Brahmins or all the Harijans of India could form one homogeneous social unit...viewed from this angle, Malaviya's proposals, though seemingly conservative were really radical in nature. But Professor S.L. Gupta's dissertation is not corroborated with facts. Presumably he overlooked the Malaviya caste case and "an open letter to Malaviyaji" by Laxmi Kant Bhatt, where Pandit Malaviya violated the Shastric sanction by Manu which prohibited marriages among the same gotra, and where Malaviya himself punished for the so-called offence for a marriage within the sub-caste of the same Brahmana caste.

Another important incident, which could be cited as an example of his religious bigotry was revealed when in the twenty-sixth session of the Indian National Congress held at Motilal Nehru's house. On Pandit Motilal Nehru's suggestion Sarala Chandhrani set a few vedic verses to music and trained a group of little children including Vijayalaxmi Pandit, for a performance on the opening day. After the children had practised for a week, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya prohibited the recitation

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164 S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, p. 393.

165 Malaviya caste case. See before.

166 Those vedic Mantras only deal with the benefit of union and co-operation. Motilal Nehru to Jawaharlal Nehru, 23 December 1910. Motilal Nehru Papers. NMML.

167 The 'Bande Mataram' song had so far been sung, Ibid.
on the ground that to chant the Vedic Mantras in the hearing of non-Hindus was a sacrilege. Motilal wrote to his son, Jawaharlal Nehru "...these are our Congress leaders. I am disgusted and had it not been for the fact that my action will be misinterpreted, I would have chucked the Congress. As it is I take lukewarm interest in it...." His Hindu orthodoxy persisted until his death. Even a mention of a violation of the religious issues which he could not compromise even for the sake of politics, sometimes made him sick, as related by Diwan Chand. In the twenties of the present century in a Hindu-Muslim unity conference held at Simla under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah Malaviyaji and Diwan Chand represented the Hindus from the United Provinces.

When Abul Kalam Azad, started saying:

You, Hindu workers in the national cause, are lucky; you have to deal with educated people, with a patriotic sense. We are in different position; we have to deal with ignorant masses, steeped in prejudices. Help us out of this difficulty; give us for one year only, the assurance that the Hindus have no objection to cow killing by Muslims, and I shall lead a Hindu procession with music before the Badshai Mosque at Delhi.

Malaviyaji was on the point of collapse. He never thought that the unity issue of Hindu-Muslim was greater than cow killing.

168 B.R. Nanda, Motilal Nehru, p. 69.
169 Motilal Nehru to Jawaharlal Nehru, 23 December 1910. Motilal Nehru Papers. NMML.
Another incident narrated by M.R. Jayakar also proved how rigid he was in matters of personal behaviour. How he differed from one person to other. How conservative he was in following the traditional customs of the Brahmins. Jayakar wrote that once Malaviya came to see him in Bombay about mid-day. Their conversation continued till after dinner and the author offered him fruit, milk and water, none of which he would take. When he begged of Pandit Malaviya to accept some food hesitatingly the latter mentioned that he would take only a raw coconut. It was then past mid-night and it was only with difficulty it could be had at that late hour. When it was procured, he insisted on opening it himself with a clasp knife which had to be washed clean in his presence. He drank the water not in a cup or glass, but from out of the coconut leaving the kernel untouched.

Once Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur asked Malaviyaji about his orthodoxy. She asked him why, when he was so liberal-minded, in everything else, he could not get over this self-imposed disability. But Malaviya could not reply or argue his point of view. Probably, he himself did not know any satisfactory explanation about his contradictory character. Scott rightly analyzed "Long established community pattern, with their consequent habit complexes, have enmeshed the members of the community so completely that they are unable to change, resent and resist it

Malaviya was a conservative who insisted upon preserving the established family tradition even at the cost of other's sufferings only in personal sphere. Obviously in the arena of politics while projecting his image to the masses he could ill-afford to present to the nation his real nature as revealed through the earlier analysis of certain facts of his life. Motivated by the political interest and guided by his high self-ambition he went on preaching liberalism from the roof top but the deep-root of dogmatic conservatism compelled him to practise so.

It is said that moral virtues should be practised rather than preached. It is also true that all sane men think before they act, that their outward life is only an expression of their inner thoughts, and that people often do wrong because they knew no better. (175)

But Malaviya was a man who preached but did not practise accordingly. It appears that the eternal truth thus pronounced in the Upanishads: Om bung mey manasi pratisthita, mano mey bachipratisthitam (Let my words dwell in my mind and my mind may dwell in my words) was not revealed through Malaviyaji's life.

Thus it was very natural and automatic for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, an orthodox Hindu Brahmin, to counteract the emergence of Theosophy in the Hindu religious and social life with their alien background, contradicting the orthodox rituals

173 Scott Rearing, Freedom, Promise and Menace, p. 11.
174 Malaviya caste case.
175 Hindustan Review, vol. XII, 1 July 1905, p. 11.
with the principles of toleration and liberalism. But he was much more apprehensive of Mrs Besant's extraordinary personality which imbibed in her spirit a would-be religious teacher, a social reformer and a political leader of India. He knew very well that Mrs Besant was a lady who was able to command the services of a succession of men who could bring to their task the bounding energy, the bubbling enthusiasm, and the obstinate perseverance characteristic of races.

Other than Hindu Orthodoxy, the growing popularity of the Central Hindu College and Mrs Besant's fame as a great educationist had enough reasons for Pandit Malaviya to be cautioned and take steps against it. The Hindu dominated Muir Central College, where he was an ex-alumnus, was lagging behind the Central Hindu College an institution principally led by the Theosophy. He expressed his frustration when he said:

...when the Muir Central College was established, it was intended that it should be the most important centre of education in these provinces. The Education Commission recommended that it should be kept up as a model institution and that it should be the focus of the learning of the whole provinces..., but the College have never received that measure of support from Government which it should have received as the Principal State College in these provinces.... (178)

176 Hindu, 30 September 1910. P. Kesava Pillai Papers (press clippings), File No. 2. NMML.

177 In a speech at a meeting of the Allahabad Legislative Council held in April 1904 under the Presidentship of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, Sir James John Digges La Touche.

Moreover, the scheme of the beginning of a Teaching University by endowing a few chairs at the seat of the Allahabad University had been given up because the money had not been forthcoming. It was one of an unqualified failures. In that context of frustration Mrs Besant's 'mightiest' plan of starting a Hindu University at Banaras, out of the Central Hindu College was announced.

Malaviya was convinced that to wait for an indefinite period and also uncertain royal patronage for a teaching university at Allahabad would only provide better scope for Mrs Besant's scheme to be flourished and that would strengthen her supremacy as a religious teacher, a chief of the Hindu community and ultimately a political leader. His change of attaining his passionate dream was appearing dim or utterly confused. This inner sense of jealousy and rivalry between the orthodox Hindus vs. Theosophists made him prompt. And so in the beginning of 1904 he unfurled his design for a Hindu University. If there was a genuine feeling for a Hindu University without craving for the government assistance, the two giant educationists could have discussed and joined hands from the very beginning, because both of them had a

180 In order to make it a popular institution and to attract students from all the provinces the College also opened the Department of Law. Moreover, Malaviya founded the Hindu Boarding House under the name of the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces Sir Antony MacDonnell as "The MacDonnell University Hindu Boarding House".
181 At Bombay on 9 March 1903 in a meeting for details see Annie Besant Chapter.
strong resemblance in their attitudes, ideals, principles, methods and speeches.

Both of them were deeply religious and a devout worshipper of God in their childhood. Both of them were frustrated in their academic life. Both of them ultimately looked upon the spiritual values of life as the true source of energy. Both of them thought that

When India's spiritual impulse weakened she had to pay the penalty of a rapid decay in creative intelligence which finally resulted in the decline of material prosperity and the loss of her political freedom. (183)

Both of them followed the same method of spiritual awakening by making religion an integral part of education. Both of them appealed to history for justification and self-confidence of the Nation. Both of them said (though in different language):

Look at old India...was India less well ruled in the days when her kings were profoundly religious or is it not true that those days were her days of glory, and that as spirituality slowly declined the decay spread through all the departments of life?... As spirituality decayed intellect followed suit. The great literature of the land belongs to the days when she was profoundly spiritual and religious. Then her intellect was creative, her intelligence was

182 Mrs Besant could not get her science degree due to her revolutionary ideas and activities. Pandit Malaviya also had to give up his M.A. studies, which he promised to his father, due to financial stringency. As he failed to keep the promise Malaviya did not accept any degree or honour, not even the Ph.D. Degree offered to him by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Mahamana Malaviyaji Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, pp. 86-87; S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, pp.31-32,f.n.no.13

183 Iqbal Narain Gurtu - in a speech on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee. Iqbal Narain Gurtu Papers, NNML.
original, for religion nourishes intelligence and illuminates it as things of the earth can never do.... Take her material prosperity. As intelligence declined with spirituality material prosperity also decayed...for religion lies at the root of all...when you give up religious ideals you become small, you become vulgar as well as selfish. (184)

As a wise and practical gardener both of them went to the root of the matter and emphasized on the building of character to make men religious, moral, intellectual to make the Nation worthy of being great. Both of them emphasized on moral, religious and physical training along with secular education; utilized historical past to regenerate and revibrate the nation. Both of them were great champions of Hinduism and basically believed Brahmanical supremacy and admitted the utility of *Barnasram Dharma* and the divinity of *Veda*. Both of them believed in *karma* and rebirth.

In their political views both of them were very loyal towards the British King Emperor, and advocated for Dominion Status of India under the British Imperialism and did not want complete severance from the empire. Both of them were moderate in their views and

184 Mrs Besant delivered a speech at Madras on "The value of Theosophy in the raising of India", quoted in *Indian Opinion*, 3 March 1904, MCFR 1. NMML.

This speech of Mrs Besant can be compared with Pandit Malaviya's first prospectus of the Banaras Hindu University where he explained the causes of decay of Hinduism. The inner philosophy of these two were the same.

185 Pandit Malaviya was in favour of withdrawing opposition to prince's welcome. Mrs Besant also welcomed the prince in the Central Hindu College, in the face of strong opposition.

186 Malaviyaji said: "We would be proud to continue the present connection with England for all the time to come..." *Motilal Nehru, The Voice of Freedom*, pp. 217-18.
action and decried students' participation in politics. Both of
them wanted to proceed towards the goal of political liberation
and all round regeneration through constitutional reforms and
condemned extremism. Both had a compassionate bent of mind and
a silver tongue with golden voice, which could impress the public
along with their techniques of persuasion.

Working at the same socio-economic-political and religious
context of the same region with their apparently same goals, same
drives, and techniques, knowing each other very well, there could
have been an excellent coordination between the two. But unfor-
tunately it had not happened so. As Bertrand Russell has
observed: "Men who have the habit of authority are peculiarly
unfit for friendly negotiation". There was no proper inter-
action between the two because their real intention, motivation
and aims did not mesh together in a synchronized and coordinated
manner. They did not reciprocate their inner most secrets, their
deepest beliefs or their highest aspirations to each other. They
never became close to each other as Mrs Besant's friendship was
not rewarding for Malaviya. Malaviya weighed the rewards of
friendship in the scale of economic bargain and found she could
not satisfy the needs of Malaviya in fulfilling his ambitions in
life. He knew that with his less attractive personality traits
and social activities he could not influence and extract rewards
from Mrs Besant by dominating her. On the contrary, if there
were a 'joint venture', there was a possibility for him to be

p. 63.
forced to accept the rather unsatisfactory terms offered by her. Moreover his orthodox group would shun him and refuse to accept him as their leader. He was not ready to sacrifice something for uncertainty. He was accepted at least as the leader of the orthodox community which he did not want to lose. So a friendship or close communication did not develop between the two. Though Malaviya was not openly aggressive or hostile towards Mrs Besant, undoubtedly he was cold. He never protested against any planned malign activities or criticisms towards her. Probably, none of them could attract each other or clicked as they were of same personality traits which was of more dominant nature than submissive. What distinguished Malaviya from Mrs Besant was her varied experiences through the thorns of life and an ever inquisitive mind with an unsatiated soul questioning and challenging anything and everything to know the ultimate truth. In the quest of truth, she was flexible no doubt. She sailed from one harbour to another rapidly changing her faiths, views and convictions only to achieve perfection. Her singleness of purpose was

188 But Malaviya once strongly supported Mrs Besant against his political rival Pandit Motilal Nehru.

189 The *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 2 January 1905, reported that a meeting was held at Banaras in the Town Hall with the object of exposing Mrs Besant and the doctrine of Theosophy, Mr Raja Ram and Pandit Kedar Nath (whom Malaviya knew very well) were the lecturers. Some hard things were said about her which greatly vexed the audience who lost self-control. Malaviya could have protested at least later on. But he did not.

190 There is one hypothesis that opposites attract each other.
beyond any doubt.

Iqbal Narain rightly observed:

...the experiences that she had gained during those 20 years in England in the different fields of activity, served as a wonderful preparation for her great and monumental work that she was to do in India in the next 40 years. The phase of materialism and atheism that she went through, gave her an almost intuitive insight into the psychology of large majority of Indians brought up on western literature and culture, and influenced by the then aggressive attitude of western scientists towards Religion, and who were almost completely ignorant of their own literature, philosophy and culture. Her struggle for free thought and the part that she took in Irish Home Rule agitation had prepared her for the remarkable work that she was destined to do in the field of Indian politics and for National Freedom from foreign imperial yoke. Her study of socialism gave her a keen insight into social and economic problems that were soon to arise in India in the wake of freedom and the spread of democracy. And the last, namely, her study of Theosophy, inspired her with a fresh attack on the mystery of life and placed in her hands the master key which enabled her to offer, both to the East and the West, useful practical suggestions for the solution of their problems.(191)

Like most of the politicians Mrs Besant had not two faces - superficial and real. Whatever she preached - she followed. Her theory and practice were intermingled with each other. She firmly grasped the truth that all the people share a common life and are rooted in that life. To her, a living and vital sense of Brotherhood was but a natural expression of the realisation of His law of common life. It is this realisation which attempted to found the "Indian University" in the then political context of the country. She realized the basic

191 Iqbal Narain Gurku Papers, File No. XII. NMML.
192 Ibid. Mrs Besant did not want to be a political leader. Her goal was to fulfil God's mission.
philosophy that in order to form a real brotherhood among mankind, one has to charge with that magnetism first which draws in all and repulses none. Mr Kalindi Prasad rightly observed that "Mrs Besant understood and realised the gist of philosophy so she tried to found a National University consisting of all important religions of the world. She wanted to sacrifice the favourite habit of cavilling and maligning each other in season and out of season, hatred, contempt, gnawing jealousy, innate prejudices, at the very threshold of the God of truth", She "unfurled the flag of universal love inviting men of every-creed and colour not for the purpose of preaching orthodoxy, not for the purpose of delivering eloquent speeches, but with the sole and stern object of appreciating and studying one another's religious literatures and by helping one another to realize the august truth that there is only one trumpet which blows life into all....

In her the supreme quality of love had created an urge for service and sacrifice. She had a large heart to appreciate others with an open mind. She praised the Arya Samaj and its


194 Iqbal Narain Gurtu in "Mrs Besant Founder of the Central Hindu College", Iqbal Narain Gurtu Papers, Speeches, File No. XII.

195 She wrote in an article entitled "Arya Samaj and its Educational Work": - "The peculiarity of the Arya Samaj schools for the depressed class is,...the readiness of the Samaj to admit members of these classes into full Hindu brotherhood...the work done is great, for the conversion of the 'untouchables' to Christianity is one of the serious perils which menace Indian society". The Leader, 22 March 1914, p. 8.
educational activities. She did not hesitate to congratulate the coming up of Anglo-vedic college and Gurukulas with ancient Hindu discipline. This large-heartedness was rare in Malaviya's character. He never appreciated the works of Theosophy or Arya Samaj in the same manner. Nor did he protest when a personality like Mrs Besant was insulted by his co-followers. Malaviya's ideals, principles, philosophy did not synchronize with his practices. These did not harp on the same strings and so the tune was not a perfect one. Malaviya was a man of contradictions. He was rigid but flexible, conservative but progressive, orthodox but modern, cruel but compassionate, narrow but broad minded.

196 See footnote no. 189.


198 Conservative in following the traditions etc. but progressive in speeches. For the sake of politics he violated the orthodox principle which prohibited sea voyage (crossing the black water and went to abroad in order to attend the Round Table Conference). Here he was flexible.

199 Orthodox in following rituals but modern in social and political reforms.

200 Cruel, when as chief of his community punished for violating the caste traditions e.g. 'Malaviya caste'. An interesting incident exemplifies his compassionate heart. Once he beheld a beggar woman lying in agony by the road side. She was suffering from bloody sores over her body. Malaviyaji had taken her to a hospital and walked all the way by the carriage that carried the beggar woman. Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 118.

201 Malaviya was narrow in his outlook regarding meals and marriages (inter-caste and inter-religious marriages, divorce, early marriage, widow marriage) and daughter's share in property of the father (Law of Inheritance Bill, 1929 and the Hindu Code Bill, 1946). He had a conservative outlook towards the women. An interesting incident (footnote contd.)
superstitious but rational, bigoted but tolerant in nature. He had a compartmental mind and attempted to keep the different colours of his self image in tact in different phases and different perspectives of life. Among the religious community he was a high caste, high brow, orthodox staunch Brahmin. In society he was a liberal Hindu, a progressive leader who was always crying on the issues of social reforms and was trying continuously

may be cited. Malaviyaji started a new magazine in which Nani's (Vijay Luxmi Pandit) picture driving the swans appeared. He had given it an imaginary name as "he thought it would be improper to publish the name of a girl".

Motilal Nehru to Jawaharlal Nehru, 23 December 1910. Motilal Nehru Papers, NMML.

But the same Malaviya was prepared to help them with training in the use of fire-arms. New India, 1 January 1923. Presidential Speech at the Gaya Hindu Mahasabha, 1922.

But at the same time regarding the woman's role in social upliftment he maintained "whose half the soul, half the brain and half the body remained in weak state was like a one legged man". Quoted in S.L. Gupta, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: A Socio-Political Study, p. 340.

Superstitious in following rituals regarding reading and listening scriptures like Vedas, and taking meals (he never took meals cooked by other than a member of his own family). He even did not drink a drop of water in the Assembly Hall or the Congress pandal. He strictly followed the calendar in fixing dates to set the most auspicious time for inauguration of a new venture.

At the same time he had a very rational approach towards untouchability, and when he attended a Hindi conference at the Vasant Panchami violating the proverb not to do any literary work on that day. Quoted in S.L. Gupta, Ibid., pp. 331-8.

He was bigoted regarding cow slaughter but tolerant when he says: "One should have staunch faith in his religion but he should not censure other religions; he must be indifferent to difference of opinions and bear friendship with all living beings". Quoted in Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 116.
to better the condition of his community. In politics he was a man who had no religion but humanity. He behaved differently through different organizations for dealing with religious questions 'Samajas' for dealing with social and educational questions - social conferences and for dealing with political questions political organizations.

In order to keep his image neutral he used to delay in taking decision with the purpose of avoiding any controversy and not to depict himself as a leader of a particular group. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri once wrote to one of his friends, pointing out the similarity of the latter's nature with Malaviya: "I know your way is like Malaviya's not to decide till it is too late".

Like all conventional public picture of a politician he was a servant of the common good; but like other politicians his private candid snapshot also often shows a self-seeking man. In the junction of dilemma facing the proposition - among these two perspectives which picture was the truest Richard Rose has rightly observed: "The simplest approach is to visualize a political figure as a cubist portrait - two faces, three eyes and all...."

204 V.S. Srinivasa Sastri to a friend dated 23 July 1918. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri Papers, S. No. 237. N.A.I.

205 In a Municipal election of Ward IV, Allahabad, in March 1901, Malaviya was a candidate supported by Lala Ram Charan Das. On the poll-day Malaviya's supporters occupied every approach to the election camp and employed hundreds of men who took hold of voters and would not let them off until they had agreed to vote for Malaviya. Inside the camp Malaviya himself with others forced the voters to vote for himself and Someshwar Das a man of his group. C.A. Bayly, The Local Roots of Indian Politics, Allahabad, 1880-1920, p. 161.

206 Richard Rose, People in Politics, p. 21.
Thus Malaviya was a man of dual personality. In politics he publicly preached the philosophy of "Universal brotherhood" but in personal life he followed dire conventionalism, rigid sectarianism, who helped to bring up denominational institutions and closely associated himself with upper caste orthodox Hindu group.

This dualism and this basic difference of nature between Mrs Besant and Malaviya tuned an imperfect tuning which created a formidable wall between the two. An unuttered antagonism developed in the mind of Malaviya against Mrs Annie Besant as a rival in his path of aspirations. Malaviya himself admitted in a letter "As for Mrs Besant, I have had some very sharp differences with her in the past...."

He was convinced that to counteract the growing popularity of Mrs Besant no other educational institution other than the university could serve the purpose. That is why, he being fully aware of urgent need of the expansion of primary education in the United Provinces and being fully realized the great necessity of strengthening the foundation of education rather than building from the top he had to find out a means which would be a powerful one to meet the demand of the circumstances and would greatly influence his future in fulfilling his cherished personal goal.

In this background, the cry for a Muslim University and

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207 The Leader, 15 June 1917.

208 For details see the Financial Statement 1904 by Malaviya. Speeches of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 357-38.
the government assurance for royal patronage towards it gave him
the proper impetus and enough reason to take up the matter
seriously. In this antagonistic communal background he could
easily convince the nation of the urgent necessity of creating
a National Hindu University in the United Provinces. He borrowed
the basic materials from Mrs Besant and after adding so many
spices to it, he presented his scheme as a new wine though, as
is already seen, this was nothing but the old wine in a new bottle.

IV

THE IDEA OF A NATIONAL HINDU UNIVERSITY

It is said that the idea of establishing a National Hindu
University was in a latent form in the mind of Malaviya when he
was merely a school boy. Even at that stage, he looked forward
to the day when the Indians would not be obliged to go abroad for
higher education. The lack of knowledge about the rich cultural
legacy and religion of the Hindu students was a source of great
pain in the religious and cultural mind of Malaviya. As he grew
older his outlook was widened, and he aspired for the experiment
of an Indian university, where all the branches of learning would
be available to all students of the world irrespective of caste,
creed or nationality. Some times he expressed his feelings to

210 Ibid.
211 Ibid.
This view is not beyond doubt, because a staunch orthodox
Brahmin like Malaviya could not think of an institution,
his classmates which was responded with ridicule. As Mark Twain said the man with a new idea is a crank until the idea succeeds. But he did not lose heart. The idea was nourished by the prevailing socio-cultural milieu. The *Indian Review* of 1910 stated that he started the idea of a Hindu University for India nearly fifteen years ago. So the approximate date of Malaviya's scheme of a Hindu University could be calculated in 1895. The *Indian Review* stated that his friend, the Hon'ble Munshi Madholal then offered substantial pecuniary help, if it could be worked on a suitably large scale, and suggested that Professor Max Muller should be the first principal of the institution. The *Indian Review* further stated that "the emergence of the Central Hindu College, Banaras kept the idea of a Hindu University in abeyance".

But the statement of the *Indian Review* is open to criticism for many reasons. In the first place, Malaviya's idea of a Hindu University at Banaras or elsewhere at that period is not supported by any official record. He did not disclose his scheme irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. No record is available which corroborates the idea of an Indian University as designed by Mrs Besant. His liberalism was only expressed apparently when he came into contact with politics.

213 *Indian Review*, January 1910, pp. 31-32.
214 Munshi Madholal only said that the idea was old. He did not mention any specific date, *Advocate*, 4, January 1906. *NNWR (U.P.). N.A.I.*
before 1904. Secondly, if he had any idea, he was not at all serious about it, and no practical step was taken towards it. It was nothing but the congregation of all educational fads that were or had been current in the country, to which everyone dissatisfied with any phase of our educational system were more or less preoccupied. Thirdly, the reason for keeping the idea in abeyance is not valid. How the emergence of the Central Hindu College could be an obstacle in the way of fulfilment of his dream for a University? The Central Hindu College, on the contrary, could be a great help in preparing the mass mind for a denominational academic institution for the Hindus. It could be utilized as a practical step in the process of progress for the emergence of the highest denominational academic institution. The only explanation of this statement was that, the under-current rivalry between the orthodox Hindus and the theosophists checked Malaviya to unfold his scheme before Mrs Besant. And thus, he fails to earn the credit (if at all he had) of pioneering the idea of a Hindu University at Banaras which Mrs Besant by her bold declaration at a Bombay public meeting on 9 March 1903, is able to achieve. The public declaration by Mrs Besant for a Hindu University grown out of her Central Hindu College at Banaras was a great blow to the aspirant mind of Malaviya. He could not remain silent and hurriedly invited a

217 Speaking in supporting the 'Hindu University Bill' Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya stated the history of the movement briefly. There he referred that "it was in 1904, that the first meeting was held at which,...the idea of such a University was promulgated". S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, p. 285.

218 For details see Annie Besant Chapter.
meeting early in the year of 1904 in the mint house at Banaras, under the presidency of the Maharaja of Banaras and unveiled his scheme for a Hindu University.

A prospectus of the proposed Hindu University scheme was published and circulated in October 1905 and was discussed at a select meeting of distinguished personalities held at the Town Hall at Banaras on the 31 December 1905. A provisional committee was appointed with Malaviya as the secretary to promote the cause. But the liberal Hindu political leader had an objection about Malaviya's orthodoxy, though they intended to utilize the Hindu religion as a uniting force among different sections of Hindus under one banner. Their apprehension was that Malaviya being a prominent figure of Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha, might alienate the other groups of Hindus by his attitude of strong orthodoxy. So another informal meeting was invited at Allahabad, in the month

219 Maharaja, Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh of Banaras.

220 Malaviya himself claimed that his idea was first put forward in 1904. The Indian Review, July 1911, pp. 510-20.

221 Butler in a confidential note dated 4 August 1911 wrote that it was an old scheme of the Pandit for he came to him seven years ago and asked him to draw up a constitution to cost a crore of rupees. According to this calculation Malaviya went to Butler some time in 1904 only. Confidential Simla Record, Government of India, Department of Education, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59, p. 3.

222 It went to the press after a great hesitation and discussion in July 1905.

223 The twenty-first session of the Indian National Congress at Banaras in December 1905 under the presidency of Gokhale provided Malaviya further opportunity to proceed and progress his idea. He invited a meeting after the Congress session.
January 1906, at which among others Mr G. Subramania Ayer, Mr B.G. Tilak, and Mr N. Subba Rao were present with Pandit Malaviya and others. It was decided that a revised prospectus was to be drawn in the light of the prior discussion. It was also decided that the Sanatana Dharma Sabha, which was shortly to meet in that city, should not be asked to concern itself with the University project. But Malaviya did not act upon the decision. He presented his original scheme before the Congress of Hindu Religion at Allahabad, in the month of January 1906, under the presidentship of Paramahans Parivrajakacharya Jugadguru, Sankaracharya of Govardhan Math. Malaviya's scheme was considered and approved. The Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha appointed its own

224 The Tribune, 11 May 1906.

225 The details of the discussion were not known. Ibid.

226 Though the liberal political leaders realized the force of Hindu religion in Hindu politics and believed the great force of orthodox Hindus and of orthodox Hinduism, yet they did not want to enlist the extremely conservative heads of the Hindu ecclesiastical hierarchy. Because the orthodox Hindus' attention to politics was doubtful, and there was a danger that their silence might be construed by the political leaders as a sort of half hearted support and interpreted as such by them to the people. The Hindusthan Review Supplement, 1911, pp. 99-100.

227 It was also decided by the informal meeting that the original prospectus should be revised according to the previous discussion. But Malaviya did not.

228 At the time of the 'kumbha' at Allahabad from the 20th to 29th January 1906.

229 At the Triveni Sangham, the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took a resolve to dedicate his life for the establishment of the proposed Hindu University. S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, p. 77.
committee to carry out the project and it was resolved that the 

members of the provisional committee were to be requested to become members of this committee selected by the Sanatana Dharma Sabha. Thus Malaviya maintained and strengthened the Brahmanical supremacy of placing Sanatana Dharma Sabha at the head of the new venture though he publicly claimed that his aspiration was only to bind the different bodies of the religious communities into one tie for the political need of the country. He wrote: "The closest ties bind together Sikh and non-Sikh Hindus, and Jains and Agrawalas who follow the ancient faith. Followers of the Acharyas of different sampradayas live and work together as good neighbours and friends. So also do the followers of the Sanatana Dharma and of the Arya Samaj, and of the Brahma Samaj...."

Pandit Malaviya even fixed a date for laying the foundation stone of the proposed university by Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of Srinegri. But it did not materialize owing to Sriguru's impossibility to reach the place travelling on foot, which was the tradition of this cult. Jagadguru declined but gave a pair

230 Which was formed at the meeting held at the Town Hall at Banaras on the 31 December 1905.

231 Malaviya took the responsibility of including the Hindu priesthood to involve them in matters other than religion. Being an educated orthodox Brahman of the city he could without difficulty explain the situation to the priests and take advice from them for his action without directly involving them into the matters.

232 Indian Review, July 1911, p. 517.

233 Ibid.
of his padukas instead.

Malaviya received an overwhelming welcome to his idea of a Hindu University only among a very selected influential and educated community. Munshi Madholal promised to endow it with property yielding an annual profit of Rs.10,000. Two more offers of three lakhs each were promised.

Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea promised to devote the evening of his life to the institution. Tilak promised three years of his life to it. So did G. Subramanya Iyer and other two persons. Some more announcements of funds were made. Surendra Nath Banerjea also committed to the nation that the Hindu University would not be closed against Muhammadans and Christians. Though the scheme of the proposed university appeared to be an ambitious and probably an impossible one being the proposal of raising a crore of rupees; but the very beginning of the movement showed that the scheme was perfectly feasible and practical. A tenth of the amount required for the university had already been promised in the meeting at Banaras. The participation of renowned person outside the provinces coloured it with a distinctly all-India character.

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234 For details see S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, pp. 79-80.

235 The Advocate (Lucknow), 4 January. NNWR (U.P.), January-August 1906. N.A.I.

236 Ibid.

237 Ibid.

238 Indian People, 7 January 1906. NNWR (U.P.), 1906. N.A.I.
It maintained its independent spirit by stating that there was no idea of appealing to the government for help, but it was very clear that the scheme would enlist government sympathy and assent. Thus the ambitious parents and students were assured about the future of the alumni. Finally, it was stated that the university would not be exclusive or denominational but catholic and open. And, so the Indian People advocated that the scheme was deserving of the sympathy and good wishes of all our countrymen. But Malaviya's proposal for a Hindu University was not welcomed cordially by nation at large. Though, The Tribune expressed that "our thinking countrymen are in the earnest about the proposal of a National University is evident from the fact that nine lakhs of rupees are subscribed for the purpose....", the fact was not so. May be the thinking class was the cream but still not the milk of the society. The real force of a society is derived from the great majority, the bulk of ordinary people. Nine lakhs of rupees were not collected at all from them and hence there was no sense of commitment and participation on the part of the common man from the movement.

Severe criticisms were flowing in the press against the movement. Pandit Malaviya's prospectus was challenged. His view which advocated the organization of Hindu society as perfect being based on caste system was questioned. It argued: "The Hindu social system scarcely treated its lowest castes as human beings.

239 Indian People, 7 January 1906. NNWR (U.P.), 1906. N.A.I.
240 Ibid.
241 The Tribune, 5 January 1906.
The door of knowledge was closed against them, and the direst penalties were pronounced against him who dared to open it....

'Go back to the Vedas' was not encouraged by a section of people. According to them ancient civilization was suffering from the overdose of religiosity and priestly supremacy which threw its coils round and round, the nation which hindered political and social freedom and strength. The correspondent commented the movement as an extraordinary reaction against the extravagances of a new ultra-radicals which had created a dangerous and an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of progress being the latest symptom of the unhealthy spirit.

The rules and regulations in respect of admission which was to be regulated in accordance with the rules of 'Varnashram Dharma' was the most vital point which stirred the public opinion. It was considered as nothing short of a social crime. The exclusion of the lower classes from Religious education was held not only as preposterous but suicidal. A critic described the permission of admission of the non-Hindus in the university as a

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242 The Hindusthan Review, May and June 1906; NNWR (U.P.), p. 401.
243 Ibid.
244 Ibid.
245 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at the Fyzabad deputation meeting said "every man calling himself a Hindu, keeping the special distinction of choti and bathing in the ganges as a Hindu, and who has reverence for Vedas and shastras, shall be admitted to the University". Referring to the editor of Hindusthan Review the critic remarked that such statements or definitions are calculated to create dissension instead of unifying the Hindu community. "Topics of the day", The Hindusthan Review (Allahabad), August 1911. The above speech of Malaviya was another proof of his real nature which preached bigoted Hinduism.
reluctant concession to the progressive spirit. And said that no self-respecting non-Hindu or Sudra would care to join it. Thus the Hindu University of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was condemned as an institution where the seed of separatism and sectarian tendencies were to be sown and strengthened. The liberal Hindus looked the entrance of Sanatan Dharma into the movement with an eye of suspicion. They doubted its success as the committee was composed of two opposite groups: a group of pandits to whom the new light of western learning was anathema another group of advanced reformers who did not believe in the superstitions and rituals which were the essence of religion in the eyes of the pandits of Banaras. Even the Congress leaders' participation in the movement was criticized: "It is certainly passing strange that men in the position of Congress leaders, who are expected to set their face against any institution or movement having such a disuniting tendency, should place themselves at its head".

246 Parameshwarlal, a barrister of Calcutta wrote in the Leader of 27 May 1911, that to enquire whether the term "Hindu" is to include converts to Hinduism and the depressed classes, for the purposes of the clause in the draft scheme of the Hindu University which regulates admission to the Theological school. The writer said that he had addressed the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the subject but he had received no reply. NNWR (U.P.), January-June 1911, p. 460.

247 In the column of Discussion under the title "Critics and sectarian institutions in the United Provinces". .. Hindustan Review, vol. 14, July 1906, p. 81.

248 The Tribune, 11 May 1906.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid.
A critic commented: "As for the creation of a class of independent, self-relying people free from caste and sectarian bias let me assure you that a Hindu University surrounded by the Benaras atmosphere is the last agency in the world to accomplish it". A section of people who genuinely felt the urge of a union between the Hindus and the Muhammadans said that the Hindus and the Mohammadans should have common political and educational interests. It also suggested that if they could not combine in political matters they should do so at least in matters of education and should have one common university. Malaviya's proposal to instruct the courses of the proposed university through the medium of the vernacular - Hindi was also attacked on the issue of national language problem. The recognition of Hindi as the 'vernacular of the land' - a special claim over the Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil or the Telugu speaking people, was alleged to narrow its scope and make it provincial by the non-Hindi speaking population. At that time, Pandit Madan Mohan


254 Malaviya in a speech at the Nagri Pravardhani Sabha pointed out the superiority of the Hindi language and requested to go into every home and persuade the members to use Hindi in all their transactions. The Abhyudaya (Allahabad), 22 January 1911. NNWR (U.P.), p. 73.
Malaviya, though a leader of the Congress movement was depicted as a communal leader in the United Provinces. A large section of the Mohammadan community thought that Pandit Malaviya could not have genuine sympathy when their very touch was looked upon as polluting. He lost their confidence more by his Nagri campaign, anti-cow killing movement and his role as a prime mover in forming the constitution of the provincial conference which excluded any single Mohammadan to take part in its proceedings as a member of the managing committee. The provincial sectarian movements were interpreted as to divert people's attention from the national movements. They regretted that Pandit Malaviya being one of the few real earnest workers, was absorbed by sectarian movements which ultimately starved the national movement. In the meantime, some misunderstanding had arisen in the

255 The Riyaz-ul-Akhbar (Gorakhpur), 20 March 1907. NNWR (NWP & U.P.), January to June 1907, p. 387.

256 The Riyaz-ul-Akhbar, 20 March 1907 commented that it could not be that Allahabad or any other district could not single out a suitable Mohammadan to share in the control and conduct of business of the committee which is the mainspring of the provincial committee. The editor was doubtful if the Mohammadans will join the conference under the present conditions and submit themselves to disrespect and disgrace. He also remarked that such selfish and interested persons will not be looked upon as representing the whole community, and their voice will not be as the voice of the whole class.... NNWR (U.P.), (NWP & Oudh), January to June 1907, p. 387.


258 Ibid.
political world of India about the attitudes of the promoters of the conference towards the *Swadeshi* movement. Malaviya's political opinions and activities specially in the matter of Bengal partition opposing the spread of the boycott movement in these provinces had been vigorously reacted. When *The Pioneer* connected the Hindu University movement with the movement of *Swadeshi*, Malaviya firmly contradicted and repudiated it. He stated in some newspapers that his Hindu University project had nothing to do either with the Congress or with the Bengal boycott movement.

Malaviya's attempt to dissociate his Hindu University movement from any political link was aimed to keep his self-integrity and self-image in tact and in prominence without offering any credit to the Indian National Congress. He wanted to keep his image as an educationist above any sort of controversy which was rare in the political field. Moreover, by keeping the scheme aloof from politics he wanted to get the whole-hearted support from the Hindu community in general for his proposed institution.

Malaviyaji's statement acted reversely among a large section of politically conscious people. He could not assess the political atmosphere properly which was highly charged with electricity. At that time the country was moving forward quickly on the road of political agitation. The *Swadeshi* movement was

259 *Advocate* in *NNWR (U.P.)*, January-June 1907, p. 388.

260 *The Anand* (Lucknow), 12 February 1907; *NNWR (U.P.)*, January-June 1907, p. 215.
considered by the people as one of the most potent weapons to be used against the British Raj.

A man belonged to Delhi wrote:

By Swadeshism we stand or by it we fall. Let all our money be used to this end and to no other. A time may come when we may have a university of our own, but let us not have too many irons, in the fire.... Have our leaders such a surplus of energy and resources that they should embark upon the costly scheme of National Universities in addition to supplying the more urgent needs of the people?... I must not be understood to deny the advantages of a National University, but in the present economic state of the country there are higher and more immediate needs to claim our money and time. (261)

Moreover Malaviya had become very much unpopular among the students community. His views about the students' part in politics incurred bitterness among them. He had to face humiliation in public meetings where the excited audience refused to listen to his ultra-moderate opinion and in fact deserted him at last.

Malaviya found to his utter surprise that almost all the students community seemed to be extremists and they had imbibed the doctrines of their new leaders of Bengal. In this critical juncture the great diplomat Pandit Malaviya thought, that to

261 The Tribune, 23 January 1906, Letters to the Editor (Swadeshism and National Universities).
262 The Hindoo Patriot, 10 March 1908. In this meeting Lala Lajpat Rai spoke on the same subject which was heard patiently.
263 Ibid.
264 To counteract the extremist forces and to kill the noxious type of nationalism preached by Bipin Chandra Pal, it was needed for the Hindu religious leaders (like Malaviya) to declare themselves frankly on the side of the law and order.
launch upon a scheme by him which was solely concerned with matured students community would be an utterly foolish step and would bring complete disaster in his religious, social, educational and political ambition.

Besides politics, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's unpopularity was also extended to the religious world. He was not accepted as a honest and undisputed leader who acted for religious unity and fraternity among the Hindus. The Anand (Lucknow) stated that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had not acted wisely setting up the Dharma Sabha, Allahabad, as a rival religious association to the Bharat Dharma Mandal. The editor remarked that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would do well to confine himself to politics, and not dabble in religion.

Last but not the least was the British specially Lord Minto's attitude towards Mr Malaviya vis-a-vis Mrs Besant which did not encourage him to push forward his proposal for the Hindu University scheme. Mrs Besant submitted her 'Indian University' scheme in the year 1907. Malaviya knew that though its philosophy was completely different from his own Hindu university scheme, still, in tone it was principally meant for the Hindus. The two could not go side by side being more or less of the same

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265 At the same time, presumably, it opened the eyes of Malaviya to the fact that the students community was one of the main weapons in the world of politics. To realize his political ambition this powerful community should be controlled properly in his favour. This realization, presumably, increased his urge to found a university.

266 The Anand, 12 February 1907; NNWR (U.P.), January-June 1907, p. 216. N.A.I.
nature. Out of these two schemes Lord Minto would favour Mrs Besant's scheme. Because Mrs Besant had a personal relation with Lord Minto who had a great reverence for the lady. So the chance of being successful in his venture during Lord Minto's viceroyalty was hardly possible.

Considering the criticisms and all these perspectives Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya did not proceed further with his Hindu University Movement for the time being. He knew that the bad spell of time which he was passing through, would bring no good result for him. But he did not give up the idea and kept the scheme frozen for the time being. He was waiting patiently like a true politician for a suitable moment when the Hindu masses as well as the government would be readily agreed to pay a high price for his hot cake.

V

HINDU UNIVERSITY SCHEME REVIVED

The frozen proposal for a Hindu University at Banaras by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was taken out of the cold chamber at the end of 1908 with a revised scheme and was placed before the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces. In the mean time the politically tensed atmosphere, due to Bengal partition

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267 See Annie Besant Chapter.

268 He was neither trusted nor liked by the people nor by the Government. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

269 Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, February 1909 Nos. 10-11. N.A.I.
had comparatively calmed down. Fuller's (Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal) resignation though did not mean victory of the popular cause it satisfied the people's sentiment. It provided a moral support to the people of India. Their ego was satisfied. Gokhale's advise to the countryman 'wait!' Trust in Mr Morley and the Liberal Party' made the people to think for a while. By 1909 anti-partition agitation was covered up by other developments, viz. famine, Morley-Minto Reform, the split in the Indian National Congress. The victory of the moderate party in retaining control over the Congress gave Pandit Malaviya a new impetus. His shaken confidence was regained. He was elected as the president of the Indian National Congress in 1909 and 1910. He found it an ideal opportunity to espouse his cause. This time he was much more careful and cautious in formulating the revised scheme.

To enlist the government approval in order to materialise the scheme, sufficient funds was the most important criterion.

271 Ibid., p. 348.
272 Tara Chand narrated that in the United Provinces famine conditions prevailed in a number of districts, food prices were rising and suffering widespread. Ibid., p. 349.
273 To wipe out the provincial casting and owing to the absence of suitable treaties and text books on science in the vernaculars he decided that the instruction shall be imparted through the medium of English. For details see Malaviyaji's Revised Scheme. S.L. Dar and Somaskanda History of the Banaras Hindu University, pp. 111-56.
This truth was experienced by him in his earlier attempt. He approached and petitioned Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir James J.D. La Touche, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces respectively. Sir Harcourt Butler poured down cold water on his plan by demanding at least 20 lakhs of rupees as the minimum fund for preliminary discussions. Sir James La Touche appreciated the scheme and expressed good wishes to it. But he commented: "It is necessarily a large and ambitious scheme". He made it clear from the very beginning that "the bulk of the money must be found elsewhere than in this province...."

Malaviya did not forget it so this time he very humbly approached the Government of India by saying; "If sufficient funds can be collected, the present idea is to begin humbly by founding three colleges". They were:

(1) a Vaidik College,
(2) an Ayurva'dik College, and
(3) an industrial college or a technological institution.

He knew that his previous ambitious scheme consisting of 6 colleges had earned strong criticism from the Government and

274 Butler in a confidential note dated 4 April 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

275 Demi-official letter from the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, 25 March 1906. Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 10-11. N.A.I.

276 Ibid.

277 Ibid.
the public. So it is better to achieve the full attainment step by step at a time. Still Malaviya did not want to antagonise the British Government. On the contrary he criticised the independent attempt to found highest academic institution without receiving Government recognition. He said: "it is only when an institution receives the Seal of Royal approval and authority to confer degrees, that it attains the full status and dignity of a university, and enters upon a career of unlimited usefulness". He designed to get the money by making the movement popular — by showing government approval to it and vice-versa.

Though Malaviya submitted his revised proposal before the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces at the end of 1908 actually it started with a new vigour and enthusiasm only in the year of 1911, during Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty. He pointed out to the people that the year 1911 was particularly auspicious for the success of such efforts, being the year of coronation of King Emperor George V, and that his Majesty would visit India in December, and Government of India's new vigorous enthusiastic and sympathetic policy towards education.

278 Malaviya's revised scheme for the Hindu University. S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Banaras Hindu University, p. 139.

279 Presumably Malaviya thought that the Government approved Hindu University would serve both the purposes of the people. The practical usefulness of education was assured by Government recognition. Important Government services were open to the future alumni which would encourage the parents to send their children to it. On the other hand by boycotting the existing purely Government universities their national sentiment would be properly nourished. Malaviya observed that the Bengal National Council for education failed only for the absence of Government recognition and sufficient fund.

280 Malaviya's pamphlet for the Hindu University.
Malaviya issued a pamphlet "The Hindu University of Benares. Why it is Wanted and what it aims at" in July 1911.

Principally, Malaviya's pamphlet was projected with the object of receiving the blessings of the British Raj. Supporting this scheme, as a brilliant advocate, Malaviya put forward the words of the great educational despatch of 1854, which says: "it is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India...a vast moral blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge,...if her children are to be enabled to build up indigenous industries in the face of the unequal competition of the most advanced countries of the west, the means of higher education in this country, particularly of scientific, industrial and technical education, will have to be very largely increased and improved".

Malaviya emphasized the truth that University education was no longer regarded in the West as the luxury of the rich but as the highest national concern. In a vast country like India which was equal to the whole of Europe minus Russia, there were only five examining universities, as against eighteen universities, in the United Kingdom (which was nearly equal in area and

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281 Malaviya utilized the positive aspects of British policy of education in India. His protest and criticism against the University Commission's Report was not so severe as Mrs Besant's. On the contrary he appreciated and welcomed Lord Curzon's enterprise in the field of Higher Education.

282 Quoted by Malaviya in his article on "The Hindu University of Benares". The Indian Review, July 1911, pp. 510-20.
population to only one province of India, namely, the United
283
Provinces).

But instantly, like a genuine politician he blew hot and
cold at the same time and fondled the British ego by declaring
that Hindus, being a nation which was deeply attached to religion
were happy with the British. For they achieved religious freedom
which they did not enjoy under the Muslim regime in general.

Then he cited Sir H. Risley's observation in his report on the
census of 1901 which stated that "Hinduism with its 2.7 million
votaries is the religion of India...to make suitable provision
for satisfying the religious requirements of the Hindu community,
it is proposed to establish a large school or college at the
university to educate teachers of Hindu religion....

It was a great impetus to his idea of a religious univer-
sity. Lastly, Malaviya cited that private enterprise was wel-
comed in the Resolution of 1904 also which showed that Government
had encouraged and welcomed private effort in aid of education.

From the earliest days of British rule in India,
private enterprise has played a great part in the
promotion of both English and vernacular education,
and every agency that could be induced to help in
the work of imparting sound instruction has always
been welcomed by the state. (287)

283 Quoted by Malaviya in his article on "The Hindu
University of Benares". The Indian Review, July 1911,
pp. 510-20.

284 Ibid.

285 Ibid.

286 Ibid., pp. 518-19.

287 S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of the Benaras
Hindu University, p. 140.
He flattered the present Government of India's policy towards education at large:

The Government of India have shown that they earnestly desire that education should be pushed forward more vigorously and systematically in the future than it has been in the past, by creating a special Department of Education, and by the allotment of a special amount of over 90 lakhs for the purpose of education in the budget of this year. (288)

Then he tried to play up the ego from the lowest to the highest authority step by step by praising Sir Harcourt Butler, Lord Hardinge and King Emperor. He described Butler as a "known friend of education", Lord Hardinge as a man who is keenly alive to the importance of education and lastly King Emperor as a person who "truly represent the deep and united will and purpose of this kingdom".

He did not hesitate to remind Lord Hardinge's promise to the nation in his speech to the address of the Lahore Municipality where he said:

...my Government will do all they can to foster its development and ensure its growth along healthy lines....

Moreover he said:

...the future needs of the students and youth of this country will always receive from me sympathetic consideration and attention. (290)

Malaviya was cautious enough to refer that "...Lord Hardinge was prepared to recognize and approve all earnest effort

289 Ibid., pp. 141-3.
290 Ibid., p. 142.
to promote education even through it may wholly or mainly, aim to benefit only one domination of His Majesty's subjects.

In this context he referred Lord Hardinge's "statesmanlike appreciation, which he expressed as the 'corporate action' of the Muslims of the Punjab, in founding the Islamic College and its linked schools, and of their "spirited response to the appeal for a Muslim University recently carried through the length and breadth of India under the brilliant leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan".

In this way Malaviya attempted his best by his diplomatic design and logical arguments to work upon a particular effect or to pressurize upon the British authority which would not be able to deny the proposed denominational scheme.

He attempted to impress even the King Emperor by pointing out the fact that to commemorate the King's coronation, the University might play an important role and "no nobler memorial can be thought of for the purpose" than this. He wrote:

Long after the recollection of the bright pageants and processions which must naturally mark the celebration of the Royal visit, will have faded away from the minds of men, the university will remind generations of Indians yet unborn of that gracious visit which stimulated and helped the foundation of a noble national institution. (292)

But above all, which would impress the British Raj and


292 Malaviyaji's Revised Scheme. Ibid., p. 143.
enable to obtain Royal Charter was the sufficient funds with a strong voice of demand from the people.

VI

AMALGAMATION OF THE THREE SCHEMES FOR THE UNIVERSITY AT BANARAS

Other than public sympathy and support for the scheme of the Banaras Hindu University, Pandit Malaviya was very much eager to enlist the support of the Hindu chiefs in general and a couple of chiefs in particular at least to work energetically in the cause. The reasons were four-fold: to get large and liberal donations for the fund of the Hindu University Scheme; as a person almost all the chiefs possessed the confidence of Government which would be a favourable condition to get the Royal Charter; a large section of the population was under the Chiefs' control and their support depended on the chiefs' approval;

293 Butler wrote in a confidential note on 24 August 1911 that Darbhanga reported him that Malaviya followed the course of action what Aga Khan did. "Collecting money first and framing a constitution afterwards". He knew that it will be difficult to oust him later unless there is a rival scheme to swamp his project. See Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.


295 Except Gaekwar.
Mrs Besant had a tremendous influence on the Chiefs. To counteract her scheme the Chiefs' support and liberal co-operation was essential.

Malaviya therefore approached the Maharaja of Bikanir, to be the patron of the Hindu University. Maharaja did not flatly refuse but made his participation conditional on the scheme obtaining the approval of the Government of India and a bigger Maharaja than his rank - such as Scindia being appointed to be the senior patron. Pandit Malaviya also approached the Maharaja of Banaras personally in the month of January 1911 at Allahabad. The Maharaja then verbally replied to Pandit Malaviya that "He should have declined to father or appear as principal patron of an undertaking which might lead him into heavy pecuniary responsibilities and disagreeable quarrels".

In spite of the fact Malaviya visited Banaras twice and approached the Maharaja regarding the scheme after receiving a written reply from Vindeshwari Prasad, the Maharaja's chief secretary. Vindeshwari Prasad wrote:

He is very sorry in being quite unable to associate his name with the project or subscribe anything towards it until he is finally satisfied on the two following points.

(1) That the government have approved of the scheme and are likely to sanction the proposal, and

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296 Extract from a fortnightly demi-official letter dated 21 August 1911, from the Commissioner of the Banaras Division, Education Department. A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

297 His Highness the Maharaja of Banaras.
(2) you have got sufficient money in hand on the project. (298)

The letter further referred the amount which was at least 30 lakhs of rupees and lastly mentioned: "If you succeed in the two above named points the Maharaja will be most glad to do all that he possibly can in this respect". Malaviya knew that the Maharaja of Banaras had consulted the local Commissioner of the Banaras Division, as the representative of the British Government. He sent a member of Central Hindu College Board of Trustees to persuade and influence the Maharaja indirectly through the British official. The member almost threatened him by saying that its publication would injure the Maharaja's relation with the Hindu community. The messenger of Pandit Malaviya also requested him that the revisit of Pandit Malaviya with him would invite the Commissioner's advice again which must be "more consonant with his position and interest". When Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya met the Maharaja of Banaras, he accused him saying: "you have much to answer for you have ruined the project". Then like the ancient Rishis, almost like Durvasha, with Brahmanical ego,

298 Demi-official letter from Vindeshwari Prasad to Madan Mohan Malaviya dated 9 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

299 Ibid.


301 Ibid.

302 Ibid.

303 Rishi Durvasha was very much famous for his hot headedness and anger. It is said that he used to curse severely even on a trifle matter, e.g. 'Sankuntala-Dushmanta episode'.

304
Pandit Malaviya said "It's blood will be on your head". Once Malaviya himself went to the Commissioner of Banaras Division to enquire whether he would approve and support the scheme, the latter replied that it was no part of his business to support a scheme which had not been approved by government.

Thus Malaviya's expectation to get the support from the two influential Maharajas were frustrated. Up to that time he had got no support from the Chiefs. Then he turned towards the Maharaja of Darbhanga whom he avoided so long as he had a rival scheme for a university of Hindu religion and who himself was a rival in the sphere of orthodox Hinduism being the head of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. When Malaviya himself realized and got the impression from other sources that unless some general understanding was possible tending to the unification of the three schemes there was not much hope of success, he decided to join hands with the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The Maharaja of Darbhanga being the head of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal possessed a considerable weight among the Hindu masses. Malaviya thought

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304 Extract from a fortnightly report by demi-official letter dated 21 August 1911, from the Commissioner of the Banaras Division. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

305 Ibid.

306 His own, those of Mrs Besant and the Mahamandal under the leadership of the Maharaja of Darbhanga.

307 In a Demi-official letter dated 31 August 1911 the Maharaja of Bikanir informed Malaviya, Ibid. Other than this he became aware of the public opinions through press and individuals.
that the alienation and estrangement of relation with Maharaja
would lose those Hindu support and consequently might lead to the
Amaligamation of schemes of the Maharaja of Darbhanga's rival
Hindu University (Sarada Viswa Vidyalaya Scheme) and Mrs
Besant's University (Indian University) scheme. His apprehension
was proved correct when Mrs Besant referred to the possibility in
a letter to the Secretary of State for India. Malaviya anticipated
that the amalgamation and close relationship between Mrs
Besant and Maharaja would affect his influence and position among
the Hindus. On the other hand, it would bring other Hindu Chiefs,
and heads of the leading sects into the movement due to Maharaja
of Darbhanga's participation which would strengthen Mrs Besant's
scheme, and position. Thus in the scale of competition the
balance would be tilted on Mrs Besant's side. He did not waste
time and decided to seek co-operation from the Maharaja. He had
a very good influence on certain newspapers. He indirectly

308 There was an undercurrent rivalry between the two orthodox
Hindu organizations Bharat Dharma Mahamandal and Sanatana
Dharma Sabha. Malaviya refused the 'honour' offered by the
Bharat Dharma Mahamandal as it was a defective organisation.
See Maharaja of Darbhanga Chapter.

309 Maharaja of Darbhanga was one of the vice-patrons of
Central Hindu College (1899).

310 Mrs Besant wrote to the Secretary of State for India in a
letter dated London, 1, 29 August 1911, that she had received
a request from the Dharma Mahamandal to organize an
oriental department under the University Scheme of Mrs
Besant which was lying at the India office for granting
charter. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912,
Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

311 There were a number of Ruling Chiefs, e.g. the Gaekwar,
the Maharaja of Mysore, the Maharaja of Kashmir and the
Maharaja of Banaras and others on the governing body of
the Central Hindu College.

312 Himself being a newspaper editor for quite a long time.
tried to pressurize the Maharaja of Darbhanga to participate in his Hindu University movement. Maharaja of Darbhanga informed unless the scheme was approved he could not support it. Then Malaviya personally met Rameshwar Singh, the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga and tried to convince him by playing a trick. He knew Maharaja had a public image and he tried to exploit it. He said if he could not actively participate in the movement, he should contribute at least five lakhs of rupees for the cause. At the same breath he did not forget to caution him as a friend that his inaction would consume in a most unfavourable manner by the entire Hindu community. He would lose all his public reputation. Pandit Malaviya knew that if the money came from Maharaja it would be an enough proof of his support for the movement and his purpose would be served. His warning or threat had a strong reaction on Maharaja's mind. In a demi-official letter he wrote to Butler "My refusal to join the movement only be due to the fact that I do not want to part with my money or to some ignoble reason. My position is therefore a very difficult one". He also informed that "the Hindu movement has now gone too far to permit of differential treatment between the two great communities". The Government also realized the same. So they instructed Maharaja to head the movement by joining it.

As directed by Lord Hardinge he made correspondences with S.H. Butler and met Butler on 11 October 1911 along with Malaviya

313 Maharaja to S.H. Butler dated 9 September 1911, Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

314 Ibid.
and got the assurance of government approval. S.H. Butler in a letter dated 12 October 1911 informed Maharaja of certain conditions on which Government of India must insist as antecedent to the recognition by Government of a movement for the establishment of a Hindu University. These were: (1) the Hindus should approach government in a body as the Mohammadans did; (2) a strong and efficient and financially sound college with an adequate European staff should be the basis of the scheme; (3) the university should be a modern university, differing from the existing universities mainly in being a teaching and residential university and offering religious instructions; (4) movement should be entirely educational; and (5) there should be the same measure of government supervision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the proposed university of Aligarh.

Maharaja then expressed his final consent to co-operate and work for the movement with the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. And thus as desired by the British Government gave his whole-hearted support by joining the deputation for collection of funds and promised rupees five lakhs as a donation to the cause. It was quite clear to Malaviya that the conditions laid down by the government in black and white were enough proof of enlisting the government approval which would be followed by the participation of other Hindu Chiefs in the movement. The only hurdle to cross was the second condition - a strong and efficient and financially sound college with an adequate European staff as the basis of the scheme.

315 Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
Though Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was confident that he can persuade the majority of his countrymen to listen to him and he could reason even better than Mrs Besant or Tilak, he had to seek co-operation from Mrs Besant as there was no other private Hindu institution which could be the nucleus of the proposed Hindu University fulfilling the government conditions. He had no hesitation to sacrifice the Brahmanical supremacy. And the moderate of all moderates, the living symbol of humility and modesty Pandit Mohan Malaviya approached Mrs Besant.

As usual as a shrewd politician, though pioneered an educational movement, which he declared had no link with politics, Malaviya plunged into deep politics. He planned to kill two birds with one stone, that is, amalgamation. Obviously the two birds were fulfilling (1) government condition to get approval and Charter and ousting (2) Mrs Besant, his chief rival for the cause from the Central Hindu College by entering there as thin needle. He planned that once the amalgamation was done and he got hold over the Central Hindu College he would replace the present voluntary teachers who were the ardent supporters of Mrs Besant by regular salaried officials. For that purpose he pre-planned to set aside at once 10 lakhs, or whatever sum may be necessary, to get a proper European staff. And with that motive in mind Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya met Mrs Besant in Calcutta in

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316 V.S. Srinivasa Sastrī to Vaze, dated Banaras, 8 August 1918. V.S. Srinivasa Sastrī Papers, S.No. 241. N.A.I.

317 Extract from a fortnightly semi-official letter from the Commissioner of the Fyzabad Division, dated 5 September 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
March 1911 and discussed the matter. A further meeting took place between them and some other influential Hindus at Allahabad on 8 April 1911 and preliminary talks of amalgamation of the two schemes were done. It was decided that the petition for a Royal Charter already submitted by Mrs Besant would be the basis of work with certain modifications. Under the name of "University of Banaras" in Hindi "Kashi Vishva Vidyalaya" Mrs Besant made a circular and public announcement of the amalgamation. On 22 April 1911 Mrs Besant left for England and decided to look after the interests of the scheme there leaving Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to promote it in India.

The amalgamation was not a spontaneous outcome but a forced one both for Mrs Besant and Madan Mohan Malaviya. In this joint venture Malaviya thought it necessary to increase his influence to secure a more significant position by collecting an enormous fund for the cause. He felt the necessity to increase his immense influence in the movement and secure a much more significant position than Mrs Besant. With that purpose in view he decided to enhance his influence and popularity by collecting an enormous fund for the cause. In this respect, C.Y. Chintamani wrote in a letter:

He has a notion which is not shared by any body that without Mrs Besant he will easily realise a crore or two! And during the last two months he has been solely engaged on a


319 Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
sigma role exposition of his scheme which perhaps will be given out to the world shortly... but he has proved his unmistakable incapacity for affairs. If he were in an Executive Council the machinery of Government will come to a stand-still. (320)

A dark patch of cloud gathered round the possible amalgamation issue between the two schemes of Mrs. Besant and that of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from April 1911 onwards. In this aspect some presses played a very important active part in prejudicing the public mind against the amalgamation of the proposed Hindu University and Indian University. The Theosophists had no objection at all. They accepted Mrs. Besant's verdict as the final one. But a strong dissension developed between the orthodox and the liberal Hindus. The orthodox Hindus who did not know Malaviya's plan of ousting Mrs. Besant slowly by hook or crook were not ready to swallow the Theosophy, which they considered to be Hindu, was in reality a secret enemy striking at the very root of Hinduism. They did not approve the necessity of teaching Vedas to the low caste students of the University. They warned that "No orthodox pandits would consent to teach the Vedas and the few that would, would be only such that no one can expect from them thorough exposition, and the Hindu University will have to be content with the one-sided renderings of the Arya Samajists, or those of R.C. Dutta, Max Muller, or other

320 V.S. Srinivasa Sastry Papers, S.No. 241. N.A.I.
321 In U.P. specially the Leader had been holding up orthodox Hindu views.
322 The Anand (Lucknow), 4 May 1911; NNWR (U.P.), January to June 1911. N.A.I.
Europeanized version. According to them a university with a heterogeneous collection of non-Hindus would be a duplicate of the present government universities and it was all the same to the Hindus if it was established or not. They did not fear to be reduced to a minority. They preferred to stand at their post and meet a glorious death under the banner of their 'dharma' because they knew that the Kaliyuga had come to give all the benefits to the heterodox. The Arya Mitra issuing from Agra on 1 May 1911 apprehended "There is every possibility that Mrs Besant may entrust all the governing powers of the institution into European hands". The editor advised the Hon'ble Pandit to give his best consideration to the matter before accepting the proposal for amalgamation. The Sadharma Pracharak from Kangri Bijnor on 10 May 1911 advised Malaviya: "it would have been much better if the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had not fallen into the hands of this clever woman...." In the Sadharma Pracharak of 31 May 1911, the editor remarked: "Mrs Besant...is a very clever and pushing woman, and will prove more than a match for the Hon'ble Pandit in establishing her predominance in the amalgamated university". The Bharat Dharma Neta of Banaras

323 A letter from a correspondent signing himself "An orthodox Hindu" replying to the view expressed in the Indian daily news (Calcutta), The Leader, 13 June 1911. NMML.

324 Ibid.

325 NNWR (U.P.), January-June 1911. N.A.I.

326 Ibid.

327 Ibid.
on 22 October 1911 expressed the opinion that "although all Hindus must always remain grateful to Mrs Besant for her work in the cause of Hinduism, they should no longer look up to her as their religious teacher, when the Hon'ble Pandit who is of their own blood and flesh, volunteers himself to act as their religious guide". Some Ghiva Prasad Gupta appealed Mrs Besant to dissociate her name from the proposed university and to allow her co-workers to do all they can to make the scheme a success.

A communicated article in the *Leader* on 30 April 1911, suggested that in order to safeguard against Theosophical influence and to make the university a representative Hindu University, the Arya Samajists and Brahmo Samajists should be asked to join the movement as the men least likely to be contaminated by Theosophy.

The *Leader* opposed the amalgamation on the ground that the neo-Hinduism will acquire undue influence in the new university, if Mrs Besant was allowed to have a say in the matter.

At this critical juncture Mrs Besant's letter of 21 April 1911 to her colleagues on the staff of the Central Hindu College added fuel to the fire and created a fresh controversy. In her letter Mrs Besant mentioned as an important condition of amalgamation that the Central Hindu College should form the nucleus of the new university but that all its funds should though formally vested in the university, but be held in trust for the

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328 NNWR (U.P.), January-June 1911.
329 *The Leader*, 7 June 1911.
330 *The Leader*, 21 May 1911.
Central Hindu College itself, and that similarly, all other colleges of the University should have their funds separately. In conclusion she asked the friends of the Central Hindu College engaged in raising funds for the university, to earmark them for the Central Hindu College. The Leader wrote an article "The amalgamation muddle" where the editor criticized Mrs Besant and remarked that she ought to have taken the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya into her confidence before issuing the circular and said Mrs Besant did not seem to be acting fairly and frankly towards the promoters of the Hindu University scheme. Dr Bhagwan Das protested against it and pointed out the impropriety of publishing in the Leader Mrs Besant's letter without its enclosures which was addressed by her only to her co-trustees of the Central Hindu College, and of commenting on it without understanding its meaning. He defended Mrs Besant on the ground that it would be most essential for the Central Hindu College to keep its sources of income flowing during the period the proposed university was under organization. Dr Bhagwan Das took exception to any motive being assigned to Mrs Besant in her efforts to secure the funds for the Central Hindu College, and remarked that, far from being sinister, Mrs Besant's motive had always been the well-being of the proposed university as would appear from her statement in circular wherein she spoke of workers avoiding all appearance of opposition and all working together to build up the different parts of the one whole. Malaviya himself was not

331  The Leader, 26 May 1911.
332  The Leader, 6 June 1911.
sure that only collection of sufficient funds would enable him to win over Mrs Besant. He found that the proposed amalgamation was nothing but a modification of Mrs Besant's Indian University scheme. The marked changes proposed by the modified scheme were the establishment of a residential and teaching university and a change of name of the proposed university. In this circumstance, the proposed institution would sing Mrs Besant's name and he would be under the shadow of the former. The ambitious nature of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya revolted against it. It was not possible for him to accept the terms and conditions dictated by Mrs Besant. "Two courses were open to the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; either to ignore the agreement or to confirm it while repudiating or disregarding the conditions on which it was made". Pandit Malaviya thought it easier to follow the last course and kept silent on the amalgamation issue. When the public insisted on some definite statement being made, the Leader published Malaviya's cryptic public statement in July:

What both parties really want is that the Hindu University should be both in name and reality a distinctively and genuinely Hindu institution, the governing body of which should be Hindu, except for such representatives of the Crown as it may be pleased to nominate on it, and such other persons as may, for special reasons, should be in the hands of those who belong to the Hindu religion. (335)

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333 A letter from Prof. Telang and Woodhouse of the Central Hindu College, The Leader, 3 September 1911.

334 According to Prof. Telang and Woodhouse the former course would have required a high degree of courage.

335 The Leader, 15 July 1911.
He then pointed out that the petition for a Royal Charter already submitted to government and the rules of management appended to it, did not fulfil the desire of both parties for a denominational teaching university, and he stated that a constitution committee of eminent Hindu educationists and lawyers were to be entrusted with the task of drawing up a new constitution and a fresh petition for a Charter. At the same time he did not forget to concede that the Central Hindu College should be the first college to be affiliated to the proposed Hindu University. He also pointed out that assuming the recent complaints regarding the management of the college were just, the management should be strengthened rather than that sympathy and support should be withheld from the college itself:

As regards the terms of incorporation or affiliation, they cannot be finally settled until the next annual meeting of the Central Hindu College has been held and the constitution of the new university has been laid down. But there is no reason to apprehend that these terms will not be settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

It is devoutly to be hoped that this statement will satisfy all thoughtful men, and that every Hindu will earnestly cooperate to make the idea of a Hindu University an accomplished fact. (336)

Professor Telang and Woodhouse correctly interpreted that Pandit Malaviya's statement was a cool-headed design. He wanted either to force Mrs Besant to amalgamate on Pandit Madan Kohan Malaviya's own terms or to put her into a position where finding amalgamation impossible, she would have to declare her inability to join with him and thus to throw the whole onus and odium of breaking off an

336 The Leader, 15 July 1911.
impracticable amalgamation on to her and to relieve the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya of the responsibility. They rightly alleged that the next item of the programme would be the pre-arranged howl of execration against Mrs Besant for "breach of faith" and obstruction.

Taking advantage of Mrs Besant's absence Malaviya in the meanwhile was active on his secret plan of dissuading the Hindu group of the governing body of the Central Hindu College from the former on the issue of the order of the Star in the East, with Jai Krishna Murti as the head of the order. With the help of some of them he managed to get for himself a special invitation to explain the situation. Malaviya knew that the inclusion of Central Hindu College to the new university was essential. So he wanted to pass a resolution from the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College guaranteeing their co-operation in all ways in promoting the establishment of the Hindu University at Banaras of which the Central Hindu College shall formed an integral position.

On 6 August 1911 the Board decided to pass a tentative resolution. But The Leader remarked it as a "settled fact". In that context, Dr Bhagwan Das stated that in case Mrs Besant does not accept the changes proposed by Mr Malaviya there was very little doubt that her co-trustees would also find it impossible to co-operate with Mr Malaviya. The editor of the Leader warned that if the amalgamation was a failure, the blame

337 See Annie Besant Chapter.
338 The Leader, 30 August 1911.
would rest with them and not with Malaviya. The editor also warned that if the Central Hindu College would not become part of the Hindu University, the college would not continue to receive the same support from the Hindus and her scheme would stand no chance of success as an independent one unless it embodied the Hindu sentiment.

The Abhyudaya on 7 September 1911 ridiculed Babu Bhagwan Das for his blind faith in Mrs Annie Besant, and said that the Central Hindu College, being the property not of any one particular individual but of the entire Hindu community, would be incorporated with the proposed Hindu university, which had enlisted the support of almost all Hindus. He also expressed the opinion that Mrs Besant would not be able to establish a separate university because she did not enjoy the confidence of the Hindus, nor of the educated Indian community generally, and that in these circumstances she could not raise the necessary funds for her university. On the other hand, Mrs Besant was under the impression that a clear understanding had been arrived at between her and the Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at a meeting held at Allahabad on 11 April 1911. She was at work for the amalgamated scheme and saw Sir Dunlop Smith, Lord Minto, and the Secretary of State for India. Pandit Malaviya did not bother to inform her about his new departure privately or officially, neither did he place all difficulties before the committee for discussion.

339 The Leader, 2 September 1911.
340 Ibid.
341 The Abhyudaya, 7 September 1911.
He kept the question hanging without precisely deciding whether the previous amalgamated scheme was null and void or not and without drawing up a fresh petition. Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu stated when there was yet no scheme before the public, and when the note prepared by Malaviya was only an expression of individual views as to what a university should be, there seems no reason why impatience should be shown when another individual or set of individuals give expression to their views publicly. He also rightly accused that to throw the whole odium upon Mrs Besant and to make the workers of the college the subject of cheap gibes and jeers, and to accuse Mrs Besant of wishing to take the whole credit for herself, the Leader specially its editor was motivated.

In the first week of August Mrs Besant was informed by her colleagues on the Board of Trustees of the Central Hindu College as well as of members of her original university of India scheme about the passed resolution and Malaviya's departure for proposed changes. The amalgamation question almost came to a deadlock. Mrs Besant wrote to the editor of the Advocate: "...I do not agree to drop my nearly completed work as the Hon'ble Pandit seems to expect". She decided to work to raise funds on her return to Bombay on 6 October 1911.

342 The Leader, 8 September 1911.

343 Commenting on this letter the editor remarked that the modifications of Mrs Besant's original scheme were suggested by herself and there was very little time for anybody to bestow thought on them before she hurriedly published them. Mrs Besant was at fault for undue haste.

344 The Advocate (Allahabad), 7 September 1911.
Pandit Malaviya could not sit idly. He knew without Central Hindu College the whole Hindu University Movement would be rejected. Government would not approve it. He would have to answer to the public for raising funds in getting the support as a settled fact. He sent Ganga Prasad Varma to Bombay on the day of her arrival in order to persuade and convince her for the proposed amalgamation. Mrs Besant was already exhausted and frustrated with the collapse of her Indian University Scheme. The petition for her 'University of India' was not traceable. The India Office denied any papers received from the government of India. When she was in a confusion, Lord Crewe, the Secretary of State for India wrote her that the Government of India cabled against the grant of a Charter for the University of Banaras. She was utterly disappointed. Malaviya availed himself

Ganga Prasad Varma was one of the Hindu members of the Central Hindu College but he was a close associate of Malaviya in the political theatre. He mainly played the game against Mrs Besant in fomenting dissensions in the governing body of the Central Hindu College.

Prior to meet other close associates of Mrs Besant and apprehension that she would be carried out by them and refuse amalgamation. Pandit Malaviya thought it wise to send Ganga Prasad Varma to Bombay.

Though Mrs Besant declared that she had letters from Lord Minto and from his private secretary saying that the petition had been sent to the India Office. She also received private information from the Hon'ble V. Krishnaswami Aiyar (the members of the Madras Executive Council) that the Madras Government had consulted her scheme. Confidential note from H. Sharp, the Joint Education Member of the Council, dated 1 October 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

Demi-official letter from Mrs Besant to the Hon'ble S.H. Butler, Banaras, 25 October 1911, ibid.
of the golden opportunity. Mrs Besant heard from Malaviya that the Government of India was prepared to give a Hindu University by Act under certain conditions. She read also S.H. Butler's letter to the Maharaja of Darbhanga and decided to co-operate them following the proverb "something is better than nothing". She agreed to withdraw petition. She also agreed to accompany the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on a deputation to S.H. Butler with representatives from all parts of India and in due course promised to forward a petition to incorporate the Central Hindu College in the University. Thus Mrs Besant's apprehension came true:

The Agha Khan's Muhammadan University scheme and the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's Hindu University scheme will be preferred to mine, in which all religions were treated equally and the attempt was made to unite instead of divide. (350)

She lamented: "It will be a sad day when such a splendid opportunity of uniting the Hindus and Mohammadans is ignored by the leaders of the Indian people". At last the sad day came in. Mrs Besant withdrew her own scheme in favour of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's after an agreement with Malaviya, and all the

349 Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

350 A letter from Mrs Besant to a Theosophist (Madras) on her University Scheme, quoted in Sons of India, April issue 1911. NNWR (U.P.), January to June 1911.

351 Ibid.

352 The meeting took place on 21 October 1911 at the Central College premises. A short memorandum was drawn up. 1) That the name of the University shall be the Hindu University. 2) That the first governing body shall consist of representatives of the Hindu community and Mrs Annie Besant and representatives of the Central Hindu College. 3) That the theological faculty shall be entirely in the hands of the Hindus.
stones thrown by the latter now hit the targets successfully. The Central Hindu College passed into the hands of Pandit Malaviya. The ominous mutterings among the orthodox were stopped. The next mission of Pandit Malaviya was to change the hostile attitude of the British Government in India towards him.

VII

REACTION AND RESPONSE OF THE BRITISH RAJ TOWARDS MALAVIYA

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was a man with the positive power of thinking. He always expected the best and tried to attain it with his utmost effort in spite of the possibility of strongest hurdle to cross over. He knew it fully well that the government attitude towards him was not only negative but hostile. In the same breath, he believed that in his venture of establishing a Hindu University Government support and approval was essential. Because "money and influence would be forthcoming, if government favour the scheme, not otherwise". So his aim was

353 Sri Prakasa wrote that to many of them of the old Central Hindu College, the memory of the merger would always be bad as long as they lived. For the Central Hindu College stood for something else and unique which was dead. Mrs Besant was also not happy at the change. Mrs Besant's notes in the Theosophist of 1912 and 1913 show how hurt she was at the way things were going at the University. For details see Sri Prakasa, Annie Besant as Woman and as Leader, pp. 204-7.

354 Hon'ble Home Member wrote in a note dated 10 August 1911, Education Department, A Proceedings, 12 March 1911, Nos. 54-59.
to achieve the government support by hook or crook with the help of his flexible, unprincipled, trick-dicky nature by reasoning, aesthetically pleasing, satisfying theories where the sources of power were specified. Malaviya was able to change even Minto's attitude after a meeting where he talked a good deal about the relations of Europeans and Indians. Minto wrote to Morley "Such a nice fellow. One cannot help feeling how much one can do with these men with only a little friendliness". His strong optimism was expressed when he said "Charter we shall have and charter we must get". He endeavoured to influence the government (1) by associating and enlisting the support of the influential peoples whose loyalty towards the British Crown was beyond any doubt, (2) by creating a public opinion and demand for it, (3) by collecting a minimum fund for the movement to prove his command and influence over the people in the trial of strength and finally by changing the British attitude towards him by assuring his loyalty and co-operating with the British officials in the process of progress against the reactionary forces who doubted and protested against the British design to grab the institution in the disguise of government control for the interest of the rising generation and the parents.

The great obstacles in order to form a positive attitude towards him by the British Government were: (1) his out-spoken

355 Minto to Morley, 10 March 1910. Morley Papers. MCPR 6. NMML.
356 In a meeting held at Lahore, Monday, 9 October 1911.
character which produced bitter and strong criticisms against government policies and activities; (2) his active participation in politics and (3) his flexible nature which was not liked by a single British official.

So when Pandit Malaviya presented a scheme even with a less objectionable features than Mrs Annie Besant's, with a principle of government control, and with a promise of a repudiation of all political designs, they could not accept it. They could not trust Pandit Malaviya in spite of Maharaja of Bikaner's assurance. "...that there is no undesirable political seditious or disloyal party or propaganda", in Pandit's scheme. On the other hand, as was observed the Hon'ble Home Member, it was impossible for them "not to see that the political leaven is there". The Hon'ble Home Member correctly anticipated that "the movement is in inception and intention a Pan-Hindu movement, designed to produce an impression of the solidarity if possible".

357 The editor of Sadharma Pracharak (Kangri Bijnor) observed on 1 May 1911 that owing to the out-spoken character of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who was working for it, the consideration for granting a Charter may not be shown. NNWR (U.P.), January to June 1911, p. 181. N.A.I.


359 Ibid.

360 A private and confidential letter from Maharaja of Bikanir to S.H. Butler dated near Aden, 9 May 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

361 Home Member, J.L. Jenkin, in a note 10 August 1911, Ibid.

362 Ibid.
J.P. Hewett, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces expressed his doubt as the scheme of Malaviya had nothing definite as to what he would suggest in the way of state control, and as he was not the man to make a satisfactory proposal on this point.

Malaviya met Sir Harcourt Butler in 1904 and requested him to draw up a constitution for the proposed university to cost a crore of rupees. S.H. Butler tried to dissuade him by saying that he "would do so when he had got 20 lakhs". He had a presumption that as he was "not liked or trusted personally", he would not get the people's support, or money for the purpose. His presumption was strengthened when the proposed scheme of Malaviya was postponed for seven years. When the movement again sprang up in 1911, he did not take up the case seriously as he thought that "Malaviya has been crying in the wilderness since 1904". Moreover, the refusal to take the lead in the movement by responsible persons like the Maharaja of Bikanir, Darbhanga and Pandit Sundarlal assured Butler's assumption of Malaviya's "widespread distrust". The Hon'ble Home Member Mr Jenkins also did not consider the movement as matured enough as it was

363 J.P. Hewett, 15 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
365 Ibid.
366 Ibid.
367 Ibid.
368 Ibid.
entirely on the air" and as it was not backed by any money or influence. He argued that the success of the movement entirely depended on the approval of the government. He could read correctly Malaviya's intrinsic motive when he wrote:

The object of the promoters evidently is first of all to obtain the support and approval of government, and then, upon the strength of that support and approval to solicit and perhaps to demand, subscriptions. (371)

On that ground he emphatically wrote in a note:

I do not think there is any whirlwind or any storm except what we choose to create for ourselves. The promoters can do nothing without the support and approval of the government. (372)

The postponement of Malaviya's movement for seven years strengthened his view. In support of his argument he wrote:

If anything could have been done independently of government it would have been done in the stormy years 1906-09, but all the grandiose plans for national education fizzled out. People will not subscribe to institutions which do not qualify for government service or the professions, and parents will not send their sons to them. (373)

The Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, Sir J.P. Hewett also doubted when he wrote: "So long as Madan Mohan Malaviya retains his position of influence in respect of the project

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369 Note by the Hon'ble Home Member, J.L. Jenkins, 10 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

370 Ibid.

371 Ibid.

372 Ibid.

373 Ibid.
it is most unlikely that this will ever be done'. He commented about Malaviya: "He is not practical, he is very slippery, and there can be no doubt that the real object at the back of his head is a political one. As Malaviya was "not liked" and as he was "man of little personal influence" he suggested that the government might elect to stand aside at present and trust to his failing to get the money he wants". Still Sir J.P. Hewett had a cautious attitude towards Malaviya's scheme because he heard "from more than one person entitled to speak with authority" that "in the present state of Hindu feeling he will get at least as much as the Mohammadans will, though it may take him time to do so". Considering the situation, he suggested, the government of India not to take any action which would boost Nandan Mohan Malaviya's particular scheme, ..." Though he was opposed against any creation of a new university in general and denominational university in particular still he accepted the fact and held the view that if the emergence of a Hindu university was at all inevitable Mrs Besant and Malaviya's influence should be wiped out from it, and a stringent government control should be over it under the apparent leadership of Hindu Chiefs or Man of faith and loyalty.

374 J.P. Hewett in his note dated 15 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
375 Ibid.
376 Ibid.
377 Ibid.
378 Ibid.
379 Ibid.
Lord Hardinge also corroborated the view held by Jenkins and Hewett and proposed not to support any scheme run by the Pandit on his present lines. But evaporating all the underestimation, Malaviya plunged into the trial of strength and started collecting funds which he considered essential to get government approval for the scheme, of course, saying to the people that government were not opposed to his scheme. As a concrete proof, he invited local British officials in the meeting, who could not avoid to keep themselves aside considering the heavy people's demand for it. To run the day to day administration it was not possible for them to estrange the relation with the people - besides their own genuine feeling. The growing Hindu-Muslim tension served as a blessing in disguise to awaken the people for the cause. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was free to use his oratorical powers in rallying Hinduism to provide the funds for a Hindu University in rivalry to Islam. In the collection of funds, Malaviya proved his super human efforts as an organizer by spreading the idea among the people and inspiring them to put their shoulder to the wheel which contributed to the emergence of the Banaras Hindu University. To enlighten the country and to collect money he advised his co-workers. "Let it be firmly impressed on the mind of every Hindu that in the organization of the Hindu University lies the best hope for the

380 Lord Hardinge in a confidential note dated 16 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

social advancement and the national uplifting of the Hindu community...."

When Pandit Sundarlal refused the post of Secretary of the proposed University, Malaviyaji had to bear the burden of the colossal work all alone. He started his sacred mission by forming an influential deputation, who would travel from place to place for collecting the funds and generating the idea of the proposed university among the masses. He had put special emphasis on the local committees to prepare the grounds because the deputation could not be expected to spend more than two days at each important place. He suggested the formation of provincial, district and local committees without delay. Between the period from the end of July and the beginning of October 1911, the deputation visited Faizabad, Jaunpur, Bankipur, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Jubbalpur, Calcutta, Faridpur, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar and Muzaffarnagar and several other places. His deputation went even to the interior parts of the country. Everywhere the deputation received a heartily welcome. Stirring speeches were delivered by the members of the deputation. Specially Malaviya's speeches roused enthusiasm among the people. With his silver tongue, great command over different languages, and sweet

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383 The deputation consisted of twenty influential persons like Raja Ram Pal Singh, Pandit Din Dayal Sharma, Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, Babu Ishwar Saran, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu and others. For details see S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, Ibid., p. 159.

384 He could speak fluently in Hindi, Sanskrit, Urdu and English.
melodious voice with the power of reasoning and persuasion. Malaviyaji, the teacher of the masses, could cast a spell over the minds of the people. The marvellous effect of his splendid eloquence were followed by the perfect rain of donations. Within a very short time the subscription promised for the university reached a total of nearly thirty-five lakhs of rupees.

The initial success of Malaviyaji changed the British attitude and the course of movement. The government was convinced that there could be no question about the enthusiasm it evolved by Malaviya. They started to rethink over the matter afresh.

Malaviya was not a man of single track of mind. Simultaneously, he put his personal effort equally strongly to influence the British sentiment in his favour. He had to follow the policy of appeasement towards the British Government for the reason that most of the subscribers have given their subscriptions on the condition that the government would eventually approve of the university. With that purpose in view he personally met Sir Harcourt Butler and enquired what scheme would

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386 But Malaviya admitted to Lord Hardinge on 9 October 1911 that the total sum of promised donation was 27 lakhs of rupees.

387 Other than the deep-rooted reason viz Personal ambition, rivalry between Pandit Malaviya and Mrs Besant, rivalry between Orthodoxy and Theosophy, his provincialism and anti-Bengali attitude, his nature of modesty and moderate attitude, his faith in co-operation and compromise with the British Government, etc.

388 Butler in a confidential note dated 28 September 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
be acceptable to government as he had no scheme at all. When
Butler challenged him by saying that he had no scheme because
he had got no college like Aligarh, Malaviya assured him saying
that he hoped to get the Central Hindu College in the near
future. Malaviya, a seasoned politician realized that the
present government under Lord Hardinge and Hon'ble member of
Education Sir Harcourt Butler were not at all pleased with Mrs
Besant and her theosophy. He utilized the feeling in order to
provoke the British sentiment against Mrs Besant and attempted
to influence them in his favour by dropping the bait of ousting
Mrs Besant and her theosophical influence from the Central Hindu
College which was a real headache for the British Government.
He knew that his image to the British Government was not trust-
worthy for his active participation in politics and sharp tongue.
In order to win them over he played sentiment and emotion and
showed his dispassionate attitude towards the intention of hold-
ing any important official position in the movement. He told
Butler that if his identification with political movements and
criticisms against government was the reason not to yield support
or approval of the government he was perfectly prepared to stand
aside from the scheme and to let others be appointed as officials.

To support his view that he had no love for power he

389 Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
390 Ibid.
391 Ibid.
392 Ibid.
393 Ibid.
presented the fact that he had kept all the appointments vacant himself acting only as the treasurer. In the same breath, he said that he would be entirely guided by Butler's advice, if his scheme was supported by the government. To assure the government interest he unfolded also his real intention to make a big Ruling Chief as President and a committee of conservative classes to make sure that there would be no suggestion where the interests of the government would be disregarded. Regarding collection of funds he said that he had promises of 25 lakhs and would get 50 lakhs at ease "if it is known that the government will not oppose any more". Malaviya's advocacy was not futile when S.H. Butler wrote a note about Malaviya without any adverse comment against him which he used to do very much. His mind was already softened by knowing Pandit's intrinsic intentions and his plan about theosophy and Mrs Besant, "a very over bearing woman who was trying to get a Charter from England over the head of the Government of India".

Mrs Besant's action was humiliating and insulting for the government of India so they wanted to teach her a good lesson by snatching her brain child the Central Hindu College from the mother. To S.H. Butler Malaviya was bad out of the worst of Mrs Besant and so more acceptable than Mrs Besant. His knowledge

394 Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59
395 Ibid.
396 Ibid.
397 Ibid.
about the internal rivalry and Pandit's apprehension about Mrs Besant that "it is almost impossible that she will work with them on terms of equality" made him rejoiced. He started to think about the matter favourably.

The reaction of Malaviya's influence on Butler's mind was expressed when despite Sharp's (the Joint Member of Education) adverse note of 1 October 1911 against the Hindu University movement, Butler laid down the necessary conditions for the scheme of the Hindu University without having the formal order from the Council. Presumably he influenced the Council and was authorized to communicate the terms to Malaviya. The change of government tone towards Malaviya was further revealed when Lord Hardinge agreed to see Madan Mohan Malaviya on 9 October 1911 when they found among the three schemes, money was being collected for Malaviya's scheme and realized that Malaviya was indomitable and government should come to terms with him before it was too late. The meeting was more or less the same as it was between Harcourt Butler and Pandit Malaviya. It reflected more Malaviya's real nature and intention, his appeasement policy towards the British Government and opportunism to serve the purpose.

In the interview with Lord Hardinge Malaviya informed the latter how important the government approval was by saying that "he had received promises for 27 lakhs, but that to realize this sum it was essential to have the support of government and to

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398 Telegram from Viceroy to Secretary of State for India, dated 16 September 1911. Telegram No. 256, 2.45 P.M. 
Harding Papers, MCFR 8. NMML.
adopt a scheme". He emphasized all the time on the point that
he was without a scheme and would be willing to accept any scheme
that the government might propose. Lord Hardinge expressed
that Pandit Malaviya's attitude towards government had on certain
occasions given an impression of hostility and distrust which had
tended to prejudice the government against the movement that he
was leading. He said that the government before giving support
to any scheme required to be assured that it would not be utilized
for political ends and that there should be sufficient government
control.

Malaviya's task was then to disprove the British allega-
tion against him and convince Lord Hardinge of his loyalty by
expressing regret for the past actions and assuring for the
future. As Lord Hardinge wrote:

The Pandit assured me at some length of his loyalty
to the British Government and, admitting that he had
used on certain occasions unnecessarily hard words,
expressed his regret for having done so. (401)

To Lord Hardinge also, Malaviya emotionally expressed that
he had no love for power and was "quite ready to remove himself
from the movement if his personality was unwelcome on the committee
although he had the idea of the university greatly at heart". Malaviya knew that it was impossible for anybody under the sun to
remove his name from the committee specially when his name by this

399 Hardinge in a note dated 10 October 1911. Education
Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
400 Ibid.
401 Ibid.
402 Ibid.
time had become synonymous with Hindu University Movement by heading the deputation committee for the collection of funds and by his oratorical supremacy.

Lord Hardinge came to terms and said to Malaviya, whom he once called 'rascal', that government would certainly offer no opposition to a scheme on sound lines and on conditions approved by them. He assured Malaviya as a powerful representative of the Hindus that the Hindu University would be treated on terms of equality with the Mohammadan University.

Malaviya took the hint. He expressed in a round about way that the Hindus would not be treated fairly or equally with the Mohammadans if the government would not support or approve the scheme publishing the necessary conditions for the scheme. He said as Lord Hardinge noted, "that a publication of the government conditions would give intense satisfaction to the Hindu community as showing that they would receive fair and equal treatment with the Muhammadans". Thus through his diplomatic skill he changed the British attitude towards him and his movement by pressurizing the government through his actions, speeches and

Commenting on a letter from Sir Harcourt Butler to J.H. DuBoulay, 31 August 1911 which stated that Malaviya was taking the name of government in support of his proposal of a Hindu University Lord Hardinge remarked on 1 September 1911: "The Pandit is a real rascal". Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

Hardinge's note 10 October 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

Ibid.
magnetic personality.

Being insured of the government approval, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya decided to register a society under the name of "The Hindu University". Consequently on the 15 December 1911, the "Hindu University Society" was formally registered, with an office at Allahabad and a branch office at Banaras. The second collection campaign started and the total promised donations till March 1913 itself exceeded eighty lakhs of rupees.

There were some interesting features of Malaviya's collection of funds for the University. Malaviyaji with his great optimism used to move about with the blueprints of the buildings of the Hindu University and would reason with people thus:

Is it difficult to collect five crores of rupees from Indian people? Are there no ten such rich men as can donate five lakhs each? Are there not twenty such men as can donate three lakhs each? Are there no hundred men who can give one lakh each? (408)

Montague was attracted by his magnetic personality though he had a before-hand negative information about him. Montague wrote in his own Diary "Pandit Malaviya, the most active politician in any Council...is a man of beautiful appearance, Brahman clad in white,...with a beautiful voice, perfect manners and an insatiable ambition.... He is very nice, very conciliatory fully understanding. I liked him very much. He is so earnest, it is difficult to believe what every body tells you that he is a snake in the grass and absolutely untrustworthy. I feel that they do not handle him the right way". P.K. Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.

Total number of the members of the society was sixty-one. Maharaja of Darbhanga was the president. Mrs Annie Besant, Sir Guru Das Banerjee and Dr Rash Behari Ghosh were the vice-presidents of the society. Pandit Sundarlal who once declined to take the post became the Hony. Secretary. But Malaviyaji did not accept any important post in the society.

Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, p. 58.
And this is how he calculated to collect five crores of rupees. Everyday he used to fix a target for the day's collection with an oath that until he would be able to reach the target he would not touch the meal. He approached princes and chiefs, waited on government officials, visited important centres and addressed great gathering at which he appealed to the patriotism of merchants and zamindars. To rouse the religious instincts of the Hindus he used to say:

In this ancient and holy place of Lord Vishwanath...where the great Raja Harish Chandra gave in charity not only his kingdom but his son and wife, the city where the saints and rishis had lived through the ages.... I am establishing an university, which will combine ancient wisdom with the knowledge of the physical sciences and technology. There could be no greater charity than that of providing knowledge. Here is an opportunity for large hearted people to give liberally and to earn merit and gain blessings of Lord Vishwanath, and the Bholanath who is so easy to please. (410)

At last the Himalayan task of the collection of funds for the establishment of the Banaras Hindu University bowed down to the power of organization, power of eloquence, power of conviction and determination of Malaviyaji - "the prince of beggars". Meanwhile, the British attitude towards Malaviya had not only

409 One day while he was in Amritsar, he went to a house of a businessman to get the subscription. It was part of noon time. The businessman offered refreshments but Malaviyaji refused. When the businessman came to know about the vow of Malaviyaji he gave over a cheque for the balance of amount which Panditji promised to collect. The amount was much more than what he expected to donate. Sitaram Chaturvedi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, pp. 59-60.

410 Nand Lal Singh, ed., Malaviyaji Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 44.
softened but also had a positive sign of change when they found Malaviya's tremendous influence among the orthodox group of Hindus which ultimately alienated and drove out the powerful Theosophical group from the Central Hindu College. S.H. Butler wrote in a note on 2 May 1913: "The present position is that the staff of the Central Hindu College have resigned. This is an advantage as it clears off the cranks? Malaviya kept his words to Butler.

Pandit's main interest to found a Hindu University under his supreme guidance defeating the other schemes, was revealed to the British Government. They could read well the ambitious nature of Pandit Malaviya and felt no need to take the Pandit seriously. Moreover the Maharaja of Bikanir in a letter of October 1911 assured Lord Hardinge that the Pandit was serious about his educational venture which could keep him free of politics. He wrote:

I must say I thought from my talks with the Pandit that he meant to be serious this time, and to really work for government approval and support and to keep free of politics, which I had strongly impressed on him. (413)

411 Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1913, Nos. 1-3.

412 When Sharp held the view that the government should clearly express their view on the question of size and finance and staff and said: "As to the first of these ... the main difficulty in the University, and the Pandit's idea of a great mass of colleges...." Butler remarked, "I don't think that we need take the Pandit seriously. Few do".

413 From Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur of Bikaner to Lord Hardinge, dated 1 October 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 1, No. 367/68. NMML.
They were happy when they found that one of their chief political rivals and critics were cowed down and were ready to resign from politics, if their scheme was successful. So they decided to keep him engaged outside politics.

Lastly, another plus point which attracted the British Government to Malaviya was his provincialism. This truth was expressed during the controversy over the issue of formulating the constitution for the Banaras Hindu University. The British Government felt it absolutely necessary that there should be full and adequate government control over the institution. Pandit Malaviya also felt the British pulse well that the venture would be abandoned if they could not get adequate government control. So he got furious when Mrs Besant and some of the Bengalees (like Rash Behari Ghosh and others) were up in arms about the terms which the British Government laid before them subject to the emergence of the Hindu University. He with his utmost annoyance remarked: "The Bengalees had ruined India over the partition and they are doing their best to ruin our country".

The flag of opposition was raised when Butler sent the draft constitution to the Maharaja of Darbhanga. In the constitution of the Banaras Hindu University the Government proposed that the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces would be the

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414 Butler's note dated 2 May 1913. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1913, Nos. 1-3, p. 13. N.A.I.


416 Demi-official letter from Butler to Sir James DuBoulay, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 27 July 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.
Chancellor against the promoter's proposal of Viceroy as the Chancellor.

Secondly, instead of All India affiliation it would be limited only to its own local jurisdiction admitting students from all parts of India. The real bone of contention was regarding the power of the Chancellor - the representative of the British Government in India. The draft proposed, in the name of general supervision and advice, and to keep up the standard of education sufficiently high, that the Chancellor should reserve the special power of appointment and dismissal of staff and examiners (they would report to the Chancellor), controlling finance, approval of the appointments of vice-chancellor and provost, of the initial regulations and subsequent changes of incorporation of local colleges in the university, of the nomination of five members to the Senate, and of the institution of new faculties and the reservation of power to lay down the limits of expansion at any particular time. The principle underlying them all, as the government tried to convince, was that in the interest of the rising generation and the parents, the government must be in co-operation with the university and in a position to help it effectively and secure sound finance.

The feeble objections which Malaviya voiced were on the 1) questions of limitation of the power of affiliation and 2) the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces as the Chancellor of the proposed university. The reasons behind the objections were out of his apprehension that the promoters would be deprived of a lot of money. Only 80 out of 100 lakhs that they had expected;
and that if there was only one Chancellor of the proposed two universities of Aligarh and the Banaras then they would tend to become cast in the same mould. Malaviya wanted to supersede all the existing universities both quantitatively and qualitatively. Other than these two major points Malaviya did not like the method of appointing examiners with the approval of the government of India only from public point of view. He personally did not object against it. He said that the public would throw up the schemes if they are not having any 'addition' whatever.

Pandit Malaviya's objections were not taken seriously. They knew that Malaviya was not Mrs Besant and so would not raise the flag of opposition which might lead to an agitation on the part of the Hindus. Some sort of compromise was made that the Hindus would follow the Mohammadans body but would not originate anything. To their great satisfaction they found that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the chief promoter of the Hindu University movement had accepted almost all the terms of the draft without

418 Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67.
419 Ibid.
420 When Malaviya came to see S.H. Butler he said that while Darbhanga, Sundarilal and himself were prepared to accept 'any terms', the majority of the subscribers would not and that unless government gave way on the point of the Chancellor he thought the government would fall through. Butler to Sir James Meston, October 1914, Ibid.
421 From John Hewett to Lord Hardinge, 8 August 1912, Hardinge Papers, MCFR No. 2, vol. 84. NMML.
422 The other two chief promoters viz Maharaja of Darbhanga and Sundarilal were puppets in their hands. Maharaja of Darbhanga wrote to Butler "I have shown that draft to Pandit Sundarilal and Malaviya. Pandit Sundarilal will do all he can so will Malaviya but he is frightened of the people whom he leads. Maharaja of Darbhanga to Butler, 28 August 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1916, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.
any strong protest or opposition. He was only "frightened of the people whom he leads". The government paid no attention to it, as it was no difficulty to be subdued. So their natural wishful thinking automatically derived that the Hindu University question would push through smoothly with sufficient measures of government control as they desired. But the unexpected opposition came from two sources viz Mrs Annie Besant and from some of the Bengalees particularly from Rash Behari Ghosh.

The resignation of the staff of the Central Hindu College made the government of India assured and rejoiced as "clearing off the cranks". But when Mrs Besant wired from Madras expressing her disappointment and disapproval of the conditions they became concerned. Mrs Besant also added that she would not have consented to the transfer of the Central Hindu College to the Hindu University Society if she could have anticipated such conditions. At first the British Government of India did not put much importance to Mrs Besant's protest due to her decreasing influence in northern India and transfer of headquarters (her

423 Madras also protested. But as it was far away from northern India and as they had little contribution in the movement the government did not pay much attention to it.

424 Maharaja of Darbhanga wrote to Sir Harcourt Butler, 28 August 1914, "Mrs Annie Besant is coming in force and she has been sending circular to all her Theosophists and to others to see that all her followers do muster in force at meeting". Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.

425 Butler to his mother dated 30 July 1914 and 6 August 1914. Butler Papers, MCFR No. 3. NMML.

426 Butler's remark in a note dated 2 May 1913. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1913, Nos. 1-3. N.A.I.

427 The Leader, 25 July 1913.
main centre of activities) to Madras. Though they knew that "she was going to create trouble", still they hoped that she would not be treated by the people as they were used to her and could make out how thoroughly unreliable and unscrupulous she was! But all the speculations were proved wrong when the stormy protest made by her and Rash Behari Ghosh was backed by popular sentiment. The press also severely criticized. The Bengalee and the Amrita Bazar Patrika as well as the Indian papers of Madras wrote in terms of keen disappointment. They questioned whether it was any longer worthwhile of the promoters to proceed with the scheme. The Leader though delayed strongly criticized quoting Gladstone and Disraeli doubted whether the university scheme should be proceeded at all unless they be abrogated or at least modified. It concluded: "Let the University

428 Butler to his mother dated 30 July 1914. Butler Papers, MCFR 3. NMML.

429 Ibid.

430 Rash Behari Ghosh did not send any reply and later informed he cannot accept the proposed conditions offered by the government. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67.

431 The Leader, explained their delay as it was done purposely to watch the prominent supporters and public sentiment. The Leader, 25 July 1914.

432 "Defective instruction with freedom and self-government would in the choice of evils, be better than the most perfect mechanism secured by Parliamentary interference". Quoted by The Leader, 25 July 1914. NMML.

433 "If he was asked whether he would rather have oxford free with all its imperfections or an oxford without imperfections under the control of the government, he would reply, give me oxford free and independent with all its anomalies and imperfections". Ibid.
come into existence as free and self-governing institution which will in every way be a blessing to all, instead of acting with suspicion and imposing conditions manifestly impossible of acceptance". Prominent persons from different corners of India loudly protested against it. Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar, expressed that he was unable to reconcile himself to a state-controlled institution which would be no national university. Rai Siva Sankar Sahai Bahadur, a moderate man of Bihar, wired "great dissatisfaction prevails here among the subscribers.... Please consult subscribers before committing yourself at the conference". The Cawnpore District committee of the Hindu University Society also sent a similar message. The government realized that Mrs Besant's popularity and influence did not wane. Butler remarked: "It appears that Mrs Besant has regained influence by opposition to government". All the ruling chief's influences, Pandit Malaviya's assurances and Pandit Sundarlal's command over the public were proved futile. The British Government did not think it wise to force down Mrs Besant and Bengali Party's throats with the help of the Ruling Chiefs as it would create a bad impression

434 The Leader, 25 July 1914.
435 The Leader, 26 July 1914.
436 Ibid.
437 Ibid.
438 Butler in a note dated 8 September 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67.
439 He repeatedly assured that he had no scheme and would accept what the government would offer.
in the community. Surveying the whole political situation they preferred to take the thing out of controversy at once.

Butler confidentially and privately wrote to Hon'ble James Meston:

The Viceroy agrees with me that we had better have the thing settled and that the compromise is a fair solution.... If it had not been for Mrs Besant I think we could have carried the original terms through, and personally I much prefer them, but we want to get rid of matters of controversy as far as possible and you will get the substance of the control which is necessary. Mrs Besant's influence has been unfortunate and Rash Behari Ghosh ought to have known, better, but he is a disappointed man. (442)

Butler immediately rushed to Allahabad for compromise.

In the compromise discussion he was really happy and informed Lord Hardinge in a letter from Allahabad:

We have arrived here on Sunday and immediately saw the Maharaja, Sundarlal and Madan Mohan Malaviya, the last of them was more reasonable than I expected. (443)

The British Government planned to serve their purpose by playing cards through the help of the Maharaja of Darbhanga who suggested "explanatory correspondence". Butler drafted a letter

440 From Butler to Sir Thomas Holdermen, India Office, Dated Simla 12 November 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings July 1915, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.

441 Ibid.

442 From Butler to James Meston (Private) 12 November 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67.


444 From Meston to Butler, dated 21 August 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.

445 Butler in a note dated 16 August 1914. Ibid.
and its reply which was supposed to have come from the Maharaja of Darbhanga being the head of the Banaras Hindu University committee. Through correspondence he killed some time which he thought would help to cool the hot heads.

In the final draft the Government of India divided the power into ordinary and emergency; the former under the control of the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces termed as 'visitor', while the latter under the control of the Governor-General of India under the title of 'Lord Protector'. The Chancellor was purely ornamental elected by the university. In this way the three chief promoters allowed the foreign government to get all the substance of power. They had some difficulty with Mrs Besant to accept the draft Bill for the Hindu University. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on the contrary in a telegram to Butler expressed his "humble" and "heart felt" thanks for having brought settlement regarding the constitution of the Hindu University which will live, Hindus will recall your esteemed name with deep gratitude for the large hearted support...." The control imposed by the Government of India was described by him as "Large hearted support". Ultimately in a special meeting a

446 Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1916, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.

447 Ibid.

448 From Lord Hardinge to Lord Crewe, 11 November 1914. Hardinge Papers, MACR 16. NMML.


450 Malaviya in a Telegram to Butler on 4 January 1915. Ibid.
small committee was formed on 30 January 1915 to settle finally with the Government the terms of the Bill, the statutes and the regulations and to draft any further provisions that may be immediately required. Mrs Besant, and Rash Behari Ghosh, the two chief opponents were not included in this small committee. The thorns were removed. The Banaras Hindu University Bill was placed before the Council.

Malaviya knew that the conditions of the Bill would call a lot of comment over various issues. So he tried to keep his face clear before the nation (which was essential as a politician) by saying:

There are some provisions of the Bills to which I take exception, but in view of the negotiations which took place between the government and the Hindu University society before the Bill was introduced and of the fact that the government have been pleased to take up the Bill at the present time as a noncontroversial measure. I refrain from raising a dissent regarding them. I accept them in the hope that the Bill will be amended when a suitable opportunity arises for doing so. (452)

Presumably, his genuine feeling was to achieve the full control over the institution step by step, his political sagacity pointed out that it would be unwise to turn down the proposals of the government by incurring their hostility which would lead towards the complete frustration of his cherished

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dream. So like Victor Emmanuel, in the movement of Italian unification he compromised with disgrace and realized his long cherished goal. In the history of education his outstanding achievement was recorded as "single man's achievement" though he was helped by his other illustrious contemporaries. Malaviya proved that "Few things are impossible to diligence and skill".

VIII

IN RETROSPECT

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a product of Indian Renaissance is properly speaking, the father of the Banaras Hindu University. He presented to the nation – a denominational Hindu University – a new scheme with old ideas. He borrowed the basic ideas from Mrs Besant – a university "which may lead the national life of India, as the Oxford and Cambridge universities lead the national life of England". To follow the models of Oxford and Cambridge Universities means an independent teaching and residential university where religion is an integral part of education side by side with secular one. Mrs Besant's basic idea was combined with other different schemes - some of which were already realized and some of which were going to be realized at that particular time, viz., the government colleges of Allahabad

453 Samuel Johnson in C. Anand, 3,000 Quotations, p. 136.
454 Mrs Besant in a speech delivered at Bombay on 9 March 1903, For India's Uplift, p. 32.
455 Sir James La Touche, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces also pointed it out in a demi-official letter to Malaviya dated 26 March 1906. Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 10-11.
(Science), Banaras (Sanskrit), Roorkee (Engineering), Cawnpore (Agriculture), Lucknow (Medical). His idea also partially collaborated with Gurukul University at Hardwar by the Arya Samajists (Religion), Tata Research Institute (Technical) and Aligarh Muslim University (denominational). He recruited the idea of a vernacular university from Bengal which aimed at diffusion of a liberal education among the masses. He was pioneer in beautifully assimilating those different ideas, thoughts and schemes into a composite one like an experienced bar-man who prepares tasty cocktail mixing up different alcoholic drinks. So we can safely conclude that it was a mixture of different old wines into a new bottle: a congregation of old ideas into a new one.

He attempted heart and soul to fulfil his dream in reality and ultimately realized it with the help of other different socio-economic and political factors. The motive force which played tremendously behind it was his nature - a variety of qualifications and limitations. His patriotism, idealism, intellectualism, modernism, Hinduism, were marvellously blended with loyalty, materialism, rationalism, orientalism and universalism, wedded with perseverance, industriousness, persuasiveness, golden voice and dedication for the cause. The limitations of his nature which played behind the back of his mind were mainly provincialism, orthodoxyism and his ambitious nature. His strong antagonism

456 The Last two were only in the course of establishment.
457 Sanjivani, 8 March 1890; NNWR (Bengal), p. 241. N.A.I.
against theosophy and particularly, against Mrs Besant was one of the main guiding forces for the emergence of the Hindu University. To wipe out Mrs Besant's name and the theosophical influence, he did not hesitate to violate the agreement which was made at the beginning of the discussion of amalgamation of two schemes of Mrs Besant and his own. The agreement was that Mrs Besant and ten other members of the Board of trustees of the college would be life members of the chief governing body. But they were forgotten afterwards. Moreover the books on Sanatana Dharma that had been prepared under the auspices of the Central Hindu College by Mrs Annie Besant and Dr Bhagwan Das, were completely discarded by Pandit Malaviya.

Pandit Malaviya's leaning towards Brahmanical supremacy was reflected in his institution. He actively encouraged it. The Hindu University Society was a Brahmin dominated society. Sri Prakasa, the son of Dr Bhagwan Das alleged that "...in the Hindu University a certain amount of differentiation started to be made between Brahmans and non-Brahmans". He wrote:

My father was not by birth a Brahman, but it was he who gave lessons in Sanatana Dharma to the students of the Hindu College. Pandit Malaviya evidently did not like this. (460)

While attempts were made at the old college to remove the evils that had crept into Hindu society because of wrong interpretation of Sanatana Dharma, and to reorient it in a beautiful and elevated

458 Sri Prakasa, Bharat Ratna Dr Bhagwan Das Remembered by his Son, p. 57.
459 Ibid.
460 Ibid., p. 58. For Malaviya's Provincial and Parochialism after its emergence see Anil Baran Ray, Students and Politics, pp. 7-8/34-37.
form in keeping with the needs of the times, the University on the contrary, stuck to traditional orthodoxy. Pandit Malaviya made Sundarlal the Secretary of the University. Regarding the day-to-day working of the University, there was some public controversy as well as between Sundarlal and Dr Bhagwan Das. Soon afterwards when he found that there was sharp differences of opinion between him and his colleagues, he quietly parted. Malaviya's mission was fulfilled. Mrs Besant and her close associates were driven out from the Central Hindu College. Mrs Besant expressed her grief in a letter to Sri Prakasa: "...as to the fact that Mr Telang and Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu were rejected because they were Mrs Besant's followers, I have ample evidence. But I do not think it worth discussing. I must also decline to reopen the question of the treatment of the teachers in the old Central Hindu College. Nothing is gained by reviving the dispute and going over old pounch".

Mrs Besant silently accepted the fact and never grumbled openly by expressing bitterness against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. On the contrary she did not hesitate to state him as the "heart and soul of the Banaras Hindu University. On the other hand Malaviya's authoritarian nature and rudeness was extended even towards Sri Prakasa, being the son of Dr Bhagwan Das, 'a close friend' of Mrs Besant. He refused to hand over Central

461 Sri Prakasa, Bharat Ratna Dr Bhagwan Das Remembered by his Son, p. 58.
462 Mrs Besant expressed her grief in a letter to Sri Prakasa. Sri Prakasa Papers (Mrs Besant). NMML.
Hindu College to Sri Prakasa for the purpose of holding an All India Congress meeting at Banaras. The plausible reasons behind the refusal may be to verify the complete triumph of Hinduism over Theosophy in the Central Hindu College - a creation of Mrs Besant by refusing Sri Prakasa to hold a meeting where Mrs Besant and Bhagwan Das were supposed to be present. He tried to show his disregard to the noble and gifted lady and Dr Bhagwan Das. The other possible reason was purely political. Motilal Nehru's gradual prominence in the United Provinces made Pandit Malaviya irritated. He was forced to retire from the politics, for the time being, for his waning influence. But he could not accept the fact and his political downfall made him irrational in behaviour. He attempted in vain to put obstacle by refusing to use the Central Hindu College hall. "People with high self-esteem but low security need continual admiration from others, feel hostile and dependent on them, and may behave in a very ruthless manner...." Malaviyaji's frustration was out of the unfulfilled political dream which made his character a complex one.

463 Once Pandit Motilal Nehru requested Sri Prakasa to arrange for an All India Congress meeting at Banaras in June 1920. Sri Prakasa decided to fix the venue at the Central Hindu College and Boarding houses as it was vacant due to summer vacation. He approached Pandit Malaviya for formal permission but the latter refused it. Sri Prakasa, Bharat Ratna Dr Bhagwan Das Remembered by his Son, p. 71.

464 The meeting was ultimately held at the hall of the Theosophical society under the presidentship of Pandit Motilal Nehru where Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was also present. He had to come to the Theosophical Society and so ultimately he humiliated himself by the refusal.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru perfectly observed him when he says: "His feelings drew him to one side and his thoughts to the other". He was a man of dissociated personality with hollow heart.

Malaviya's attitude towards the Muslim shrouded in obscurity. The Muslims never accepted Malaviya as their well-wisher. Aga Khan and Mohamed Ali, the two great champions of Muslim community strongly believed, that he was one of the bitterest enemies of the Muslims. His frank and forceful pleading for an aggressive revival of Hinduism and his image as the idol of orthodox Hindus created a clear crisis in confidence against him. His role as one of the most important Hindu communal leaders was emphasized by his activities viz in the Nagri Pracharani Sabha, cow protection movement, and movement for separate electorate, etc.

466 Ram Narayan Chaudhary, Nehru - In his Own Words: His Replies to Various Questions, p. 60.
468 Mohamed Ali wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru that "Hindu-Muslim unity was not his ideal... God knows that the Mussalmans too have their Malaviyas and there is no love lost between them and me". Mohamed Ali to Jawaharlal Nehru, 15 June 1924. Jawaharlal Nehru, A Bunch of Old Letters (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958), p. 31.
469 Ali brothers and Maulana Abdul Bari said in an interview with Sir Muhammad Shafi which had been recorded in his unpublished Diary that Lajpat Rai and Madan Mohan Malaviya were the real enemies of the British and of Islam in the country. Shafi's Diary, 17 February 1924. Quoted in Dr Afzal Iqbal, Life and Times of Mohamed Ali. An Analysis of The Hopes, Fears And Aspirations of Muslim India From 1778 to 1931 (Delhi - Reprint Edition, 1978), pp. 314-15.
Other than the Muslims, some prominent Hindu leaders also accepted the fact that his activities always tended towards the enhancement of Hindu-Muslim tension. His opposition to the Lucknow pact has been revealed by Swami Shraddha Nand. He wrote: "I attended the Lucknow sittings of the Congress also as a visitor but behind the scenes.... The new Hindu-Muslim pact was privately discussed in my presence. Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. C.Y. Chintamani were both against the pact...." Hindu Mahasabha under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya struck upon a novel plan for creating the spirit of aggressiveness among the Hindus by starting a series of well planned riots through the length and breadth of the country. As a reference to Malaviya's itineraries published in the newspapers of those years showed that "Pandit Malaviya's visit to a town being followed a few weeks later by a bloody riot in that town". Even he was accused of turning Congress into a Hindu organization. His role as the leader on the issue of Mopla riots, revealed his pro-Hindu attitude. He condemned Muslim goondaism vehemently but never protested when occasionally Hindus also ill-treated the Muslims. Gandhiji could not accept that Malaviyaji was the enemy of the Muslims. He

470 P.K. Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.
472 Ibid.
tried to eradicate the ill-feeling of Muslim world against Malaviyaji - his "worshipful brother". He had a true feeling towards the latter in spite of the limitations. P.K. Malaviya in a letter wrote "I love thee with thy faults" - such was the Gandhiji-Malaviyaji relationship. He loved Malaviyaji with all his faults and declared "Even if the whole Muslim world were to turn against me I would declare that Malaviyaji is my friend and elder brother". His pro-Hindu attitude was highly exemplified when he discarded Mrs Besant's scheme of a national university and presented a counter-scheme of a Hindu University against the Aligarh Muslim University in the United Provinces in the face of a strong Hindu-Muslim antagonism. Even being a far-sighted person with a noble and great attitude he could not rise above the separatist tendency. He failed to realize that a separate highest academic institution for the Hindus or the Muslims, was to aggravate the communal feeling among the common people. Though there were different private denominational schools, and colleges but the undenominational universities at the apex wiped out the communal, separatist sectarian feeling from the ordinary people's mind. In this perspective his image as an apostle of unity and fraternity would have been much brighter if he was instrumental in founding the Indian University uniting the Hindu hopes and


477 Ibid.
aspirations among infinite diversities of religious faith and creed. Thus he could attempt to unite the thoughts of people of India. But his own thoughts were not united. How could his actions be unanimous? From unity of thought must proceed the unity of action. Malaviya had none. His love for power and fame was so much that it was not beneath his dignity to kow-tow to the highly placed British representatives in India to fulfil his dream to establish a Hindu University at a time when the struggle for freedom was in full-swing. To achieve his purpose he didtoed British Government's terms and conditions. Ultimately as an honest politician by staying bought when was once bought, he did not press or protest vehemently for all-India affiliation presumably one of the reasons was to avoid Bengali influence in it. The promoters of National Council of Education in Bengal planned to be affiliated with the Banaras Hindu University. Malaviya apprehended 'that noisy Bengali politics' would be invited and his influence will be curtailed by the entrance of Bengali intellectuals. So he kept silence on this issue. Still, no one can deny that his super human energy and perseverance, his tact and intelligence, diplomacy and statesmanship were the essential factors to achieve the success.

There is no doubt that Malaviya was the beloved offspring of the goddess of fortune and so all the negative forces (Hindu-Muslim rift, divide and rule policy of the British Raj, intolerance in religion, his love for power and fame, rivalry between orthodox Hinduism and theosophy and provincialism) had played positive effects on his project and rejected Mrs Besant's most
ideal, mightiest scheme of an Indian University. The result is
the emergence of the Banaras Hindu University, the first denomi-
national university in India where Pandit Malaviya's name is
written in golden letters in the history of the Banaras Hindu
University. His dream of being a Kulapati was fulfilled shortly;
he became the Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University.
Tej Bahadur Sapru rightly remarked that if he had done nothing
else but founded this University and helped it to reach its pre-
sent position, his name would be immortal in Indian History.

478 P.K. Malaviya remarked that though now-a-days the trans-
lution of Vice-Chancellor is termed as Upa-Kulapati,
still in his time Malaviyaji was called as Kulapati and
in reality he was also an ideal Kulapati. P.K. Malaviya
Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.

479 Quoted in P.K. Malaviya Papers, Ibid.