Chapter – 6

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HAR DAYAL’S LEGACY

Har Dayal was one of the foremost writers of English prose in the twentieth century India. Writing in an elegant economical style won him the critical acclaim of the literary world. He wrote his ideas and thoughts to share with his reader. This, he did with great integrity and passionate sincerity.

Har Dayal regularly published papers and articles for newspapers and journals. In his books, he emerges as an idealist and humanitarian, with a speculative philosophy. In his comments on history and the contemporary scene he was an analyst of extra ordinary lucidity. The years spent in study and writing in England particularly in the British Museum Library proved useful to him throughout his life. While in exile he was relatively free from the crushing burden of responsibility. His comments in his books make them singularly fascinating and revealing on the contemporary scene. He wrote with an unparalleled and refreshingly free of sophistries and ambiguities. He made a genuine contribution to history and politics, as well as, to literature. He in a way sought to act as an interpreter of the east to the west.

Much of his writing and ideas have been influenced by the book’s he had read mostly of western world works. He wrote in English for a wider circle with a view to share his ideas and understanding with them.

He was a voracious and erudite person and always kept himself abreast with latest writings and trends of thought. He observed the western democratic traditions and the ideals of socialism. He appears to have developed a way of thinking which was detached and introspective. All that Har Dayal read and studied through the years stood him in good stead for it
helped to form what is a naturally clean and simple prose style. Har Dayal uses English as a precision instrument and he wrote with great elegance and charm. He read only to absorb new ideas or to provide him with a new slant on old ones. His great and passionate interest was always on international view of politics, and freedom for India.

Har Dayal's three book's viz. 'Hints for Self Culture', 'Boddhisattava Doctrine in Buddhist and Sanskrit Literature', 'Twelve Religions and Modern Life', were written while in England. They were astonishingly successful. All three were written with the sort of introspective searching for the truth an attempt to put down in black and white his thoughts and ideas.

In his writings Har Dayal did not merely aim at showing as to how things happened. He sought to show why things happened. Har Dayal was at his best in the art of narration and not in the art of vivisection. He did not present a miscellany of dry, detailed and dusty investigations. Deliberately devoid of sentiment and emotion, Har Dayal sought to grasp the essence of an age of a nation to evoke the atmosphere or the emotions of the past. Making the writing of history a personal and creative act, in his "Hints for Self Culture". He brought qualities of style and insight to history which made the book fascinating to a large numbers of people. Nevertheless, he also attempted to break free from the narrow tyranny of politics and dynasties and tried to see history in the larger aspect of economic, social, cultural and intellectual areas. Har Dayal's moral judgements were strong and personal, his condemnation of what he disliked, unsparing and critical. All through his life he indulged in philosophic, generalizations, and enchanted remarks.
Har Dayal was no believer in presenting history as a series of dates and facts, allowing the reader to form his own opinions. The ease and fluency with which Har Dayal presented his views on world history show how much work and scholarly research went into the writing of "Hints for self culture". He read enormously shifted and winnowed to form a compact and cohesive view. He presented history as truly universal and above "national and cultural prejudice".

With the publication of 'Hints for Self Culture' Har Dayal's reputation as a writer and as a thinker came to be established. The style for which Har Dayal was famous may be witnessed in all his work marked by clarity, uncomplicated, flowery phrases, rhetoric, lucid and economical. A massive common sense and scientific temper could be seen in all his work. Har Dayal looks at all the events more as a westerner than an Indian. His Days in Europe and America made him rational, unsentimental, logical. He propogated the message that the great and obsessive preoccupation of the modern world is the confrontation of science and religion, rationalism and faith. In his "Hints For Self Culture" section on art and literature he deals exclusively with the literature of the west and the great literature of the east, e.g. Ramayana, Mahabharata, Kalidasa and Tagore. Among western intellectual giants he frequently quoted Goethe, Hugo, Shelly, Keates, Byron. All his writings show that he marooned in himself not only by circumstances but by his very sensibility and intelligence. Possibly his writings were the product of solitude and of imagination turned inward upon itself. He seems always to be questioning not only his own but even others motives. Har Dayal wrote with great forcefulness and unusual candour, expressing feelings that many other public men would have been at pains to keep hidden. He always
believed in plain speaking and calling a spade a spade. He had never been intoxicated by words or language. His main purpose in using words was to express what he meant, clearly and directly and with the least amount of rhetoric. Indian writers who chose to write in English as their medium ran the risk of being turned colonials. Such a criticism had never been at any time applied to Har Dayal.

As such he compares remarkably well with other great writers of English prose, emerging as a fluent and able writer of elegant assured prose. As a writer Har Dayal was probably better known in America and Europe in general and England in particular. As a writer he was not popular that much in India, except for his role in the Ghadar movement. But outside India Har Dayal's personality is projected mainly through his writings and his contribution to democratic thought, scientific spirit, humanism, backed up with rationalism. We have critically and analytically examined the writings of Har Dayal and find that he believed in the existence of an eternal and Universal energy, from which all phenomena proceeded. The Universe is uncreated and indestructible. Space-time, Causality and Flux - these three govern all phenomena. Nature is autonomous in its Evolution. There is no Absolute or Unconditioned. It is also necessary to postulate metaphysical entities like "life-force," "spirit," etc... We are Humanists and Rationalists. We promote science and the scientific spirit. We are neither spiritualists or materialists, but simply scientists. We investigate all natural phenomena without making the division into Spirit and Matter.

He described that the Universe, as observed and judged by Man, manifests two principles, Good and Evil. The Good consists of Life, Growth,
Truth, Beauty, Happiness, Love, Knowledge, Health, Wealth, Virtue, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, etc. The Evil is the opposite of these. But these principles are immanent in Nature and in Humanity; but they are not external to Nature and Humanity. We do not pray to any deity. We meditate on the Principle of Good.

This principle triumphs slowly but surely in biological evolution and in human civilisation. Its complete fulfillment depends entirely on the development of Human Personality, and not on any impersonal natural law. We are Personal Energists, not theological or pseudo-scientific fatalists.

He found that the ideal was the complete and harmonious development of Human Personality in all its aspects: physical, intellectual, aesthetic, ethical, etc. Human Personality is creative and progressive. It is the supreme manifestation of the Divine Principle of God. Man is the highest being known to us at present. He stated that we do not base Ethics and Conduct on the dogma of personal survival after death, rebirth, resurrection, etc. We must grow and do our duty, whatever may happen after death. Young people should avoid this morbid theme and concentrate their thoughts on the problems of this life and this world. Philosophical speculation on this subject may be permissible in old age, when some may welcome the prospect of rebirth on this earth for further development, but not for any reward or punishment. But this is not essential or important.

Above all, we are truly and certainly immortal, physically and mentally, in our children and their descendants.

We promote the fourfold development of Human Personality by all means in our power.

We teach the natural methods of maintaining health and cutting disease (without drugs, sera, vaccines, etc). We proclaim the gospel of Health and
Healing through sunshine, water, pure air, gymastics, sport, eugenics, wholesome food and drink, proper breathing, thought-control, optimism, etc., etc. We discourage the use of meat, alcohol and tobacco.

We exhort and help all to acquire some knowledge of Science, History, Comparative Religion, and other subjects. We insist on an all-around education. We also promote scientific and literary research.

We teach all persons to appreciate the beauties of Nature and good Art in all its forms. We condemn sensationalism and sensualism in Art, and encourage only serene, sublime and sympathetic Art.

We honour and revere all the great teachers of the past, e.g., Zoroaster, Moses, Confucius, Laotse, Buddha, Mahavira, Krishna, Rama, Isaiah, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zenom Epicurus, Jesus Christ, St. Francis, Muhammad, Jelal-ud-Dine, Spinoza, Kant, Comte, Steiner and others. We use suitable selections from their writings for our moral progress. We attach special importance to the works of the Hellenic philosophers.

We believe profoundly in the Unity of Humanity, and promote friendly intercourse and co-operation among all people. We combat all prejudices based on race, colour, nationality. We are consistent cosmopolitans. We teach Esperanto as an auxiliary language for world-unity.

We teach self-discipline and condemn sexual license and improper self-indulgence. The sexual impulse should be gratified in accordance with strict ethical rules, and a few may even sublimate it. We proclaim a new and noble code of sexual ethics for all men and women.

We work for the gradual establishment of social institutions based on
Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in a World-State without sovereign national governments and without War.

We celebrate a festival each month in commemoration of the great events and personalities of World-History. Thus, in April; we remember Shakespeare and the great poets of all countries and nations. In September, we commemorate Comte, Bradlaugh and all pioneers of Rationalism. In July, we celebrate all democrats. And so on. Our festivals are truly international and universal, and they are related to all aspects of human progress and civilisation. We may also retain some old festivals like Easter, Christmas, Vesak, Id, etc.; but we interpret them in a new way.

We appreciate informal social functions on such important occasions as Birth, Name-giving, School-going, Economic independence, Marriage, Death, etc.

Some enthusiastic men and women are trained as apostles. They must give their whole time to the Service of the Movement. They receive no salaries and have no home. They are given simple food, clothes, etc., for maintenance. They must live at our Institutes. Some of them also renounce marriage and parenthood.

He wrote about twelve precepts which abolished and superseded all old commandments:

(1) Discard superstition and strive for the triumph of the principle of Good by developing Human Personality.

(2) Take care of your body and enjoy good health and long life.

(3) Develop your intellect and acquire Knowledge.
(4) Cultivate and ennoble your Emotions, and learn to appreciate the beauties of Nature and good Art.

(5) Love Humanity, do your Duty, and build up a noble character.

(6) Work for social progress and establish institutions on the basis of Justice, Peace, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in a democratic World State.

(7) Be gentle and peaceful and refrain from violence and murder.

(8) Be just and honest, and do not gamble, cheat or steal.

(9) Be truthful and polite in speech.

(10) Be pure and chaste and shun lewdness and adultery.

(11) Abstain from narcotics and stimulants, or be very moderate in their use.

(12) Be humane to all useful or harmless animals

Har Dayal stated that thus the foundations of a new civilization are well and truly laid. Thus begins a new era in the history of the human race.

If we believe the legends as well as facts he posses ‘Encyclopediac trend of mind with phenomenal memory’. Its very difficult to keep him under one mould eg. Rationalist, an agnostic, an atheist, Radicalist, Humanistic, socialist, a man who visualized like his predacessor HG Wells and Shelly that the world as one i.e. one culture, one religion, one government, under one flag. He studied different religions and regarded Buddha his role model.

During his different phases his views had undergone a complete change. He began to look down upon everything Hindu and admired everything western.
He advised the British to convert the empire into the British Oriental African commonwealth in future. In his praise he wrote about the British character and role “as a truthful people... who had a moral and historical mission. The British government had his pronouncements translated into Hindi and distributed free in India”. On this ground and his contributions in intellectual field by writing his three classics i.e. ‘Boddhisattava doctrine in Buddhist and Sanskrit Literature’, ‘Hints for Self Culture’, ‘Twelve Religions and Modern Life’ had significant and immense value.

At the same time Har Dayal was of the opinion that with the spread of western education Indians were forgetting their own cultural values, “patriotism must decay under a system which discourages the study of our national past”, he believed “British educational policy separates the cultured classes from the common people diminishes their reverence and love for heroes of ancient and the medieval India and curbs their political aspirations”.

But when someone pointed out that he himself had studied in western institutions, Har Dayal replied “I am what I am in spite of the education imparted by the foreign Christians in St. Stephen’s college, if I were a product of this system of Education how is it that you don’t find so many Har Dayals”. This may not be plausible and acceptable explanation of his contradictory position. He wrote : “No Indian who really loves his country ought to compromise his principles and barter his rectitude for any favour whatsoever at the hands of any alien oppressor”. This is a statement which the boy Har Dayal made at Oxford at the time he returned the British scholarship of 200 pounds per annum which took him to U.K. Har Dayal was completely a changed man. First he discarded English food, then English dress and finally English speech. He always met and
talked to Indian students in Indian languages. He discarded what he called “all badges of slavery”. Once he was a revolutionary who had passed from one crisis to another to reach the end of the road to freedom. How this transformation had come about in his life. It is difficult to explain at best we can discern was he influenced by the association that he developed in England with certain group of Indians and a consequence of their taunts and remarks to pull him down from his high moral character and idealism

Har Dayal wrote letter to Hanuwant Sahai that he was not allowed to return to England or India he would go to Russia where he intended to work with the Russian government. He had already had some close associations with socialists in Ukraine, Germany and Sweden. He wanted the world to believe that he had abjured politics and the world believed it to be true. Nobody cared to think: How could a genius sit silent? To be Frank the truth lies somewhere else.¹

Among the various critics and modern writer, K.K. Khullar writes that he was a genius. Prof. Bipin Chandra calls him a mercurial intellectual and Sumit Sarkar describes him as a marvick. Khullar writes in one of his articles on Har Dayal that he was a genius who could have easily won a “Noble Prize”, but he chose a more difficult path a road to freedom which he never abandoned during his life time. Har Dayal was a one man movement. The well known American historian Will Durant writes about Har Dayal that: “In Knowledge he was like an Everest”. “Here beyond doubt is a powerful mind a man of Aryan industry and completeness, a very Everest of erudition. His generalizations advance like irresistible squadrons, armed with million

arguments, his brilliant sentences are whips driving vanity form the temple of philosophy. Rightly this work is a monument. Words, images, phrases and ideas rush form him in an exhaustible astounding flood. One wonders from what turbulent springs they pour. He has a mint of phrases in his brain. Every page is God like energy of soul. Life is beyond criticism and he is more alive than life”. H.G. Wells – a great critic of man and events praised Har Dayal that by writing on a rationalism and humanism, he wanted to influence the British government so that a way might be made for returning to India. H.G. Wells belittled Har Dayal’s writings and his learning as if he had a motive, is far fetched and biased.

In fact, Har Dayal had strived hard all his life to explore, change, grow, that was the heart of his teaching and also of his own personality. For all his life he was driven by an insatiable curiosity to learn about every facet of human life. He knew thirteen languages and a prolific writer. He always stressed on self reliance and creative character building. In Sweden Har Dayal practiced Greek and Latin and studied art especially sculpture. For any revolution two things are important – “trust and enthusiasm”. And he preached both the things. Har Dayal had seen “Win in defeat, Life in death”. Does he ever get bore from life. “no he never” he faced death many times and crossed it laughingly. Once he said, “I take interest in each and every thing which was here, which is here, and which is going to takes place”.

Har Dayal’s life was saga of courage and sacrifice. He propogated Renaissance, Reformation, Revolution or Experiment, and keep on Going or Moving. He was very elusive personality, possessed encyclopaedic brain due to photogenic memory. He taught us about history in his book “Hints For Self
Culture" that "History is studied in a scientific and cosmopolitan spirit, and for teaching History, a new era must be employed. For reckoning dates and period of times. There have been several national eras e.g. the Hellenic system of Olympiards, the Roman era which began with the year of the foundation of Rome, the Vikram era, of India the Jewish era”.

Har Dayal’s comments on the modern Nation states reflects his understanding of the political developments and contemporary world system: “The nation state may be truly compared to the dinosaurs and the tyrannosaurus of the Mesozic age. Like this gigantic reptiles, the sovereign nation state has a very small brain with which to think and plan but tremendously powerful teeth and clause to tear and rend to destroy and dismember. The national state is an “all devouring monster”.

His own life was a big sacrifice of his family, kith and kin, friends, education and life itself. Har Dayal’s stay abroad for education and then his involvement in the revolutionary activities causing a break in his pursuit of higher education. He faced financial problems and the consequences of not fulfilling the assurances and promises made by his revolutionary partners severely affected his relationship with them and an ultimate disillusionment.

An indication of Har Dayal precarious financial condition in the early 1920 is available from the Notes left by Hanuwant Sahai, the correspondence between Hanuwant Sahai and Har Dayal clearly shows that he tried to send money through one of Har Dayal brother as a remittance by a close relative may be not be objectionable. Failing Sahai then tried to send the money through a friend in Paris but it came back to him undelivered. And Sahai feel
sorry for Har Dayal’s discomfiturue caused by the delay.² More than that he missed his family, especially his child. This is evident from the quotations that he cited in his writings. He quoted Henry Fawcett “never saw the face of his wife and his daughter. You who have a family know what he missed. Well may Schiller put his heart rending cry into Arnold von mouth”. “To die is Nothing, but to live and not to see the dear ones that is calamity”. He also quoted Bertrand Russell – “For my own part speaking personally, I have found the happiness of parenthood is greater than any thing that I have experienced”. In addition to Russell he quote – “If ever you have to choose between baby and a motor car in the first year of youth married life choose a baby. You will be much happier”.

Har Dayal’s religious views do not fall in a broad outlook. He was a Hindu chaunist. Yet understood the need of religious toleration.

Twenty three years later in his “Hints For Self Culture” he observed “who will decide if reason is not to be judged? It is better to declare like Kapila “God has not been proved”. Later on, he may or may not have read the Gita but he quotes it, in his twelve religions and he translated that into his life, though he kept his mental sky clear of mystic cloud’s yet he had a mystic tenderness for suffering humanity to use a German phrase he was a “theist in unconsciousness” and spoke only through his life. He had realized that if you would reach the souls of men you must care for their bodies.

In “Twelve Religions” he advanced a step further he selected beautiful things from various religions of the world and offered them as a intellectual gift to the humanists British public in general and the government

² Correspondence between Har Dayal and Hanumant Sahi through letter National Archive of India, New Delhi, File 38/xvii/1930.
in particular. The common man called “Dayalism or Eclecticism” to his philosophy.

Buddhism too was not saved from his rational mind. “Buddhism is a great and wonderful faith, its defect consist in its superstitions its devas and Boddhisattvas”. His views on God is like a scientist. He had a belief in universal spirit which he explains thus: “There is one energy, one universal force, one eternal tao, everywhere in the electrons, protons and molecules. In the cells and the tissues in star light and cosmic rays and in the mind of man. So all things and beings are the same in their innermost essence. The universe is one. This is the truth of truths, the secret of all secrets. The Taoist and the humanist feel and know that all things, and beings, are sparks from the same fire, drops, from the spray of the same waterfall.

Further he explained scientifically and described the Unity of Universe, he quoted Paul R. Heye – “scientific thought is monistic seeking one ultimate explanation for all phenomena”. Eddington, Jeans, Russell, Max Plank and Einstein all of them had emphasized this distinction. That reality is mental rather than material is underlined by Einstein’s definition of science. In Har Dayal own words “I disappear into myself into my own Tao or energy “ universal consciousness”.

Har Dayal had closely followed the growth and development of science during his time. He was upto date with regard to the latest developments of science that he could say – “when you gaze into space you cannot fathom it (inspite of the formulae of Einstein and Loven) your mind is strengthened by the strenuous gymnastic and is then forced to take a rest. You long to fly to the Moon or to Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Pluto or to Proxima
Centauri, Sirius and Procyon. You can not do it today. But you know that the
time must surely come when man will fly, in space and take a holiday trip to
Vega, Aldebaran or Betlgeuse, you may laugh at this foolish flight of fancy
but wait. Har Dayal never put his faith in luck or destiny while fighting as an
ardent nationalist. He was an ardent believer in rational thinking and
scientific attitude.

He once said “to remain always same not a thing to praise” we cannot
judge him by putting him under one mould. He kept on changing his views
due to his greater exposure and travel to various countries in quest of Indian
freedom struggle. He was idealistic. He saw that the independent India would
have a place for itself in the cavity of nations. He believed that “The city
states and the nation state will find their logical confirmation in the world
state of the future. Humanity will not remain divided into fifty or more nation
states for ever. It will be organized as one political community with the earth
as its territorial basis i.e. one state, one flag, one language, one ethics, one
ideal, one love and one life that is our goal”.

The world state is very high and laudable ideal : Har Dayal too
realized this. He anticipated it and gave a hint for such a development in
future. He said: “It shall come not today and not tomorrow but in its own
good time. I wrote it as utopian and philosophical book whether it will be of
any use to our country men is for you to decide”.

He believed in Gita – “Great people do things without thinking of
reward”. The philosophy of his life was to dedicate himself for “knowledge
and service to humanity”. Making an observation the French thinker Fantanel
wrote : “he got two mind and no heart”. But God had gifted Har Dayal many
mind and big heart to feel others problems and pains. For him religion was just like mist which covers all the reality of life. He himself practiced and believed in the dictum “talkless and do more”. Har Dayal argued in his “Hints for Self Culture” that: “Philosophy is based on certain reason, logic, and laws which can be verified in laboratory I cannot enter in your private harem or heart and can’t see what are you seeing or experiencing”. In Lahore when he was staying many people came to meet him among them Principal of St. Stephens College “Rudra” also came, he wanted to convert him to Christianity. Rudra was principal in 1904 at St. Stephen’s but Har Dayal left for doing his M.A. at the Govt. College Lahore, still they both had respect for each other. Rudra had pointed out that people like Har Dayal, Gokhale, Lala Lajpat Rai are product of this same English education. Har Dayal retorted that: “Its not due to English education but due to his inner instinct that he was a revolutionary”. Har Dayal wrote in a letter dated 12 Dec. 1923 that wanted Home Rule under the British Empire. Its content was “colonies are passing from looting, poverty, sorrow, hardship, basically they pass with mental and anarchism Britishers are basically society eater and their nation state is like a big man eater monster, the title was “Spit and Split the British Empire”.

Har Dayal was living in Sweden in exile and had gardner as a friend. On asking what he kept on thinking Har Dayal’s reply was “freedom of his country” and to achieve this he never used religion as a tool. This is verify from another source by Horst Krugar who comments that the tensions were not created by Har Dayal along but were the result of the intolerant attitude of certain groups of Indian Muslims in constantinople. Krugar wrote “certainly among the Indian Mohammedans sojourning in Turkey there already existed an inclination to treat newly arriving Hindu fellow countrymen as undesirable
intruder's and to oppose them on supposedly religious grounds". Kruger goes on to add ‘Perhaps the situation was also affected by the none too cordial relations between Germany and Turkey which disturbed relations between two groups of Indian nationalists since each was linked with one of the two powers.

Basically Har Dayal’s distrust of Pan-Islamism his difference with Indian Muslims in Turkey and his utter disdain for the Turks was a difficult combination and boded ill for his mission in Constantinople. He left the Turkish capital in disgust for the second time and went to Budapest in late 1915 the German Embassy was glad to see the lost of him and had been about to request the foreign office to remove Har Dayal from Constantinople in a most “unobtrusive way”.

Bhai Parmanand had played a very important role in Har Dayal’s life. He wrote that “I can’t say what might be Har Dayal future if I don’t find him at La Martini”. At Paris Parmanand came to know about Lala Har Dayal that he is staying at Forte-De-France. There Har Dayal used to do penance in the cave just like Gautam Buddha but Parmanand convinced him “due to Buddha’s penance doors of slavery was opened for Indians” and urged him to leave Buddha and make Vivekanand as his ideal. Har Dayal in 1928 steered clear of any sort of political activity and decided to do his doctorate at the School for Oriental and African Studies in London. Here was the man who twenty years earlier had spurned the state scholarship at Oxford as he wanted no favours from the British and dissociated himself for them, we yet can’t say with certainty either it was a emotional decision or his ego idealism or may be

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Hindu forces resurges himself in Buddhist ideology and Buddhism he believe “During the Buddhist period India achieved its greatest triumphs in science, ethics, education, art and international prestige”. So Har Dayal had always been fascinated by Gautam Buddha and chose as the subject for his thesis. But it’s a matter of paradox that on one side he was at his core a revolutionary on the other hand he was covering himself under the non-violence and peace of Buddha. Either his Bodhisattva or Hints both indicate a mature Har Dayal who seems to have assimilated the best of Eastern and western values, ideals, which was essential for propagation of Hindu culture and nationalism. Both the books had huge appeal for Eastern and western people but that was the need of an hour. Har Dayal ready to stay at Harvard in America but didn’t ready to accept Vedanta philosophy, Parmanand suggested him may be Kapila’s sankhya should be adopted by him. Kapila’s philosophy had influenced Har Dayal his “Hints for Self Culture” give a evidence of it. Har Dayal was against making compromises with the British Covenant.

According to the statements of witnesses who were prisoner’s of war in the Zoxsen camp in Germany in 1914. He advised them to commit mutiny on their return to India and drive the British out. He also urged the Indian Muslim prisoners to go to Turkey and fight on the side of the Turks. Har Dayal distributed copies of the Ghadar and other seditious literature among the prisoners and used to read to them articles which were highly seditious and advocated the use of force and expulsion of the British from India, they also preached mutiny in a most open defiant and unmasked manner.

For this reason he was a critic of Gokhle. In “Indian sociologist” Har Dayal published an appeal that we lack fire and zeal like Japanese commander Heroshi who

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feel regret that "he was only had one life to give for his country". Gandhiji had propagated non cooperation in 1921. We find not a single evidence of Har Dayal meeting with Gandhiji in post world war I rival of British imperialism had collapsed eg. Turkey, Germany, Ottoman empire dismembered. Russia had witnessed revolution. In India Gandhiji had emerged with new methods and new ideas and has launched non-cooperation movement and civil disobedience movement. Lala Har Dayal did not completely fade from the Indian political scene. Periodically he wrote for Indian journals and figured in some religious controversies. He had little hope for Hindu-Muslim unity the thousand years of war cannot be swept away by the Mahatma’s fast of 21 days.

Prof. R.K. Trivedi in his book "Critical Triangle" indicates in conclusion that as far as methodology is concerned revolutionary at best caused a dent on British imperialism through their activities, temporary, sabotaging and causing few embarrassing political killings. Further he explains that this can be symbol of individual heroism but they can never carry the masses along with them, above all Indian struggle had to be fought by Indian in India itself". 5

Har Dayal was influenced by Thoreau and he too propagate the same, however, Har Dayal send one letter from Oxford on 8 August 1908 from coping some extract from thoreou book "Duty of Civil Disobedience", he suggest that "Swaraj" should be the newspaper of new group. He received three scholarship at Oxford which he shuned for his principals and he give up Christian calendar and instead it use vikrama samvat and wrote letter in Hindi

5. Ibid., p. 153.
exampled a letter dated 4 Nov. 1908. In a letter written on 30th march 1907 he said that “Congress is not proper representation of Indian people”. Bhai Parmanand pays tribute “if people had told me that sun had gone from solar system, I might had believe it, but not the news of Har Dayal death”. Mrs. Dayal said – “he was the one who challenged the sea pirates i.e. Britishers”. Further she adds people know how to beautify their body. But don’t know how to beautify the soul. Har Dayal was deeply attached to his work. This versatile genius was called by universities of Denmark, Greece, France to deliver lectures on different topics. Har Dayal possessed romantic imagination, he always took care to see that words should always be in Rhymic order and hidden sequence should not be broken down. Words, phrases, idioms, sayings, quotations used to dance on the tip of his pen.

Har Dayal was human sculpture, many people like factory worker used to come and enlightened in the light of his Aura. Charles Sarfarazo call Har Dayal “St. Francis” because he took poverty as his co-friend. Har Dayal spent his life in exile America, Sweden, Paris, Afghanistan, London etc. But during his tour-de-force quest he was in touch with all intellectuals on three continents. The American newspaper used to call him the “Hindu saint” and “Hindu Ascetic” Har Dayal use to describe the British empire as a vampire who sucked the blood of others. Hokinson the British agent describe Lala Har Dayal – “26 years old 5 feet 6 inches height, 120 pounds weight command over English language most dangerous among the revolutionaries who visited America or England”. Nothing attracts Har Dayal except revolution and freedom of his country. He once said “I am ready to die infront of Palo Alto by this e.g. many will follow me”. Har Dayal used to believe like Keats who
said “for the happiness of his people I am ready to jump from mount Etna but I hate false praise”.

Meanwhile in 1919 Har Dayal had opened correspondence with India office. In London regarding the possibility of amnesty for him, he had drawn attention to the change in his views and to his booklet. Forty four months in Germany and Turkey, he asked for a British passport but stated if the India office decides otherwise it does not matter. I have lived and wandered for 11 years without a passport and can take care of myself under all circumstances. He also asked that the letter be forwarded to his brother Kishan Dayal in Delhi and added ‘I wish to enquire how my mother, wife, and daughter are. They will also be glad to have news of me and learn that I have got rid of my old revolutionary ideas. P.N. Sapru the son of Sri Tej Bahadur Sapru made a strong case in the council for Har Dayal saying ‘when circumstances forced you to make peace with De Valera (of Ireland) you had no objection. Surely Har Dayal’s crime has not been greater than De Valera’s crime the resolution was however defeated.6

Beside Sapru it was Bhai Parmanand then raised the issue of Har Dayal’s to India in the central legislative Assembly. C.J. Andrews who was once a professor at St. Stephens college in Delhi and a highly respected person now met Har Dayal in London and also raised his voice in support. India office in London noted all these views particularly Sir Tej’s comments and decided to reopen the case, even though Har Dayal had never himself requested facilities for a trip to India. It took the Government more than one year to come to a decision and finally on 25 October 1938 a letter was sent to

Har Dayal in which he was granted permission to return to his country, this letter was sent to his Edgeware address but had to be forwarded because by then he and Agda Erikson were in Philadelphia, U.S.A. Har Dayal was disturbed by the fact that while the British had given him permission to return to India, there was the possibility that he may not be allowed to go abroad again that is where Agda Erikson came in. If he could not leave India what of her of their relationship they had after all been together for 12 years. Har Dayal had gone to the U.S.A. because he had been invited by the society for Ethical culture and another organization to deliver a series of lectures he traveled via Sweden. Har Dayal lectures in America were received with acclaim and press reports were flattering. In one he had propounded the remarkable view which was contrary to popular thinking that “Pacifism is broad based and solidly grounded on this biological and psychological variety. Human nature is peaceful. If this were not so our endeavour would be futile and fantastic, for no one can defy mother nature, this universal law will justify us”. He himself thus held that human forms of aggression were unnatural. He had lot of apprehension of his return to India regarding his livelihood and future role in India. On receiving the letter from India office granting him permission to return to India Har Dayal had two more commitments to fulfill e.g. visiting summer school of the Peace Academy in Switzerland in August. He had also received an invitation from the world fellowship of Faiths for a lecture tour of America during winter of 1939-40. His dream never cherished into reality as he died on 4 March 1939 in Philadelphia.\footnote{Home Department Political File No. 28/7/38, 1938 National Archives.}
Har Dayal died on 4 March 1939, he was only 55 years and 4 month old. He could not see an independent India. He had mentioned to a friend ‘I have planned systematic work my best for the next 5 to 10 years anyway’. About the different works he was speaking were that he wanted to establish a modern university in Kashmir or Nepal. ‘India needs new modern, trained leaders and in the healthy climate and beautiful surroundings of Kashmir these potential leaders can be educated and trained not only for India but for the entire East’. Har Dayal was also at the time busy writing a book ‘History of Great Movements’. He had another book up his sleeve ‘History of India’ but he just did not have the time to pursue this.

All through his life he advocated vegetarianism, simple life but high thinking in his own words. ‘Biology clearly demonstrates that human nature is radically and fundamentally pacifist… Pacifism is broad based and solidly grounded on this biological and psychological variety. Human nature is peaceful. If this were not so our endeavours would be futile and fantastic for. No one can defy mother nature… this universal law will justify us’. He thus held that human forms of aggression were unnatural. Har Dayal remained enigma all through his life and death. Sunder Rani and their daughter Shanti had no official intimation of Har Dayal death which occur under mysterious circumstances. One of his friend Hanumant Sahai says, ‘the circumstances surrounding the untimely and sudden death of Lala Har Dayal are extremely intriguing and all the enquiries made in this connection have led his friends and the public… to believe that Lala Har Dayal was assassinated’. One of his famous biographer Dharmvira wrote, ‘Har Dayal could not have died on a sick bed martyrdom was the only way in which the significance of his life could have been completed’. Perhaps truth lies somewhere else.. Har Dayal had put on weight in contrast with his earlier ascetic
appearance may be the weight gain caused the final catastrophe. Although the Har Dayal family believed that there was a foul play, because his death was sudden and unexpected. Truly the British Intelligence had been on Har Dayal’s track for decades, they had followed every move he had made since he was 20 years old. Despite this, however the news of Har Dayal’s death in Philadelphia took almost a month to reach India. There were rumours that it had been deliberately withheld. This added to possibility of his being assassinated. It was noted that Har Dayal’s father had also died at a comparatively young age and later on one of his brother also suffered the same fate it was believed that Har Dayal also could have died of a heart attack. Har Dayal was cremated at a ceremony arranged by the Philadelphia ethical society. Hindu, Christian, Jewish and other religious heads paid tributes. One cannot forget to mention here the two famous tributes paid by Bhai Parmanand and Nehru. Bhai Parmanand heard of Har Dayal’s death while he was attending the Central Legislative assembly. Broken hearted he exclaimed, “if they had said the sun or the moon had gone from the heavens, it would not have been a more awful blank”. Another episode Van Wyck Brooks mentioned in his autobiography: when I meet Nehru I asked him “Do you remember Har Dayal” and with wan smile the great man said, “we all remember Har Dayal”.

Our aim has been to understand the man, his ideals and actions who in the end stood alone to furrow his course; by withdrawing himself from the movements or was he marginalized by people or circumstances – a tragedy shared by most of the revolutionaries in our struggle for freedom. Har Dayal had engaged himself in intellectual pursuit having his spark of his revolutionary zeal intact till the last breath of his life.
Did he really leave an legacy other than his books and important articles which used to published from modern review but did any body follow him did anybody cared his views and ideas that is the question to be debated. In India during world war politics, the process had began the extremists and moderates were engaged in reconcilatary efforts and more prominently the revolutionary movement in India and abroad collapsed and failed. Marking a situation of drift from Germany the patronage towards newly emerged Russian Revolution as friends perhaps there was no place for him to go any where. As a revolutionary he was a disillusioned man nothing was materialize what he perceived. Nothing was followed in India his techniques of mass mobilization or secret visits to meet other revolutionaries in India. We find no evidence that there was connection between the Indian revolutionaries or Ghadrtes who spread outside the world. IN famous Singapore mutiny we yet to reach on any conclusion that what role did Ghadrtes had in it. Yes Har Dayal is remembered as highly cultured and scholarly man who had moral courage to revise his opinion and to admit his error. Everybody not only talks of his highest intellect but also of the highest character which he possess. Har Dayal at heart was as much when we discuss his legacy two questions remains enigma did he mention or acknowledge Gandhian means and methodology and secondly the thinking of Sawarkar and his own views had a relevance. One of the Biographer Dharmvira writes that when Savarkar decided to return back to India from Paris. Har Dayal came to meet him on the station and both of them were not aware of this fact that perhaps this was the last meeting which both had with each other, they were two close like two soul in one body. Ideologically too they were very close. And used to believe in Akhand Bharat India had its own legacy of composite culture. Har Dayal
was detained outside and Sawarkar was deported to Andaman’s. And when Har Dayal died in 1939 till that time, it had yet not been proved that their meeting or any kind of correspondence by any of the sources perhaps they were cut off or may be the British Home Minister member R.M. Maxwell called Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru’s statement a “white wash” and held that Har Dayal was still a revolutionary and dangerous but now a man of 53 years of age and although he still enjoys good health has practically lost all his former fire and vigour. Last but not the least there is a black spot on the Lala Har Dayal course of his revolutionary activities that he apologized to British government and ask for amnesty to return back to England or India. It is sometimes compared to the Savarkar’s appeal for clemency. In 1911, 1913 for second time which was as a matter of propaganda Britisher’s published or reprinted in a union ministry of Education publication penal settlement in Andmans. Either its Emily Brown Lala Lajpat Rai, Dharmavira or Jaiwant Paul in contemporary period biographers ready to doubt his intentions on surface he became the research scholar but in reality or as some of his contemporary Swedish friends are able to recollect he worked underground against British domination over India. Basically he was keeping himself in background to avoid danger. The revolutionary movement had petered out. Har Dayal fire as a revolutionary had not been extinguished. It was this legacy that the British Empire sought to suppress.