Chapter 4

THE MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA
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In the preceding chapter, we have already noted, though occasionally, the part played by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, in influencing the emergence of the Banaras Hindu University. As a matter of fact, the role of the Maharajas was no less important since the participation of the Maharajas in the movement helped to earn the British patronage as well as the enormous fund needed to make the large and ambitious venture a reality. Before critically analyzing the role of the Maharaja of Darbhanga who, with his large donations and active participation, certainly needs particular attention, it is necessary to investigate why the Indian Maharajas as a class participated in the movement for the emergence of a Hindu University at Banaras and made it a success.

I

LANDED GENTRY AND THE MIDDLE CLASS INTELLIGENTSIA: A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

It may be said at the outset that the participation of the Indian Hindu Maharajas was mainly out of their class consciousness and British intrigues besides their own feeling for the motherland and the Hindu religion.

The change of leadership from the landed gentry to the middle class professional intelligentsia was not accepted as a natural phenomenon by the former. Though the circumstantial perspective did not allow them to protest in view of coming of a mighty power - the British Crown in the scene, they were trying
hard to topple down the middle class supremacy. To avoid staleness and eventual decay the aristocratic orthodox Hindu Maharajas endeavoured to satisfy the public by the pursuit of excellence, by raising the quality of expression to the highest possible pitch. Religious and educational activities were their favourite spheres where they concentrated their maximum energies to show their feat in order to attract the nation in general.

They endeavoured hard to get the public support more because of keeping in tact their privileges and prestige which they were enjoying. They knew very well that the British Government in India would care them more who had the real power; and the real power rests in mass support. To achieve the purpose they did not hesitate to break off their age-old traditions and customs. Instead of blindly following the old fashion of orthodoxy they responded to the actual conditions and needs by introducing suitable changes in the social and religious spheres through different organizations and associations.

Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was such an organization which mainly consisted of orthodox Hindu Maharajas and other aristocratic and religious leaders as its patrons. It was an all-India association for the religious, spiritual, social and educational advancement of the Hindus. Though an extreme orthodox body, it did not stick to its old ideas by confining itself only to the upper castes. It ushered in a new phase by following the doctrine of universality of the Hindu religion and renounced narrow, sectarian exclusiveness of the Brahmanical supremacy. Membership was open to all Hindus of both sexes, on payment of a nominal
subscription towards the Mahamandal fund. To popularise it ordinary members used to receive one copy of journal free of charge, besides the benefits of Society's "Samaj Hitakari Fund", which provided the heirs and nominees of a deceased member with a handsome aid.

It sold copies of Vedas to any Hindu who intended to buy it, violating the super imposed restriction on it which advocated that the circulation would be confined to the upper-caste Hindus only. The main objective was to make the Hindu society all over India a compact body united by a religion under the banner of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. A microscopic analysis of the membership of the association would reveal the fact that though it preached universalism the key positions were reserved only for the ruling chiefs and Dharma Acharyas under the title of the Sampakshakas or patrons. Among the five classes of members of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal organization, the pratinidhis

1 Rs.2/- only. The members were to sign a declaration promising his support to the Hindu religion. Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24 December 1906.

2 Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal issued from its head office at Banaras - two Mahamandal magazines one in English and other in Hindi. The World's Eternal Religion by the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal in the column of 'Information'.

3 Ibid.

4 A conference was invited on 23 December 1906 under the presidency of the Maharajas of Darbhanga the main purpose of which was to popularise the organization of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal and to make it an All India Institution for the preservation propagation and development of the ancient learning and Sanatana Dharama. Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24 December 1906. National Library (Newspaper Section), Calcutta.
composed of the prominent members of the aristocracy, rulers, and
of the leaders of Hindu communities. The management was re-
stricted to these two classes only. Among the other three classes
of members, the Dharma Ayavasthapakas consisted of distinguished
Sanskrit pandits of all parts of the country from whom, decisions
on religious questions were obtained whenever necessary. Other
than the religious experts the remaining two classes of members
were the Sahayaka Sahyas or special members and the Sadharana
Sahyas, which consisted of ordinary people. The last two classes
had no executive or special power. They were created only to
increase the volume of supporters and thereby strengthening the
association in the race of other religious associations. Thus
they maintained the Varnagrama Dharma or the doctrine of Brahmanical
supremacy and aristocratic oligarchy under the veil of pseudo-
liberalism and modernism. It claimed that the association had
no connection with the politics or if they had any, they were all
summed up in one word 'Loyalty'. Both Maharaja of Darbhanga Sir
Rameshwar Singh, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were the members
of the same organizations. Both of them had an ancestral pride

5 It consisted of the supporters of the Sanatana Dharma
from whom help in the work of the Mahamandal had been
received in the past and expected in the future.

6 Maharaja of Darbhanga's speech in the conference of
Bharat Dharma Mahamandal of 1906. Amrita Bazar Patrika,

7 The Maharaja of Darbhanga belonged to Srotya Brahman
group. They had a glorious tradition. The philosopher
king Maharshi Janak was their ancestors. Gautama and
Jagnavalkya also belonged to Mithila. They took more
pride in being called learned pandits than wealthy Rajas.
They devoted more time to scholarly pursuits. For their
religious aptitude they became the head of Srotya
Brahman and was called the 'Mithilesh'. No marriage in

(footnote contd.)
which was nurtured by their basic ambitious nature. Both of them engaged themselves in various types of social, economic, political, educational and religious activities in pursuit of their competitive aims of self-advancement. Though both of them were orthodox they did not blindly follow the footsteps of their predecessors. As the representative of two different classes the Maharaja associated himself with the different associations, viz. the Bihar Landholders Association, Tirhoot Landholders Association, British Indian Association, Imperial Association and others which promoted the cause of the zamindars and aristocratic nobles. Malaviya on the other hand associated himself with the middle class Associations like the Hindu Samaj, All India Prayag Seva Samiti and other similar associations. The common platforms of them were the Indian National Congress - 1) a purely political body and 2) Bharat Dharma Mahamandal - a purely religious Association. Regarding Indian National Congress Sir Rameshwar Singh had a bitter memory of the past. His elder brother and predecessor Sir Lakshmishwar Singh had to suffer frequently for the Congress activities. At the same time he was hurt for the unkind attitude of the Srotviya Brahmana family was possible without the permission of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. For details, see Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, pp. 1-2. For Madan Mohan Malaviya see Malaviya Chapter.

8 He had been elected four times as the president of the British Indian Association. He was the founder and Principal Director of the Bengal National Bank of Calcutta.

9 At Hardwar Kumbh Mela when Gandhiji also was present on the occasion.

10 The Maharaja wrote: "My Congress speech I am sorry to say, has got me into the bad books of government. I had heard on the most reliable authority that they were (footnote contd.)
of his fellow Congressmen. In a letter to his private secretary, Vindhya Nath Jha he expressed that there were men in the Congress, like Surendra Nath Banerjea and others whose great aspiration in life was to crush down the zamindars.

Again, Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh was very much annoyed with the attitude of S.N. Banerjea and his group on another occasion also on the issue of Permanent Settlement in Indian National Congress. He wrote in a private letter to Vindhya Nath Jha:

...as long as the Permanent Settlement Resolution is not passed, we should be very careful not to commit ourselves unconditionally. I believe Surendra Nath Banerjea and some others are dead against the proposal. There is some chance of the resolution being rejected. If so, it would be simply (foolish) for any zamindar to have anything more to do with the Congress. ...Representative institutions on the lines laid down by the Congress are always and have always been in every country against the landed interest, unless they are bound down by proper safeguards. And I wish if possible to make myself sure of these safeguards before committing myself unconditionally to the whole of the plan of the Congress. (13)

thinking of bestowing titles on me. The thing was looked upon as almost a certainty. But I see that my name is not mentioned in today's gazette...it clearly shows how careful and discreet I must be in future. Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh's letter to Vindhya Nath Jha, 1 January 1890. Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, p. 185.

11 Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh's letter to Vindhya Nath Jha, 1 January 1890. Darbhanga Raj Library. Ibid.

12 In the annual session of the Congress in 1889 by the Resolution No. VII and in 1890 by the Resolution No. VI, the question was placed before the government to take the permanent settlement under consideration and to extend the permanent settlement to all temporarily settled tracts etc. For details, see Ibid., pp. 63-54.

13 Quoted in Ibid., p. 54. In the scheme of National Fund Maharaja was suspicious because there was a rumour that the Fund was likely to be used as much against the government as against the zamindars. For details, see Ibid., p. 38.
Particularly regarding Malaviya Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh did not possess a very favourable outlook and called him once "an awfully conceited idiot".

Rameshwar Singh as a successor imbibed the same attitude. The rising of the middle class professional young group and gradually taking out the political leadership by them was not accepted with an open mind. He knew very well that the so-called 'Congresswallahas' interests were completely unidentified with their interests. Maharaja's attitude towards Congress was most glaring in a secret report which said that once Sir Harcourt Butler asked Maharaja of Darbhanga at Lucknow why he conquetted with the Congress Party whose interests could never be his, the latter replied:

If I hear that some dacoits have settled in the next street and cannot get a strong enough police guard from the authorities I must make terms with the dacoits. (16)

Again in the winter of 1908 he said to Butler:

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14 In a letter to Vindhya Nath Jha Maharaja wrote "About Balfour and Chaplain, I am sorry, Madan Mohan is such an awfully conceited idiot, we ought not to be bound down by the English parties". Quoted in J.S. Jha, *Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga*, p. 78.

But the same Maharaja maintained all through his life a very cordial and friendly relation and helped the Congress more than once in a period of financial crisis. For details, see *ibid*.

15 Here by the term "Congresswallahas" Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh meant Radical middle class Congress leaders like Surendra Nath Banerjea and others. For details see *ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

Why does not Government declare whether this idea of colonial self-government is disloyal or not. It won't come in my time. If it is disloyal I will have nothing to do with it, but if it is not disloyal it will make things easier for me that I am in favour of colonial self-government. (17)

The Maharaja of Darbhanga, who considered himself one of the natural heads of the Hindu society and landed aristocracy looked into Malaviya - the middle class, rising politician, who wanted to control the orthodox Hindus, a promising rival of him in social and religious aspects. Through the religious association, the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Maharaja of Darbhanga tried his best to uphold his position among the Hindus.

Malaviya, on the other hand, practically had no scope to climb up to the highest point of the ladder in the organization of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, as he was not a Maharaja or religious Head of the Hindu community in spite of his orthodox high caste Brahmin origin. He was appointed Mahapudeshak of the said association as a religious expert but could not be a patron or

17 S.H. Butler in a secret report dated 22 July 1909, Morley Papers, MCFR 6, vol. 2. NMML.

18 He was the President of Bihar Hindu Association. The Punjab Hindu Sabha was also established under his guidance and inspiration. He collaborated with Babu Sarada Charan Mitra to bring into existence the All India Hindu Association. It was at his suggestion that His Highness Aga Khan consented to hold the Hindu-Mohammadan conference at Allahabad in 1910. He was the real head of the Maithil Brahman community. An Admirer wrote "In fact, he is the leader of Hindus throughout India who look upon him with reverence and respect. Indian Review, February 1912, pp. 161-6.

19 Ram Naresh Tripathi, Tees Din Malaviyaji ke Sath, p. 346.

20 The religious experts were next to patrons and pratinidhis.
the President. But his personality was not prepared to be dominated by a class who claimed superiority only because of their merit of wealth. The "unsatiated ambitious" soul of Malaviya was not ready to accept the predominance of the Ruling chiefs in general and Maharaja of Darbhanga in particular in a religious-social association. But, neither his middle class origin nor his close association with politics were favourable to find any fortune there. This frustrated feeling presumably induced him to shun the association and establish Janatana Dharma Mahasabha with the help of his supporters to lead the society under his control for the social, political and religious purposes.

"Those who have long been in the habit of exercising power become autocratic and quarrelsome incapable of regarding an equal otherwise as a rival".

So, perhaps from then on an untold cold rivalry developed between these two organizations in general and the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in particular. In the

21 Montague wrote in his Diary of 1917. P.K. Malaviya Papers (Madan Mohan Malaviya). N.A.I.

22 In 1902 Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was formed. In 1905 the headquarters was moved to Banaras and Malaviya formed a separate association under the title of Sanatana Dharma Sabha. In 1906 two separate organizations Bharat Dharma Mahamandal and Sanatana Dharma Sabha were condemned as a creator of the division. The Mohini (Kanauj) of 11 January 1906 reported that the existence of two distinct sister associations like Sanatana Dharma Sabha and the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal with almost identical aims and objects was undesirable and suggested that they should be incorporated into one body, as such a course is calculated to strengthen the cause aimed at by them. NNWR (U.P.), 1906, p. 88. N.A.I.

Mint house select meeting for the Hindu University at Allahabad Maharaja of Darbhanga's name was not included. Either he was not invited or he did not attend the meeting. Malaviya received the green signal and led the Hindu University movement under the active participation and co-operation of the Sanatana Dharma Sabha. This fact perhaps was a great factor which instigated Maharaja of Darbhanga to project a rival plan of a Hindu religious university under the auspices of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Association. With his abundant wealth, power-prestige, proper modern English education, high social status and a very cordial relationship with British Government the Maharaja did not allow to diminish the glory of Mahamandal under his patronage and presidency in the context of the rival organization - Sanatana Dharma Sabha - under Malaviyaji. He presumably visualized that the success of the Hindu University scheme would place him under the shadow of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya - a middle class Hindu Brahmin politician. So the enterprise sponsored by Pandit Malaviya was taken, as a direct challenge towards his own organization or rather as a threat to the landed aristocratic class from the middle class professional group, as a confirmation of Malaviya's religious, social and educational superiority to him. So long he had consistently associated himself with most of the religious and educational movements of upper India by granting a lavish 24 donation for the cause. Now he started to take initiative.

24 Maharaja of Darbhanga was one of the patrons of Mrs Besant's Central Hindu College at Banaras. He also contributed a lump sum donation for this Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Alligarh. He was the sole Trustee of the Calcutta Mahakali Pathshala which was the first institution of Bengal to introduce system on national lines combined with appropriate religious training. Indian Review, February 1912, p. 162.
Under his presidency the Mahamandal was divided under five departments:

1) **Dharma Prachar Vibhaga** for the propagation of Dharma.

2) **The Dharmalaya Sanskar Vibhaga**.

3) **The Vidya Prachar Vibhaga** (Sri Sarada Mandala). The department of education which aimed at restoring the ancient seats of Sanskrit learning and also better controlling and managing the affiliated Sanskrit schools existing in different parts of India.

4) **The Pustaka-Sangrah-Anusandhan Vibhaga**; i.e. the Department for the collection of Sanskrit books and old manuscripts and comparative research in old and new literature, philosophy and science; and

5) **The Shastra Prakasa Vibhaga**.

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25 The department for the control and better management of the existing Hindu religious endowments, charitable institutions, Tirthas, shrines, etc.

26 The Maharaja of Darbhanga informed the audience in a speech at a conference held on 23 December 1906 that out of the eight great vidhyapithas in India which the Mahamandal had undertaken to restore and receive, one vidhyapitha of Mithila had already been taken in hand. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24 December 1906.

27 Under this department a complete and systematic Bibliography of Sanskrit Literature, philosophy and science was then being prepared. It was also intended to write and edit books in various subjects, such as vaidik and jyotish shastras, etc. incorporating the researches into ancient works with the most recent and modern developments.

28 Department for the printing and publishing of eight monthly journals in different languages of India, of religious tracts, and authoritative books on Hindu Science, Philosophy, etc.
In the race of competition Maharaja of Darbhanga properly answered the successful attempt of founding a Hindu denominational hostel by Pandit Malaviya attached to Muir Central College at Allahabad, when he established the 'Brahmacharyashrama' - a model boarding house for Sanskrit students under Mahamandal.

II

MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA'S SCHEME FOR A HINDU UNIVERSITY

Malaviya's proposal for a Hindu University made him think of a similar institution under the Mahamandal. In the conference of 23 December 1906 the Maharaja clearly indicated that his Association was also thinking and preparing of a revised scheme of education under the department of Sri Sarada Mandal (The Vidya Prachar Vibhaga) which would be combined with learning of the ancient Sanskrit all that is best and the most useful to us of the western knowledge. That was the popular educational slogan of the time. He further clarified that "The Sarada Mandal, in short will be a teaching as well as an examining body, provided for physical, intellectual and above all the religious training".

29 The Hostel was named after the name of the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces Sir Antony MacDonnell as "The MacDonnell Hindu Boarding House" attached to the Muir Central College of Allahabad. Maharaja Prabhu Naraian Singh of Banaras was the President of the Committee.


31 Ibid.
He did not fail to realize the truth that only ancient Sanskrit learning would not attract the crazy anglicised group of the young Indian population as well as the foreign British Government, if it was entirely based on Sanatana Hindu religious system. Maharaja of Darbhanga's proposal for a religious Hindu University - Sarada Mandal followed the same course of Malaviya's Hindu University. The proposal was not taken up officially till 1908.

In the meantime the Maharaja felt the pulse of the British Government through a Hindu deputation led by the Mahamandal under his presidency. Being encouraged by Minto's sincere speeches the Maharaja prepared a humble petition and immediately submitted it through its Secretary - Pandit Maharaj Narayan Shivpuri, Rai Bahadur General Secretary of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The memorialists contemplated embarking on an important literary scheme having for its object (1) the restoration of the lost schools of Hindu philosophy; (2) the publication with notes and prefaces in English of standard works on each school and authorized editions of the important books; (3) the preparation of an encyclopaedia of Sanskrit philosophy and metaphysics and (4) the expanding of a department for research work connected with history, antiquities and philosophy. The memorialists' conviction was that the restoration of ancient seats of Sanskrit learning in the country might serve as so many centres from which the light of the new renaissance is to radiate through this ancient land. As the

32 Home Education, A Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 105-08.

33 Ibid.
accomplishment of these objects would require a heavy expenditure and as the funds at the Mahamandal's disposal were wholly inadequate it appealed for help in aid of these projects with a substantial monthly or annual grants from the government. The memorialists did not forget to mention that His Excellency received the Hindu deputation with kind words; so they hoped that the appeal will not fail to meet with a suitable response from a sympathetic and enlightened statesman and Ruler like Lord Minto.

Directed by the Government of India Mr G. Fell, the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department wrote to the Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces to express the opinion of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor regarding the prayer of the memorialists. When Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, Education Department enquired to obtain some definite information about the project, the General Secretary failed to elicit a satisfactory reply. Even the Lieutenant Governor was in some doubt as to who held the office of general secretary at that time. When he asked the Maharaja of Darbhanga, he informed that it would not be possible to give any definite information of the society's intentions in the direction of its literary and other schemes until it had

34 Home Education, A Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 105-08.
35 Ibid.
36 Dated 27 May 1909. Ibid.
37 Ibid., No. 105.
38 Through the Director of Public Instructions.
succeeded in collecting a considerable amount of money.

The Lieutenant Governor Sir John Hewett, informed the Viceroy that though in abstract he was in favour of giving government grants in aid to a society like Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, in the pursuit of pure scholarship, he could not advise whether a grant should be made at all, or if made what would be a suitable amount as it was too vague. The report of the Lieutenant Governor of United Provinces persuaded the Government of India to write to the General Secretary to the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, that "although they sympathize with the desire of the society to promote the pursuit of pure scholarship they consider that the society should perfect its organization, draw up a more precise scheme of operations and show clearly how that scheme can be carried into effect before applying to government for assistance. They regret that the proposals of the society are, at present, too vague to justify them in considering whether it would be possible to sanction a grant-in-aid".

39 Home Education, A Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 105-08.

40 The Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces Sir John Hewett asked Mr Venis, the Principal of the Sanskrit Collège at Banaras, a European Sanskrit Scholar who was particularly qualified to judge, to express his opinion that the scheme was too vague to justify a grant to it from public funds. From F.E. Taylor, Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces, Education Department to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department dated 27 January 1909. Ibid.

41 From Sir Harold Stuart, the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department to the General Secretary, Sri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal dated Calcutta, 17 February 1909. Ibid.
Thus for the time being the scheme of Sarada Mandal - a light hearted fashion scheme of few patronages - mainly of Maha-
raja of Darbhanga - could not venture to take a shape in reality though Lord Minto was too eager to sympathise it with royal patronage.

The refusal made the Maharaja much more optimistic in this respect. He could feel the British pulse of eagerness to support. the cause forwarded by him through the Religious Association like Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. And he did not leave the scheme but endeavoured to popularize the cause by exposing it to the public.

He learnt the lesson that in order to get the government patronage the scheme must be specific with a definite proposal, along with a strong people's support. With that purpose the proposal of Sarada Mandal was termed as 'Sarda Vishwa Vidyalaya' - a Hindu Religious University under the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal Association. And in a public meeting at Banaras Maharaja of Darbhanga presented the scheme before the public.

The Mahamandal scheme for a Hindu University received enthusiasm only from a handful of orthodox aristocratic Hindus. This group tried to advocate that what the Hindus really wanted was religious education based on "Shastric Karmanusthan" combined with instruction in Hindu scripture and urged the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.

42 Home Education. A Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 105-08. N.A.I.

43 The Raja of Tahirpur wrote in the Leader of the 2 August 1911 to decry the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's university scheme, on the ground that it did not meet Hindu requirements and is merely a "padded edition of the scheme of existing universities. NNWPR (U.P.), July-December 1911. N.A.I.

44 Religious performances.
Mahamandal to formulate its proposal and asked for the support of the orthodox Hindus. But when Maharaja of Darbhanga lay his scheme of a Hindu University before the public of Banaras it had not been met with a public support and enthusiasm except from a few orthodox pandits. The Leader commented that it would be received with the same feeling elsewhere also. The editor of the Leader asked the Banaras Mahamandal to take a lesson from the Brahmayarta Sanatana Dharma Mahamandal of Cawnpore, which had suspended collecting its own donations in order to give free scope to the operations of the Hindu University, and to desist from any further mischief.

In the 'occasional notes' of the opening number of the Mahamandal Magazine (Banaras), for September 1911, the editor expressed regret at the apparent want of enthusiasm over the proposed Hindu University which he said was probably due to the schemes in the field not being approved of by the majority of intelligent Hindus. He criticized other schemes in indirect way and remarked that what they want is evidently not a replica of the existing Indian universities, not a scheme too ideal and vast for practical purposes, but a project for supplying those educational desire of the Hindu community which the existing universities have necessarily left out of account. These are - the

45 The Leader, 2 August 1911.
46 Ibid., 25 August 1911.
47 Ibid., 27 August 1911.
48 Ibid., 27 August 1911.
centralizing and organizing of the present amorphous system of<br>Tol education; the imparting of instruction in prescribed ritual<br>and practices, and the bringing under the systematic supervision<br>and guidance of a central body of experts of the indigenous<br>Sanskrit schools, libraries, etc. that are scattered all over the<br>country and carried on in a haphazard rule of thumb manner.<br>"If some scheme for such an object could be formulated", the<br>editor emphasized, "we are sure we would have Hindu imitators of<br>Lady Wantage and messrs G. & A. Palmer". (51)<br><br>Among the general leading newspapers of the United Pro-
vinces only Pioneer (Allahabad) had accorded a warm welcome to<br>it. The Leader, The Advocate, The Abhyudaya, The Sadharma<br>Pracharak, Al Bashir (Etawah), Awazai Kalq (Banaras), The Tafrih<br>(Lucknow) strongly criticized and condemned the scheme of the<br>Bharat Dharma Mahamandal. Some characterized the scheme as "the<br>medieval project", or "as an old world project for the resus-
citation of what are called 'Hindu ideals' which are of a piece<br>with the character of the Mahamandal's activities". They
disapproved the scheme because it was unsuited to modern needs and requirements of the Hindu community and the modern university. As the proposed Hindu University of Mahamandal did not design to impart scientific and technical education it could not appeal to any modern man and could not justify its existence in the present circumstances of India. The editor of the Leader commented:

...there was none so poor as to do it reverence. And we trust in the interest of all concerned that the scheme would be speedily consigned to the obscurity from which it should not have been allowed to emerge. (59)

They depicted the scheme as the "indirect contravention of the scheme so far propounded both by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mrs Besant. To them the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal seemed determined to do mischief and for that reason has put forward a scheme of a so-called university, in order to divert people's attention from the good work which the Hon'ble Malaviya has been doing. Mahamandal's scheme to thwart the joint venture of Mrs Besant and Malaviya's united efforts by a counter proposal of a Hindu University was viewed by the people as a challenge between the aristocratic vs. middle class attempts.

57 Ibid., 25 August 1911. The Tafrih (Lucknow), 11 September 1911. NNWPR (U.P.), July-December 1911. N.A.I.
58 The Abhyudaya, 27 August 1911. NNWR (U.P.), July-December 1911. N.A.I.
59 The Leader, 25 August 1911.
60 The Advocate, 24 August 1911.
61 The Leader, 22 August 1911.
62 The Amalgamation discussion between Mrs Besant and Malaviya was on the process.
Some commented that centralization and the bringing together of Hindus of all creeds and sects was the aim and object of the one, while decentralization and disintegration of the Hindu community by attaching undue importance to Varnashramis that of the other, and so no co-operation in these circumstances was possible between the supporters of the two schemes. They appealed that unless either of the schemes of the Hindu University became a reality, the Maharaja of Darbhanga should wait or withdraw and give whole-hearted co-operation to the earlier ventures. It should not add to the difficulties by launching a new scheme, which in fact was nothing but a theological department in the proposed university, on the success of which rested no small extent good name of the Hindu community. The newspapers further said that nobody had any confidence in the Mahamandal, and that there was nothing in its scheme which would prove attractive to the people. Moreover the length of the time given to the development of the project urged by the Mahamandal was no proof of the soundness of the project itself. The editor of The Leader commented that it would be better for the Mahamandal not to attempt to scale the heights of a university, and so come in the way of beneficient projects.

63 The Advocate, 24 August 1911. MNWR (U.P.), July-December 1911. N.A.I.
64 The Advocate, 24 August 1911; The Asaga-i-Kalg (Banaras), 1 September 1911; The Leader, 25 August 1911.
65 The Abhyudaya, 17 August 1911.
66 The Leader, 22 August 1911.
67 Ibid.
Maharaja of Darbhanga was disappointed by the public criticisms and press reaction, of which he was very much sensitive. He became conscious that his scheme was quite impracticable. But still he wished to pioneer the cause of the Hindu University which would earn a genuine popularity among the Hindus. The British Government of India utilized this "real feeling of rivalry" among the orthodox Hindu groups under the leadership of the Maharajas, aristocratic class and the orthodox professional groups under the leadership of middle Hindu class. So they endeavoured hard to play the games between these two groups actively supporting the former in order to fulfil their interest.

III

BRITISH RAJ'S RESPONSE AND REACTION

Sir Rameshwar Singh, the Maharaja of Darbhanga like most of the Maharajas of the time was a man with great loyalty to the

68 S.H. Butler in a confidential note dated 4 August 1911 wrote that the Maharaja said to him. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

69 Ibid.

70 Maharaja of Kashmir Pratap Singh, Maharaja of Scindia, Bikanir, Jaipur, Alwar and others were orthodox Hindu Maharajas who encouraged all sorts of Hindu religious demands. Specially Maharaja of Kashmir had a great enthusiasm for literary works. He was a staunch supporter of Nagri Pracharani Sabha. But each of them valued British Government's friendship most. Though they had a great desire to establish a Hindu University against the Muslim attempt still they could not join the movement without prior British approval. Ultimately all of them joined the movement to serve British purpose as well as their own interest.
British Raj. Originally he belonged to the famous Khandavala dynasty of Mithila. About 1700 the title of 'Raja' was conferred upon the Darbhanga Raj. They earned the British favour during the time of Maharaja Chhatra Singh (1807-1839) for their faithful services in the Anglo-Nepalese war. As a reward they were given the title of Maharaja. Maharaja Maheshwar Singh remained loyal to the British Government during the great Sepoy

One of his ancestors Gosain Shankarshen Upadhyaya, received the grant of village 'Khandava', Madhya Pradesh and went to settle there. Mahesh Thakur, the tenth descendent from him said to have come about the beginning of the 16th century. He became a priest of Raja Siva Singh, who still exercised a nominal supremacy in Tirhut. When they collapsed before the advancing Mohammedan they induced Samrat Akbar to grant him Darbhanga Raj. For details, see Bengal Gazetteers Darbhanga, p. 143; Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, pp. 1-2; History of the Darbhanga Raj, p. 6.

Alivardi Khan conferred the title on the head of Raghu Singh for the first time. L.S.S.O'Malley, Bengal Gazetteers, p. 143.

The British occupied Bengal and Bihar when Raja Pratap Singh (1760-1775) was the Maharaja of Darbhanga. The relation with the British became strained during the time of his son and successor Raja Madhava Singh (1775-1807) who was not prepared to recognize the acquisition of status of East India Company's Dewany which denied the previous status, and reduced their authority. Bengal District Gazetteers, p. 144.

The title, Maharaja, though not hereditary had been granted by the government as a personal distinction to each successive proprietor of the state. Bengal District Gazetteers, p. 144. Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, p. 6.

J.S. Jha wrote that Maheshwar Singh's attitude and activities created great suspicion and distrust in the British mind. He agreed to help the government only under a pressure of fine of Rs.1,000/- per day. His offer of the services of his Sepoys were however not accepted. Ibid., pp. 5-6.
mutiny. He addressed a letter to Government of India expressing his loyalty and making mention of assistance afforded by him to prevent the mutiny in the district. But the letter was neglected. After his death, leaving behind two minor sons, Darbhanga estate came under the direct contact with the British Government, and the court of wards was appointed.

The two minor sons of Maharaja Maheshwar Singh were the late Maharaja Lakshmiswvar Singh and his brother Rameshwar, the present referred Maharaja of Darbhanga. Maharaja Rameshwar Singh was born on the 16 January 1860 and succeeded to the Raj in December when his elder brother died heirless in December 1898, was made a Maharaja Bahadur three weeks afterwards.

Sir Rameshwar Singh had developed a deep sense of gratitude towards the British administration from childhood. The Maharaja and the late Maharaja received best possible education

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76 So far as the district of Darbhanga is concerned, no record is available which refers to the occurrences during the Mutiny. Ritambhari Devi, Indian Mutiny 1857 in Bihar, p. 102.

77 Lautour, the Collector of Darbhanga complained to the Commissioner of Patna that the new Maharaja was residing at Khajhanpur in Bhagalpur when the British officers left the station. Lautour did not receive any assistance from him. Letter from Lautour to E.A. Samuels, Commissioner of Patna, 18 September 1857, No. 431, State Central Records Office, Patna, quoted in Ibid., p. 131.


79 L.S.S. O'Malley, Bengal Gazetteers, p. 144.
under the court of wards' close supervision. Separate accommodation was provided for the minor Maharajas and their tutors at Muzaffarpur to separate them from the petticoat influence. Chester MacNaghten, a well-known educationist of the Cambridge University, was appointed in 1866. Though, every possible steps were taken to dissociate the two minors from the orthodox Hindu influences, ultimately it did not succeed. The orthodox members of the Raj family opposed tooth and nail and they received English as well as classical education. After the school education they were sent to Varanasi for further studies and Alexander a new tutor was appointed. He observed and complained that the minor Maharajas became unruly and gave him a real trouble when they stay at Darbhanga.

The anxiety of the authorities in this regard is clearly exhibited from the following extract from the letter of the Secretary to the Board of Revenue which expressed that no expense should be spared in giving the young Maharaja and his brother (Rameshwar Singh) the best education possible. No. 19A, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 13 January 1868, quoted in Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, p. 6.

When they were sent to Banaras for further studies, the General Manager of Raj Darbhanga, Col. J. Burn, was very particular that the visits of the minors to Darbhanga should be restricted as much as possible. Ibid., p. 8.

Sanskrit Pandit, a Maulvi and one Prasanna Chunder Mukhopadhyaya were sent with them to Muzaffarpur. Ibid.

The Queen Mother of Darbhanga, protested vehemently against their going to Varanasi and proposed the establishment of a college at Darbhanga.

In Bihar State Central Records Office (S.C.R.O.) Bundle No. 162, contains wards administration records on Darbhanga Raj. Among these is a report on which the exact year is not given. It is perhaps for year 1875-76. Quoted in Jata Shankar Jha, Biography of an Indian Patriot Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh of Darbhanga, p. 8.
The main objections of the British Resident was the Hindu orthodox religious performances. He alleged that "a very considerable portion of their time was devoted to the importunities of the purohits to ceremonies which seem purposely to break up the day and render connected studies almost impossible". Still they could not avoid it.

Maharaja Rameshwar Singh got a liberal education and showed more efficiency than his elder brother. He was good in mathematics and was well read, well-knowledged about the European subjects specially in English and was quite aware of the absurdity and prejudices of the Hindu superstitions and habits. He objected to the marriage with girls who were selected by the family but were too young to have a conjugal life. As he was younger by two years only to his elder brother the Crown-Prince Lakshmishwar Singh he had an enormous scope to come into close contact with the administration of the estate which his elder brother used to handle. He was appointed to the statutory civil service; and served in several Bihar districts as an Assistant Magistrate, ultimately he resigned the service in 1885. He succeeded to the Raj in December 1898, when his elder brother Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh died heirless, and was made a Maharaja Bahadur three weeks.

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85 Ibid., para 88.
86 Col. Burn, the general manager of Darbhanga Raj in his report wrote about the two minors who had an advantage to watch their every day character when the two boys stayed for some time at his house as a guest. Ibid., para 89.
87 Girl of suitable age was selected and he married in March 1877.
afterwards. In 1900 he was given the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal; and was made K.C.I.E. in 1902 and in 1904 he was elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council as their representative in the Governor General's Legislative Council.

The liberal English education, close association with the British officials, and their supremacy in handling the estate affairs, the different royal patronages, immature death of his elder brother and his quick accession to the Darbhanga estate getting the title of Maharaja within a very short time, bestowing other honorary titles and posts in the British administration made his grateful attitude towards the English. "British power is the overlord without whom the Princes cannot breathe". This observation of Gandhi became true to him. Though he himself was an orthodox Hindu, supported and advocated orthodox Hindu causes, interests, and became the president of Mahamandal his real intention was always to be a faithful, loyal Hindu Maharaja of British Raj. The reason for Princes' loyalty to British as Mahatma Gandhi rightly observed was "the hot-house culture, which they are given from infancy, has given them a taste for pleasure and pomp they will not forego". Specially his attitude and views on the agitation over the issue of the Partition of Bengal impressed the

89 Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh did not get the title so easily.
91 Ibid.
British Government wherein he pointed out that as the question was finally settled by government, the people ought to submit to it and try to accommodate themselves to the existing circumstances. Moreover he was always ready to assist the government to eradicate the growing sedition. He strongly condemned the terror activities of Bengal. At a meeting of the Hindu Association held at Muzaffarpur on the February 1910, His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga said:

...to confer together regarding our duty as Hindus in the present crisis of affairs; to express our abhorrence of all anarchical and seditious movements, whether in the form of actual outrage or by incitements to disorder through the means of the press or other seditious literature, and to assure the government as well as all whom it may concern that we, Hindus, are according to the teachings of our ancestral religion, a loyal and law-abiding community amongst the other people of our country.... (93)

It was he who first conceived the idea of starting the Hindu Association with the triple object of fostering loyalty to the government and king protecting and promoting Hindu interests in a loyal spirit, and promoting friendly relations between Hindus and other communities.

Maharaja of Darbhanga's wish of leading Hindu to recognize the difficulties ahead and to assist them in dealing with them


93 Minto/Morley, 24 February 1910. Morley Papers, MCFR 6. NNML.

94 Indian Review, February 1912, p. 162.
became more and more evident. So in dealing the issue of a Hindu University at Banaras S.H. Butler picked up Maharaja of Darbhanga's name specially as he had a rival scheme of his own. Darbhanga knowing fully well that his scheme of Jarada Kandal under the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was too vague and impractical to get the support of the government and the people, he ventured upon a new plan. He convinced the British Government through Sir Harcourt Butler that the 1) racial feeling in the united provinces was very strong and active; 2) Money would be forthcoming for the Hindu University if the Mohammadans had a university; 3) It was very important that the movement should be headed by responsible men of undoubted loyalty. He also said he would be quite ready to start a scheme in communication with Scindia and Bikanir on lines to be laid down by the government. He would accept any amount of government control, except on the pure religious side, and he would gladly include in the Hindu University the government college and the Sanskrit college at Banaras. He also talked of giving 2½ to 3 lakhs to the fund, and suggested Sir Harcourt Butler that he should write to him and ask him to make a declaration that he could use it as to the policy of government.

On the demise of King Emperor Edward VII at Calcutta and on the occasion of the Delhi Coronation Durbar he organized grand memorable Hindu procession.

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

Ibid.
IV

MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA'S DILEMMA

Thus Maharaja of Darbhanga laid out a plan to "overshadow 98 Madan Mohan" Malaviya - a person of most dislike and distrust both by the British Government and himself. But the British Government could not decide their mind. An awkward situation developed when Maharaja of Darbhanga was asked by Pandit Madan 99 Mohan Malaviya to support his scheme both by his personal con- 100 nection and subscription. In reality, though he was a 'yes man' of the British administration, still he wanted to keep a separate identity among his peoples. Hardinge advised him not to sub- 101 cribe until he was sure that the scheme had government support. He followed Hardinge's advice to the letter at first. But the real difficulty was when the press people insisted Maharaja of Darbhanga to express his real attitude towards the Hindu univers- 102 ity movement. Maharaja of Darbhanga, a man of weak personality whole-heartedly supported the Hindu cause but at the same time devoted his all energy to earn the British patronage for selfish

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

99 Malaviya in the meantime, realized the importance of including the Royal chiefs especially Maharaja of Darbhanga and amalgamate his scheme with him in order to earn the government support.

100 Darbhanga told Hardinge in a visit. Hardinge in a note dated 25 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

101 Ibid.

102 In a demo-official letter Maharaja informed S.H. Butler, 20 August 1911. Ibid.
motive. He was in dilemma. Neither he could dare to incur the British hostility by violating nor the government's suggestion did he dare to stand forth on the side of the government in the teeth of a hostile press. Fear psychosis of press reacted strongly over the mind of the sensitive Maharaja of Darbhanga who felt public criticism and ridicule as a wound in his religious, social and public image. Being pressed for views about a Hindu University, asked Butler if there was any objection to his telling press men who worried him that Hindus would not be well advised in proceeding with any of the schemes before the public until they had had a conference to discuss them, and had ascertained how far and on what lines they would receive the cooperation of government.

Butler had no objection provided the conference was thoroughly representative and thought that it would clear the air. Du Boulay also informed Butler that Lord Hardinge told him to say that "Hindus will not be well advised in proceedings with any of the schemes before the public until they have ascertained how far and on what lines they will receive the cooperation of the government". Butler wrote accordingly to


104 Butler to Du Boulay, 28 August 1911. Ibid.

105 Demi-official letter from J.H. Du Boulay, esq. C.I.E. to Butler dated 21 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. NMML.
Darbhanga and advised him to say that he had nothing to do with a scheme that had not got the approval of government. The Maharaja wanted to wash his hands from the movement referring the name of Butler.

In the meantime the Maharaja got the report that Malaviya was going to hold a meeting at Darbhanga, he was very much worried. He informed S.H. Butler that people were in ignorance of the ill-feelings of the government towards Malaviya and they were joining on the understanding that they were doing the work of the government and of the country. He wrote: "For the benefit of such persons is it not desirable that they receive some sort of idea of the feeling towards Mr Malaviya if they are to resist his advances". For the solution again he reminded him to propound a counter scheme by persons who possessed the confidence of government so that government approval would follow as a necessary corollary. In the conclusion he wrote: "I am entirely in your hands and hope you will send me clear instructions as soon as practicable".

But the situation was much more complicated when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya held meetings in Bankipur, Mozuffarpur and

106 Demi-official letter from Butler to Maharaja of Darbhanga, 1 September 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.

107 Demi-official letter from the Maharaja of Darbhanga to S.H. Butler dated 28 August 1911. Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid.
Darbhanga and other parts of Bihar. The Commissioner of Division
presided over the meetings. There the absence of the Maharaja
was condemned. His reference of S.H. Butler, made the leaders
of Bar at Bankipur and Muzzafarpur and "others who think with
them" very angry. Maharaja of Darbhanga became very shaky by
Malaviya's warning after the meeting. It went into his head
that his inaction would lose his public reputation - a very
sensitive point for a man with Hindu super ego like him. The
press reported:

Beihar has to its lasting credit given a remark-
able proof of its patriotism and beneficence
by responding to the call of Hindu University
deputation.... The unique feature of Muzzaffar-
pur and Darbhanga meeting (when Malaviya visited,
was the sympathy of the European official
community.... (115)

Maharaja of Darbhanga was further embarrassed when the Dowager
Maharanis of Darbhanga true to the memory of their illustrious
husband, the late Maharaja Lakshmishwar Singh led the way by
contributing 12,000 rupees. The Leader commented:

111 In Darbhanga Mr Perrot the Collector of Darbhanga pre-
sided the meeting and expressed his sympathy with Madan
Mohan Malaviya scheme. The Leader, 2 September 1911. NMML.

112 Maharaja of Darbhanga wrote to Butler that the meeting
was held before his arrival in the town "whether by
accident or design". Demi-official letter from Maharaja
to Butler dated 4 September 1911. Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Malaviya held a meeting at Darbhanga on 31 August 1911.
For details see S.L. Dar and S. Somaskandan, History of
the Banaras Hindu University, pp. 169-70.

115 The Leader, Thursday, 28 September 1911. NMML, I.I.

116 Ibid.
Had he been alive he would have endowed the Hindu University like the illustrious Tata of Bombay. We all fervently hope that the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga will also ultimately join us. (118)

The editor lastly commented: "I firmly believe that we will not have to wait long for a decisive pronouncement from him". Maharaja of Darbhanga became restless. He wrote to Butler:

"...my refusal to join the movement can only be due to the fact that I do not want to part with my money or to some equally ignoble reason. My position is therefore a very difficult one...." (120)

In the same letter he again reminded him to consider the counter scheme by trusted and loyal persons. But a change of tone was noticed in this letter which ran "I shall endeavour to carry to the best of my ability any instruction that you may give me". No longer Maharaja of Darbhanga was prepared to be "entirely in the hands" of the British Government when his public image, popularity and reputation was at a stake. Two alternatives were before him - 1) either a counter-scheme of Hindu University supported by the government headed by him or 2) to join hands with Malaviya assisting him both by his personal co-operation and financial contribution.

So he indirectly suggested the British Government that if
they did not take any action to stop Malaviya's move by a counter
scheme, he was forced, against his will, to join the Hindu Uni-
versity movement. The government also could read the situation
correctly. The government of the United provinces had sugges-
ted that Ruling Chiefs, Landlords and conservative elements
should be associated to counteract the influence of lawyers.

Lord Hardinge ordered Butler to prepare a scheme for a Hindu Uni-
versity which would be acceptable to government. So long
Hardinge had a very good personal relation with the Maharaja of
Darbhanga. His policy towards the Ruling Chiefs in general was
to avoid any official relations. He studiously endeavoured not
to bring official questions to him. He told them that they must
deal with through the Agents, and had never allowed any encroach-
ment by them upon his position. Only through friendly personal
terms and influence with the Chiefs he tried "to keep some of
them straight". In the same manner he kept Maharaja of Dar-
bhanga 'straight' on the issue of Banaras Hindu University.

Besides Hardinge thought Darbhanga to be an amenable person
and very anxious to do something which shows his loyalty. He was

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122 Butler wrote to Du Boulay that there was no doubt as
to the pressure. He had heard from Bikaner begging
him for a reply to his letter as "I am in an awfully
awkward fix". Butler to Du Boulay, dated 20 August
NMML.

123 Hewett's note, 15 August 1911. Education Department,
A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

124 Butler in a note of 11 September 1911.

125 From Hardinge to V. Chirol, 1 April 1913. Hardinge
Papers, MCFR 7, vol. 93, No. 1.

126 From Hardinge to Charles Bayley, Lieutenant Governor of
Bihar and Orissa, 13 July 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2
(84 vol.), No. 25, p. 13. NMML.
quite certain that if ever any question should arise, Maharaja
would do what he told him. So when he found Madan Mohan Malaviya at the head of the movement Maharaja of Darbhanga became 'very useful' to him "to oust the Pandit" and put Maharaja at the head of the movement for a Hindu University to guide it on proper lines as directed by them. Lord Hardinge in a personal meeting informed Maharaja of Darbhanga that if he followed the Government's terms and conditions, he might be able to take the lead in the movement for the establishment of the Hindu University. Maharaja of Darbhanga's cherished dream to head the Hindu University movement found a practical solution. He was already eager to join hands with the Hindu University movement for public demand and press interference. Only government refusal kept him aloof. Darbhanga was very much eager to inform his credibility to the public. So in a confidential letter he asked for Butler's permission to publish the supposed correspondence which was suggested by Lord Hardinge between Maharaja of Darbhanga and Butler.

Butler asserted that the only objection to publication was that the Secretary of State might object to their practically deciding the case without consulting him. He suggested to write

127 From Hardinge to Charles Bayley, Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa, dated 13 July 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2 (84 vol.), No. 25, p. 19. NLML.
128 Ibid.
129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
131 Confidential letter from Darbhanga to Butler dated 10 December 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.
confidentially to Darbhanga giving him permission to show the
letter to the leaders of the movement and suggesting that they
should move in the matter on the lines confidentially communica-
ted. Hardinge entirely approved Butler.
Maharaja's desire was fulfilled. He wrote to Lord
Hardinge:

In the Hindu University movement and in all
other important matters, in which I have had
the fortune of taking part since I have had
the privilege of knowing you, I have invari-
ably looked upon you as my guiding star,...
Believe me that I look upon the day on which
I met you as the red letter day of my life,
and that I look upon your kindness and sym-
pathy as greatest asset that I can possess in
my remaining years of life.... (134)

To make Maharaja of Darbhanga more grateful towards the British
Government he was appointed a member of Legislative Council in
Bihar. The highest expression of flattery and gratitude was re-
vealed when in the end of a letter Maharaja wrote "Yours devoted
Servant".

...you are a man to live and die for. That man
is really fortunate who can get an opportunity
of serving you or being near you. My only comp-
laint against you is that you have banished me

132 Butler in a note dated 11 October 1911.
133 Aparna Basu in her book: 'The Growth of Education and
Political Development in India, 1898-1920', in the Chapter
of Banaras Hindu University remarked "...the Maharaja of
Darbhanga was persuaded to head it...." is not true. On
the contrary he was very much eager to head the movement.
134 From Maharaja of Darbhanga to Hardinge, dated 4 September
135 Ibid.
from your presence, but my consolation is that you know I am serving you wherever you have placed me, and that you allow me to come to you, when possible. (136)

Even Lord Hardinge was once embarrassed with the flattery of Darbhanga. He wrote: "I must congratulate you on the success of your meeting at Patna, but I think that your references in your speech, though very kind, were much too flattering, since after all I have only been trying to do my duty...." Once Maharaja of Darbhanga proposed that the King should be designated as "Defender of the Ancient Religion".

After joining the Hindu University movement he continuously emphasized the point how he was suffering for it. Butler in a letter to Hardinge wrote: "Darbhanga has written me a rather mournful letter about the exacting nature of his work in connection with the Hindu University. He has to seat hours in the heat at meetings over subscriptions". But at the same breath he did not forget to mention that he had a great reception at Aligarh, Moradabad and Bareilly only to convince the British rulers his importance and popularity among the people. He was eager to make the government understand that "the work connected with the

137 From Hardinge to Darbhanga dated 2 October 1913. Ibid.
138 From A. Chamberlain to Hardinge, dated 2 July 1915. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 16, No. 38, p. 112. NMML.
139 From Butler to Hardinge, dated 19 June 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 2 (vol. 83/84). NMML.
140 Ibid.
Hindu University was no pastime". On the affiliation question he attempted as suggested and directed by Butler to get the two communities reconciled to the views of the Secretary of State. He wrote to Hardinge "It will be a hard task", and in the same letter did not leave the opportunity to appease the latter. He wrote: "I will tell them that...it will be impossible for us to have a more sympathetic Viceroy and a more friendly Educational Member, and it is of the utmost importance to both Hindus and Mohammedans to have the universities started while you are at the helm". But the British Government was not fully confident of his calibre though they had no doubt about his honest intention. Hardinge wrote to Butler: "I feel sure that Darbhanga will do his best to keep down agitation, but it is questionable how far he will be able to do so". Still Hardinge encouraged his initiative and informed Darbhanga how deeply he was interested in the success of his in connection with the Hindu University and how confident he was that Maharaja will succeed in bringing the scheme to fruition on thoroughly sound and educational lines. Maharaja of Darbhanga's ego was satisfied when he found Malaviya, though one of the chief promoters of the Hindu University, was not accepted by the Government as their trusted one. In a

141 From Maharaja to Hardinge, 15 July 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2 (84 vol.), No. 33, p. 23.
142 Ibid.
143 From Hardinge to Butler, dated 22 July 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2 (84 vol.), No. 43, p. 28. NMML.
144 From Hardinge to Darbhanga, 9 September 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3, vol. II, Part II 86, p. 92. NMML.
confidential letter Butler suggested adding a paragraph in his correspondence which was to be published in order to impress the people. Maharaja wrote "it will go a great way...would you advise it being shown to Malaviya?" Butler replied that he had left them discussion of Maharaja and Pandit Sunderlal. His primary concern was to prove his ability before others. So in a personal meeting when the Viceroy told him that if all went well, he would lay the foundation stone of the University in the winter he asked his permission to tell it to his Hindu friends and the chiefs. He wrote "It will make my path far easier if I am permitted to do so...."

V

IN RETROSPECT.

Thus by the bait of personal ambition, love for reputation and power, selfish motive of enduring Royal blessings the British Government in India purchased a puppet which played a double game (1) with the British Government as the loyal British supporter and (2) with the Indian people as a faithful and an orthodox Hindu patriot representing the Hindu matters. The remaining history and role of Maharaja of Darbhanga in the Hindu University movement was nothing but the confidential correspondence between

146 Butler to Darbhanga. Ibid.
him and the Government of India. The British Government dictated every step of the movement and carried it out principally through him and Sundarlal. Even the letter which was written on behalf of the president of the Hindu society by Maharaja of Darbhanga were sometimes prepared, dictated or suggested by them. Butler wrote to Hardinge "He asks my help in several ways. They can do nothing without us. We have to treat them as children, but as our own children".

Maharaja gave prior information about all the formal and informal discussions of the Hindu University conferences, possible dates of Hindu deputation, the disagreement among the members and the possible opposition from some of them. The government crossed the hurdle of opposition through him. When there was a great opposition led by Bengal, Madras and Mrs. Besant over the government control as suggested by Crewe, the Secretary of States for India, Hardinge wrote to him:

I have sent Harcourt Butler to discuss the whole subject with the promoters of the Hindu University. He will have a difficult task, but with the assistance of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, who is at the head of the committee, I am in hopes that our views may obtain a fair amount of support. I sent for Darbhanga only the other day and spoke to him about it. (150)

148 Butler to Hardinge, dated 19 June 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 2, NMML.

149 For details see the Private official correspondence between Butler and Maharaja of Darbhanga. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67; and Malaviya Chapter.

150 From Hardinge to Crewe, dated 30 July 1914. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 16, No. 38. NMML.
Never did he raise a strong opposition to the objectionable terms and conditions of the government which brought the university under government control. Butler always consulted the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the first instance with a view calculated to create least opposition. He played the role of a "shikhandi" in the British hands to assassinate the Indian aspiration - to be independent in the field of education with the help of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Pandit Sundar dial.

But though he was the President of the Hindu University society and one of the chief patrons of it, he was not recognized as the "father" of the Hindu University. He could not avert the natural course of history by defeating and belittling the middle class supremacy in society. Malaviya though could not become the President of Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was recognized by the nation as the chief architect and father of the Banaras Hindu University which was called "a single man's creation". And that single man was Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's strong antipathy and bitter hatred towards Bharat Dharma Mahamandal was better expressed later on. He could not forget the old days of rivalry and all along he nurtured a sense of vengeance against it. In an opportune moment he struck a

151 Confidential demi-official letter to James Meston from Butler, dated 10 July 1914. Education Department, A. Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67. N.A.I.

152 shikhandi was one of the characters of Mahabharata who was the immediate cause of Bhishma's death.
heavy blow by following a very vindictive attitude towards it when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's popularity knew no bounds as the father of the Banaras Hindu University as a renowned political leader of India.

**Bharat Dharma Mahamandal** awarded a certificate of honour to him. Pandit Malaviya returned the certificate and exposed its defects by strongly criticizing the organization. He wrote to Srijut Ramachandra Naik, the Secretary of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal as follows:

To my mind the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal is not qualified to give a certificate of honour to any one, and so its certificate is of no significance...the book published by the chief of the mandal under the title of "The Seven Darshan" announcing it to be an ancient work has been expressly declared to be quite a modern work. For this reason and on account of other defects, the Mahamandal has become an object not only of indifference but also of odium to many religious men. (153)

Malaviya criticized **Bharat Dharma Mahamandal's** attempt to award certificate of honour to more than six hundred persons as highly presumptuous and wrote that it "had made itself liable to extreme ridicule". He emphasized that Bharat Dharma Mahamandal organization was very narrow, limited and unpopular in spite of its fabulous wealth and treasure by saying that "no more than two or three hundred men attended its sessions although they were held

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153 Copy of a translation of a letter from the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to Srijut Ram Chandra Naik, in connection with the affair of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Banaras,Home (Confidential), Deposit Proceedings, August 1916, No. 16.

154 Ibid.
with great pomp and show for six days together at Benaras". He charged that Mahamandal's attempt to offer titles to eminent men of the country was not to honour them but to hide its defects and to arrogate false dignity by flattery and audacity. He severed the connection with the Mahamandal by saying "So long as you do not purge yourself of these defects I do not like to have any connection with the Mahamandal". This behaviour of Malaviya was highly explosive and harmful for the development of Mahamandal. Ultimately these two organisations were merged into one in 1917. Thus in the inter-class conflict the desire for equality and the desire to believe oneself equal to others instigated to perform the external gestures and deeds of equality the outcome of which was the two separate schemes of Hindu University and ultimately amalgamated into one. "But there still exists a sense of hierarchy, a sense of difference in dignity, perhaps less differentiated less widely ranging than in earlier stages..., but it is there". Bharat Dharma Mahamandal also could not intermingle its aspiration with the Banaras Hindu University of Malaviya. They resented against its superiority and expressed their resentment by endeavouring to found a religious university under the

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155 Home (Confidential), Deposit Proceedings, August 1916, No. 16.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid.
name of "Sri Sarada Mandal". The grievance of Maharaja of Darbhanga about the 'landed interest in general' that they had no organization through which they could compete with the professional classes still persisted. He expressed his bitterness about the domination out of Malaviya and his caucus in the affairs of the young university. He said to Meston that no position of real authority or anything else except decoration had been assigned to any one whom Malaviya could not count upon as henchmen. Maharaja of Darbhanga's worry - 'What in particular was to be the position of the landed aristocracy if Malaviya and his gang were to dominate all public movements' still continued. Banaras Hindu University failed to be a socio-religious and educational organization of the landed aristocracy. But he was able to enhance the British confidence towards him.

159 The World's Eternal Religion published by Bharat Dharma Mahamandal in the column "Informations" (in the last portion of the book).

160 From Chelmsford to Meston, 16 September 1916. Meston Papers, MCFR 1. NMML.

161 From Meston to Chelmsford, 4 September 1916. Ibid.

162 Ibid.