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Early Career

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose contribution in our freedom struggle is unparalleled in the history of India, was born on 25 December 1861. The year is indeed significant because during this year the two other prominent Indians, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore were born. Historically this year is prominent in the sense because the Indian Council Act, the Indian Civil Service Act and the High Court Act were passed. In his family Madan Mohan Malaviya was the third son and the fifth issue of his parents. He was born and bred up at Allahabad and received his early education in two Sanskrit Pathshalas—the Dharma Jnanopadesh Pathshala and the Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha. Thereafter he shifted to an English school and passed his entrance Examination from the Allahabad Zila School. Now he joined the Muir Central College. He graduated in 1884 and received the law degree in 1891.2

Towards the end of 1884, he took up the post of an Assistant Master in the Government High School at Allahabad and remained there till 1887 on a salary of Rs. Fifty per month. He felt a kind of suffocation in the government service as he could not express his ideas freely. At this point of time he came into contact with Raja Rampal Singh of Kala Kankar who was the proprietor of a paper entitled Hindustan. The Raja offered him the editorship of this paper. He resigned from government service and accepted the new assignment.

He remained editor of the Hindustan for two years and a half, his salary being Rs. 200. He conducted the paper with marked ability and moderation, so much so that an acknowledgment was made of its public usefulness in the government Administration Report itself. Pandit Madan Mohan’s direct connection with journalism did not stop on his giving up the editorship of the Hindustan. He became editor of the Indian Union, an independent organ of Indian opinion with which the honoured name of Pandit Ajoobha Nath was associated, and did not a little for that paper in collaboration with the esteemed townsman, Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave. His connection with Indian Union was kept up though not exactly as editor, till its incorporation with the Advocate of Lucknow. Babu Brahmanda Sinha, at present Secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mill of Lucknow, was the
editor of the *Indian Union* in its later stages, Pandit Madan Mohan’s interest in journalism and faith in the Press as a powerful factor in the formation of public opinion and in influencing the course of administration have not abated in the course of years. Only some years ago he felt so much the evil to the community at large and to the rising generation in particular, of the onrush of ideas paraded as advanced but really suicidal to progress of the country, which a section of the Press has taken to propagate with less wisdom than energy, that he started the weekly Hindi paper the *Abhyudaya* and laboured hard to make it informing and instructive by himself contributing numerous articles to its columns. The *Abhyudaya* has made an excellent progress since it was started and has done a deal of public service, but its proprietor has been out of pocket to a considerable time on its account. It is intended to extended its usefulness by issuing it twice a week, and it is to be hoped that the bi-weekly *Abhyudaya* may soon be an accomplished fact. How keenly Pandit Madan Mohan felt the need of an “English Daily” at Allahabad to voice the opinions and ventilate the grievances of the people of the provinces, and how zealously he worked to bring the *Leader* into existence, are facts too recent and too well-known to need stating at length.

While he was conducting the *Hindustan* he was pressed by men for whom he had the highest regard and who took a warm personal interest in the young man’s rise, to qualify himself for the Bar. Among these were Mr. A.O. Hume of whom Pandit Madan Mohan was a great favourite and a whose feet it is his pride to have sat. The late Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, the late Rajah Rampal Singh and Pandit Sunder Lal, who then as now, was a great friend of his. Pandit Madan Mohan himself was reluctant to a degree so become a pleader. The bent of his mind was for public work particularly in the fields of religion and education—and money making as such had no attraction for him. But he was prevailed upon to overcome his unwillingness to become a layer, and he accordingly joined the law classes when he was editing the *Hindustan*. He took his L.L.B. degree in 1891 and joined the High Court in 1893. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath once complained to Mr. Hume that since he had taken to the study of law, Pandit Madan Mohan’s interest in Congress work rather slackened. “Quite right,” said the old man with fatherly solicitude, “he must concentrate all his attention on law.” And turning to Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Hume spoke somewhat as follows: “Madan Mohan, God has endowed you with plenty of brains. Slave at the profession for ten years and you are bound to go to the top. Then your public usefulness will increase greatly owing to the position you will attain, and you can do much for the country.” This piece of advice was never acted upon. The claims of various public works had always the lion’s share of his time and attention, and
though he has rise creditably high in the profession and is recognised as a skilled
and successful Advocate he has never reached the first two or three places at the
bar. This is entirely owing to his neglect of opportunities which came to him
unsought. "Malaviya had the ball at his feet," one of the Indian leaders of the local
bar said once, "but he refused to kick it."

As a student Pandit Madan Mohan began to take an active interest in the public
affairs of his country. The Allahabad Literary Institute served as his training
ground. He found the Hindu Samaj with others and was one of its most active
members. Politics, too, were not left alone.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the Indian National Congress in 1886
when its second session was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai
Naoroji. Suddenly in the course of the proceedings when he heard other men speak,
the feeling came to him that he might speak also, and encouraged by Pandit
Adityaram, he made his first attempt. The man and the speech alike produced a
favourable impression, and this is how Mr. Hume spoke of them in the Introduction
to the Report of that year's Congress—one of those masterly essay by the way which
we so much miss in Congress Reports of latter years: — "But perhaps the speech
that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya, a high caste Brahman, whose fair complexion and delicately chiselled
features, instinct with intellectualty, at once impressed every eye, and how
suddenly jumping upon a chair beside the President poured forth a manifestly
impromptu speech with an energy and eloquence that carried everything before
them." The speech was on "Legislative Council Reform" — and, one sentence at
least of the speech, deserves to live. "No taxation without representation. That is
the first commandment in the Englishmen's political Bible". He spoke on the same
subject at the Madras Congress of the next year, and the effect was equally
successful. It called forth compliments from such men as Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao,
Dewan Bahadur R. Ragoonath Rao and Mr. Eardley Norton, while Mr. Hume wrote
as follows in his Introduction to the Report: — "Then rose Pandit Madan Mohan
Malaviya, a very young and enthusiastic labourer in the cause, and from his speech
we fell bound to extract largely; partly because though overfervid in expression
towards its close it embodies truths that merit careful consideration."

At once he became a favourite on the Congress platform and steadily rose in
importance not only by his power of speech and contribution to debate,—which won
for him compliments from such men as Mr. (now Sir) Charles Schwan, the late Sir
Pherozeshah Mehta, the late Mr. Caine and the late Mr. Digby—but by the earnest
and untiring work he did throughout the year to advance the Congress. In 1887,
some months before the Congress met at Madras, Mr. Hume wrote to say that he was hopeful of a large muster of delegates from every province: he was only doubtful of the North-West Province, and expressed the hope that some one might rouse the people to a sense of their duty. The hint was at once taken up by Pandit Madan Mohan; he could not brook the idea of the representative character of the Congress suffering by the remissness of his native province, and not well circumstanced as he was, he at once went on a tour in the province and worked at city after city amid environments by no means encouraging. And it was a tribute to his capacity for breeding enthusiasm into people that no fewer than 45 delegates came to distant Madras in that year, a number not equalled at any succeeding Madras Session. He also at the same time became at the instance of Mr. Hume, Secretary of the N.W.P. Association and of the standing Congress Committee, and remained such for many years.  

Hume was eager that after Madras, Allahabad should hold the Congress and it was to Pandit Madan Mohan he turned to take up the idea to invite the Congress and hold a successful Session. The Congress of 1888 still remains perhaps the most interesting yet held. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath had not joined the Reception Committee at first, though Pandit Bishambar Nath did, but after he came in, he contributed very largely to the success of its work as every one remembers with gratitude. The working Secretary was Pandit Madan Mohan, and among other men who laboured must be mentioned Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das and Babu Charoo Chandra Mitra. 

Again, when the Congress was invited to hold its eighth session at Allahabad, in 1892, the grievous calamity of the death of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath discouraged the people and many suggestions were made that the Joint General Secretary, Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee, should be informed that the Congress could not be held here; but there were a few stalwarts, for foremost among them Pandit Madan Mohan who would not listen to counsels of despair. And with Pandit Bishambar Nath, the unfailing old leader and sagacious counsellor at their head the workers in the cause here held successful session that year at Allahabad. He presided over the United Provinces Conference at Lucknow in 1908, and his election as President of the Parent movement itself in the year 1909, came fittingly and in the fulness of time. 

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board many years ago and was its Vice-Chairman on one or two occasions. He was elected a Fellow of the University fifteen years ago and succeeded Pandit Bishambar Nath as a member of the Legislative Council in 1902 when the latter retired owing to increasing age. Ever since he has been a member. In the Council he has
distinguished himself by the display of combined moderation and ability, spirit of independence as well a sense of responsibility. His speeches on the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Bill and the Excise Bill and no the annual financial statements bring into relief the aforesaid qualities in him and mark him out unmistakably from the other members. He has had to work at considerable disadvantage being almost alone to espouse popular opinions, but in the new Council he will have some of his fellow-workers his colleagues to share his labours—notably the Hon’ble Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Hon’ble Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Pandit Madan Mohan gave valuable evidence before the Decentralisation Commission, the most important parts of his statement dealing with the constitution of provincial Governments and financial decentralisation. It is not a matter of surprise that after this career of usefulness for his motherland and with a clear knowledge of the diverse economical problems of India which have all along been engaging his attention, he should have become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council of which he can rightly claim to be a factor in view of his high attainments and extraordinary abilities.\footnote{9}

Pandit Madan Mohan took up the question of Court character in the province and worked hard at the matter for rather more than three years. The complaint which he brought out on this subject was exhaustive of its kind and may be said to have gone a long way to bring about the famous resolution of Sir Antony MacDonnell’s Government, which for several years after its issue formed the subject of so much controversy and gave rise to a feeling of unjust bitterness in the mind of the Mahomedan community. After all it was a very moderate recognition of the claims of the Nagari character on the part of the Government.\footnote{10}

Pandit Madan Mohan has evinced the deepest interest in the welfare of the student population and in order to relieve them of hardship in finding suitable quarters at Allahabad wither they come in large number from their native places in the mofussil, he initiated in conjunction with the Hon’ble Pandit Sunder Lal, the movement in honour of Sir, Antony Mac-Donnell which has concretised in the Hindu Boarding House. Pandit Madan Mohan, at the Sacrifice of his steadily increasing professional work which he could ill afford to do travelled long and far at his own expense to raise funds for the Boarding House and he has the satisfaction of seeing it today in a flourishing condition and serving the purpose for which it was intended, very well indeed. The building itself, which was opened by Sir Antony MacDonnell’s successor, Sir James La Touche, is one of the few handsome structures of Allahabad. His interest in educational matters led to his appointment as a member of the school Committee of which the late Mr. Roberts was Chairman, and it is known what part he took in the deliberations of the committee.\footnote{11}
We have referred more than once to Pandit Madan Mohan’s zeal in religious matters. It is one of the settled convictions of his life that religions is at the foundation of all greatness and goodness, and that without an abiding religious faith no affair of may can succeed. He believes in ritual and most of the ideas and practices of orthodox Brahmans and hopefully looks forward to a religious revival in the country. He wants religious instructions to be imparted in school and has himself text books which he hopes may be found suitable. He as the originator and the life and soul of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha held at Allahabad in January, 1906, and it is no secret what expenditure of time, labour and money was borne by him to make the Sabha a success.12

It is the combination of religious faith and zeal for the spread of sound education that will make a man really healthy, wealthy and wise which led him to prepare his comprehensive scheme for the establishment of a Hindu University (Bharatiya Viswa Vidyalaya) at Benares. It is not to be expected that three can be unanimity of opinion in regarded to a complicated scheme of that description and even among those who are on the whole of his way of thinking three is naturally considerable misgiving about the ultimate success of so costly an undertaking. But Pandit Madan Mohan’s faith is large and whoever may doubt and falter, he does not lose heart. Hope eternal runs in him like a sacred pillar of fire. In the language of a friend he is inspired by something of holy madness for realisation of the University project and it is not impossible that one of these days its beginning at least may become a fact. It is well-known in the circle of his friends that ever since he put forward this scheme “where scientific, technical and industrial education is to be combined with religious instruction and classical culture,” he has been anxious to retire from his profession and dedicate himself to service for its realisation; so ardently he believes that that will be the greatest means of the improvement of the condition of his country. And it is believed—we may perhaps say feared—his circumstances are such—among those who know that now that his son Pandit Ramakanta Malaviya has joined High Court he contemplates to retire from his profession.

Pandit Madan Mohan has been an ardent champion of the Swadeshi movement for the last thirty years. So far back as 1881 a Deshi Tijarat company was started at Allahabad to promote the use of indigenous manufactures, and Pandit Madan Mohan was one of the prominent supporters of the company. And all these three decades he has consistently advocated the use of Swadeshi thing wherever they can be had, even if they are coarser and dearer than foreign manufacture citing the example of other countries which have preserved or promoted their industries by a similar policy. Without being a bodycutter he has always regarded it as part of
his religious duty to purchase country-made goods in preference to foreign ones even at sacrifice because by that means he would probably be the means of finding food for some humble countrymen of his who might otherwise remain hungry. Recently his interest in the industrial movement has increased. He is among those who helped in bringing into existence the Indian Industrial Conference and the United Provinces Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907; and he has taken an active part in the deliberations of these bodies. His interest in technical education is keen and one of the attractions of his scheme of a University at Benares is that higher technical education is to be a most important feature of the University. He was member of the Naini Tal Industrial Conference held by Sir John Hewett's Government in 1907 and he had no small share in starting the Prayag Sugar Company, Limited, which is the direct fruit of the First U.P. Industrial Conferne.  

In private life Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a very charitable man. Thee is no great benefaction which can be mentioned to his credit, but there are unnumbered small acts of kindness to the needy which in reality reveal a man's secret springs of action. He is deeply interested in social and philanthropic work and is never happier than when engaged in relieving some human misery.

"The drying of a single tear has more
Of honest fame than shedding seas of gore,"

said Byron. When plague first broke our in Allahabad the Collector, Mr. Ferard, C.I.E., who has always been a popular officer, asked Pandit Madan Mohan, who was a Vice-Chirman of the Municipal Board, to help in taking steps to prevent the disease from spreading. He did so cheerfully. For over a fortnight he personally superintended the disinfection of a dark lane in a mandi where it had broken out and where deaths had occurred in almost every house. His example was followed by his fellow-Commissioners when the disease spread to other parts of the city. He then initiated the movement the establishment of a health camp in Sobhatia Bakh in which about 1,900 families found absolute protection from plague. Mr. Malaviya used to attend the camp both morning and evening in the first year. He also used to go to see the plague hospital and encouraged people to go there. IN the following year the health camp became so popular that at one time nearly 3,000 persons were living in perfect safety there.

In the Legislative Council he has earnestly urged the Government to encourage the building of model bustees by Government, and the establishment of Lukerganj with its excellent rows of houses is part at least the result of his advocacy. He has also been urging for years the opening up of congested areas in the larger cities of
the province which is being carried out now in Allahabad and Cawnpore. Pandit Madan Mohan was a member of the Sanitary Conference held at Naini Tal by the Local Government. The idea of the establishment of a Hindu University at Benares for which the Pandit has been incessantly labouring has become an accomplished fact. The foundation stone for the University building was laid by Lord Hardinge amidst circumstances of the most unparalleled pomp and enthusiasm in the presence of the ruling princes and nobles of the country. In his splendid speech to the assembled magnates, the Ex-Viceroy referred in growing terms to the untiring labours of the Pandit and the Maharaja of Darbandha to whom all India owes a deep debt of gratitude for their great service in the national cause.

Malaviya has always been a staunch and persistent advocate of the industrial regeneration of India. When the Industrial Commission presided by Sir Thomas Holland was appointed to collect evidence in respect of the industrial possibilities of the land, Mr. Malaviya was invited by the Government to be a member of the Commission. The Commission concluded its labours towards end of 1918 and Malaviya submitted a dissenting minute in which he has drawn pointed attention to the gross neglect of Indian interests by the Government and has inveighed against the step Motherly care which Government has taken whenever Indian interests were concerned. The dissenting minute of Mr. Malaviya is a masterly criticism of the Government’s industrial policy and is bound to be of permanent importance as such.

Malaviya was on of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council who signed and published the draft scheme of reforms now known as the Memorandum of the Nineteen. The memorandum was approved by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League and declared to contain the irreducible minimum of reforms which alone could satisfy Indian public opinion. The cardinal features of the draft scheme were fiscal autonomy and a complete subordination of the Executive to the Legislature—the sine qua non of full and responsible self-government. Instead of full and responsible self-government, the Montford scheme of reforms has given what is called an opportunity of training ourselves for it, as if we are not now fit for it and as if it is not our birth-right.

The atrocities perpetrated by the authorities in the Punjab evoked a very strong protest from Mr. Malaviya in the Imperial Legislative Council and the series of searching questions which he put to the Government perturbed the official benches in no small measure. Indeed, so exasperated was Sir Michael O’Dwyer at the fearless criticism of Pandit Malaviya that he could find no argument but personal abuse in his reply for which the Viceroy had to openly rebuke him. Pandit
Malaviya’s labours on the Congress Committee which enquired into the Punjab disorders and his untiring efforts in the Imperial Legislative Council to have justice done to the helpless victims in the Punjab are beyond all praise. The systematic and stubborn resistance which government has offered at every turn whenever Mr. Malaviya has pleaded for justice being done to his countrymen has to some extent at least shaken his faith in the Government and to that extent at least he has signified his protest by withdrawing his candidature for election to the new Reformed Legislative Assembly though not a non-co-operter in practice, he approves of the movement in principle as the only possible and ultimate way of making the Government feel that the many and grievous wrongs which the Bureaucracy has inflicted on India must at once be redressed by the immediate grant of Swaraj. For all his services to the motherland in championing the cause of Self-Government, of national education and industrial regeneration, Malaviya has the fullest assurance that his countrymen owe him a very deep debt of gratitude and it is our sincere prayer that he may be spared for many years to come to further promote the welfare of India which he has at heart.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been one of the shining lights of the Constitutional Movement in India. He has attended nearly every one of its sittings since 1886, and has invariably spoken at every one of them on some of the day. But the subject to which he devoted special attention and on which he spoke with his owned knowledge and enthusiasm at every succeeding session of the Congress was in connection with the expansion of the Legislative Councils. Year after year Pandit Malaviya urged with his colleagues in the Congress for an adequate of political power for Indians in the governance of their country. A close student of constitutional questions, he formulated his views on the federal system of Government for India in his evidence before the Decentralisation Commission in 1908.

The unitary form of Government which prevails at present should be converted into the federal system. The Provincial Governments should cease to be mere delegates of the Supreme Government, but should be made semi-independent Governments. A similar proposal was, I believe, put forward before the Government about the time when Lord mayo determined to invest Provincial Governments with a share of financial responsibility in order to minimise the evils of over-centralisation... The Government of India should retain in its hands, as at present, all matters relating to foreign relations, the defences of the country, currency, debt, tariffs, post, telegraphs and railways. It should continue to receive all the revenue and receipts derived from heads which are at present
called 'Imperial'. To meet the ordinary Imperial expenditure which will not be met by these receipts, it should require the various Provincial Governments to make a ratable contribution based on a definite and reasonable principle, having secured this, the Government of India should leave the Provincial Governments perfect freedom in levying and spending their revenues as they may consider best in the interests of the people. It should exercise its power of imposing additional general taxation in any Province, only when it has to meet any extraordinary expenditure, and when the Province or Provinces concerned have refused to give the assistance required. This will impose a very much needed and healthy check upon the spending tendencies of the Government of India and make it possible for the Provincial Governments to retain in their hands and to devote at fair proportion of their revenues to promote the well-being of the people.

The Minto-Morley Reforms

Soon after, Lord Morely, of whom great things were expected, outlined a scheme of reforms which was published in the form of a despatch in 1908. It was well-known that he was in constant consultation with the Viceroy and a few select and leading Indians, and when the proposals were actually published there were as usual divergent opinions on the adequacy or otherwise of the reforms. Pandit Malaviya, along with other moderate leaders welcomed the scheme "as marking the beginnings of a new era." He wrote in the Indian Review for December of that year:

The people and the Government have both to be congratulated on the proposal of reforms which have been put forward by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The reforms have been conceived in a truly liberal and praise-worthy spirit. They will, when carried out, mark the beginning of a new era, full of hope and promise for the future.

I have hopes that the reforms will be made still more liberal and beneficial before they take their final shape. The Government are to be particularly congratulated upon deciding to create a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. I venture to say that they should have adopted the same course in regard to the Supreme Council. It would be quite safe and wise to do so. If, however, that must be postponed for the future, then the proposals of His Excellency the Viceroy to have an equal number of official and non-official members in his Council should at least be accepted.
The proposed reforms mark the second great triumph of the Congress movement—the first having been the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892.18

While in November 1909, Pandit Madan Mohan was by the decision of the All-India Congress Committee elected president of the Lahore Congress, as Sir P.M. Mehta had declined the office, the Pandit’s election was welcomed on all hands.19

Though called upon to fulfil the high office of the President of the Congress for the first time and with a very short notice, the Pandit’s pronouncement was worthy of the man and the occasion. And the Address naturally dealt at length with the Minto-Morley Reforms, and in particular with the regulations the Bureaucracy had made to put them into operation. Though only a few months before the Pandit had welcomed the proposals as truly liberal and comprehensive in spirit, yet his enthusiasm for the scheme like that of his fellow-workers in the Congress cause had been greatly damped by the rigour of the regulations by which it had been hedged round. After enumerating the various regulations framed by the Bureaucracy the Pandit made a memorable appeal which is well worth recalling even on the present occasion:

The regulations framed to give effect to them have unfortunately departed, and widely too, from the spirit of those proposals, and are illiberal and retrogressive to a degree. Educated Indians have been compelled to condemn them. They have done so more in sorrow than in anger. Let the Government modify the Regulations to bring them into harmony with the spirit of Lord Morley’s proposals, and in the name of this Congress, and, I venture to say, on behalf of my educated countrymen generally, I beg to assure the Government that they will meet with a cordial and grateful reception. (Cheers.) I do not ignore the fact that there is an assurance contained in the Government’s Resolution accompanying the Regulations that they will be modified in the light of the experience that will be gained in their working. That assurance has been strengthened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in this connection both at Bombay and Madras. But I most respectfully submit that many of the defects pointed out in them are such that they can be remedied without waiting for the light of new experience. And I respectfully invite both Lord Morley and Lord Minto to consider whether in view of the widespread dissatisfaction which the regulations have created, it will be wise to let this feeling live and grow, or whether it is not desirable in the interests of good administration, and to fulfil one of the most important and avowed objects of the Reforms, namely the allaying of discontent and the promotion of good will
between the Government and the people, to take the earliest opportunity to make an official announcement that the objections urged against the regulations will be taken early into consideration.\textsuperscript{20}

**As A Member of the Viceregal Council**

Pandit Malaviya was by this time recognised as one of the few leading men of the Congress and alike by his services in the United Provinces Legislative Council and to the country at large deserved his elevation to the Viceregal council. Since 1910 he has continued to sit in the Imperial Legislative Council without interruption and taken part in every important debate with his accustomed zeal.

**Gokhale’s Education Bill**

Interested as ever in all educational problems the Pandit warmly supported the late Mr. Gokhale’s Elementary Education Bill. His support was quite emphatic. “Every civilized country” said he, “has found that compulsion is the only means by which universal education can be secured. No country has succeeded without it, and we cannot expect to succeed without it.”

**Indentured Labour\textsuperscript{21}**

Another subject on which his voice was more than once raised was in connection with the question of Indentured Emigration. In 1910 Mr. Gokhale had pleaded in vain for the abolition of this “monstrous and iniquitous system.” During the regime of H.E. Lord Hardinge, Pandit Madan Mohan raised his protest against the iniquities of the system and urged its immediate abolition. He rightly characterised it as “an unmitigated curse.” His European colleagues in the Council must have greatly felt the force of his arguments when he said:

European labour is employed all over the world, but nowhere are such degrading restrictions attached to it as those that attach to Indian labour. And although the European labourer is far more capable of judging of his own interests than the Indian labourer, the greatest care is taken to ensure that he has understood the exact terms of his contract. And then the contract which is always for a very short period, is a purely civil contract, and can be cancelled if the labourer can prove in a Court of Justice before a magistrate of his own race that unfair advantage was taken of his ignorance.

He wound up his great speech on that occasion with the following telling appeal:

The system has worked enough moral havoc during 75 years. We cannot think my Lord, without intense pain and humiliation of the blasted lives of its victims,
of the anguish of soul of which our numerous brothers and sisters have been subjected by this system. It is high time that this should be abolished.

The appeal this time did not fall on deaf ears. H.E. Lord Hardinge announced that he and the Secretary of State for India had decided that the system should be doomed for ever.

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the many topics which formed the subject matter of his speeches in the imperial Council during the last eight years. Suffice it to say that in all subject he gave expression to the people’s will. Nor need we refer to his speeches in connection with the passing of the Hindu University Bill which in a way may be said to constitute his life-wor. On the termination of H.E. Lord Hardinge’s regime he spoke in just appreciation of His Excellency’s administration, his great services to the people of this country and his jealous regard for the honour and self-respect of India and her millions. Again during the discussions on India and the War he warmly supported the rally of India to the Empire and though unable to see eye to eye with some of his colleagues on the capacity of this country to bear the increasing financial obligations entailed by constant contributions towards the war, he urged with Mr. Gandhi for increasing participation in the actual fighting at the front.

**Self-Government for India**

It is now necessary to go back to the Pandit’s work in connection with the Congress demand for Self-Government. From the days of the Lahore Congress the demand for Self-Government on colonial lines became more and more pronounced. The outbreak of the European war and India’s unbounded enthusiasm for participating in the burden and glory of the Empire quickened her consciousness of strength, while the generous utterances of British statesmen not merely on India’s substantial help but also of the great ideals of freedom and self-determination fired her imagination to the possibilities of a quicker transition. The Congress accordingly passed resolutions demanding Self-Government and the Muslims League soon followed suit. It was the Pandit’s privilege to expound the scheme to numerous audiences. In October 1916 Pandit Malaviya signed along with other non-official members of the Imperial Council what is now known as the famous Memorandum of the Nineteen. The Lucknow and the Calcutta Congresses confirmed the Self-Government Resolutions of the previous Sessions. But any scheme devised by the wit of man is liable to be misunderstood, and the Congress-League scheme was no exception. Some went too far and demanded in the name of the Congress and the Muslem League what to others appeared altogether without
warrant in the terms of the scheme. The Hon. Pandit now went on a tour round the country expounding the demands of the Congress, and the propaganda work was in full swing on either side when at the top of it all came the sudden internment of Mrs. Besant.

Though the Pandit had been differing from Mrs. Besant, from her views and some of her methods, yet he felt it his duty in common with his countrymen throughout India to help in the agitation for the release of the internees.

Unmindful of the Government's deliberately adopted repressive policy Pandit Malaviya continued to urge the need for reforms on the lines chalked out by the Congress and the League, and both at the special Provincial Conference at Lucknow in August 1917 and at the Calcutta Congress in December he spoke in the same strain. He said at the latter in supporting the Congress–League scheme of Self-Government:

The Congress-League scheme is a natural and rational advance upon the lines under which political institutions have been working so far in this country. It is therefore no good telling us that our scheme does not fit in with the schemes formulated in other countries. The Congress-League scheme is suitable to the conditions in India. Some of our critics tell us that responsible government means a government which is responsible to the representatives of the people and removable at the pleasure of the representatives. I wish these critics showed a little more consideration, a little more generosity, in dealing with us and credited us with a little more common-sense. Self-Government means that the Executive is responsible to the people. When we spoke of Self-Government we spoke of Self-Government on colonial lines. In the colonies the Executive is responsible to the Legislature. That being so it is entirely wrong to say that in asking for self-Government we are asking for something less than responsible Government. It is said that we might have put into our scheme a little more generosity and little more enthusiasm but you must remember that when they put it forward they had not only to think of you and me, but of the bureaucracy and all those who are represented by Lord Sydenham, and the framers were probably wiser in couching it in a language which may not satisfy us, but which has in it all the promise of the realisation of responsible Government in the near future. The resolution says that Self-Government should be introduced by stages.

Among the ex-Presidents of the Congress, Pandit Madan Mohan was the solitary individual who attended the session, and tried his best to tone down the resolutions
of the Special Congress on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. The presence of him and a handful of moderates was not of much avail; for the special Congress did pronounce the scheme as disappointing and unsatisfactory, while the moderate Conference which was subsequently held in Bombay welcomed the scheme as a definite step in advance but made several constructive suggestions not altogether dissimilar to those passed at the Congress. A definite split had taken place and Pandit Madan Mohan did his best to induce the moderate leaders to reconsider their decision to abstain from the Congress. About this time Mr. Tilak had been declared the President-Elect of the Delhi Congress, and friends of the Congress who anxiously expected that the split would be made up felt that the election of Mr. Tilak blasted all hopes in that direction. On Mr. Tilak’s voluntary resignation of his office in view of his departure to England, the majority of members of the All-India Congress Committee who were anxious that the two parties should once again unite at Delhi by an overwhelming majority, fixed their choice on Pandit Madan Mohan, as the most suitable president of the Delhi Congress.

A few days after his election, Malaviya made through the columns of the Leader and eloquent appeal to the public for united action.

His appeal was no doubt responsible for the presence of a few of the moderate at the Delhi Congress; and despite the absence of several of the veterans of Congress the Delhi session was very largely attended, and for the first time at the special call of the President there were also present a large number of tenant delegates. Pandit Madan Mohan delivered a long and interesting address in which he labored to point out that there was not much difference between the views of the Special Congress and those of the Moderate Conference, for on many vital points of constructive criticism on the scheme there was a consensus of opinion. He then made an eloquent plea for India’s right to self-determination. The following passage from his address is bound to touch the heart of every patriotic Indian:

Now the principle that runs through the peace proposals is the principle of justice to all people and Nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another. Each nation is to be given freedom to determine its own affairs and to mould its own destinies. Russia is to have an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for her own political development and National policy. Austria-Hungary is to be accorded the opportunity of autonomous development. International guarantees of political and economic independence and territorial integrity are to be secured to the Balkan States and to the independent Polish States which are to be created. Nationalities are to be assured security of life and autonomous development. In the adjustment of
Colonial claims the principle to be followed is that, in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the population concerned are to have equal weight with the equable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. How far are these principles of autonomy and self-determination to be applied to India? That is the question for consideration. We are happy to find that the Governments of Britain and France have already decided to give effect to these proposals in the case of Syria and Mesopotamia. This has strengthened our hope that they will be extended to India also. We standing in this ancient capital of India, both of Hindu and Muhammadan period—it fills me, my countrymen and country-women, with inexpressible sorrow and shame to think that we the descendants of Hindus who ruled for four thousand years in this extensive Empire and the descendants of Musalmans who ruled here for several hundred years should have so far fallen from our ancient state that we should have to argue our capacity for even a limited measure of autonomy and self-rule.

**The Indian Industrial Commission**

We now pass no to his labours in another important direction. The Indian Industrial Commission was appointed by the Government of India on the 19th May 1916, with Sir Thomas Holland as President and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was appointed as a member of the Commission, obviously to represent the Indian non-official public, and his appointment was hailed with satisfaction by the public at large. It concluded its labours at the end of the year 1918 and presented a report to which the Pandit contributed a long and interesting note pointing out his differences with his colleagues and suggesting many important measures to enable India to develop her industries in her own interests and in her interests only. His note is in itself and important contribution to the study of the Industrial and economic history of India, and his criticisms coupled with his suggestions embody many constructive proposals which Indians have long been urging for the industrial advancement of their country.

The Pandit concluded his note by endorsing the following generous and wise words of Sir Frederick Nicholson:

‘I beg to record my strong opinion that in the matter of Indian Industries we are bound to consider Indian interest firstly, secondly and thirdly.—I mean by ‘firstly’ that the local raw products should be utilized by secondly, that Industries should be introduced and by ‘thirdly’ that profits of such industries should remain in the country.’
If measures for the industrial development of India are taken in this spirit, India will become prosperous and strong, and England more prosperous and stronger.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya’s services to the Congress and to the political life of India have been great indeed; but greater and more enduring still of his selfless labours for the causes of his motherland has been his idea and the successful launching of the Hindu University for India at Benares. It is now over quarter of a century since he dreamt his dream of a Hindu University.

The story of the Pandit’s many tours and wanderings throughout the country in aid of funds for the University must be known to all who have watched the progress of this movement. How he toiled night and day, how he gave up his large and lucrative practice at the Bar in his labours for the establishment of the Hindu University are too well known to be recounted here. The enthusiasm of the country at large and the sincerity and the earnestness with which Pandit Madan Mohan toiled hard to bring the institution into existence, obtained for it the necessary funds and the Government of India took up the matter seriously to give it the charter which it so well deserved. In Lord Hardinge, Pandit Madan Mohan found a sincere friend of India and no time was lost in introducing the Benares Hindu University Bill. On the 22nd March 1915, the Hon. Sir Harcourt Bulter moved for leave to introduce the Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan whose labours in the cause of the movement have been quiet and unobtrusive made a speech in welcoming the Bill and he took the occasion to proclaim once more that though the University would be a denominational institution, it would not be a sectarian one:

It will not promote narrow sectarianism but a broad liberation of mind and a religious spirit which will promote brotherly feeling between man and man.

Since the establishment of the University the Pandit has been working the sudden and unceasingly for placing it on a proper basis. When the last year unexpected demise of Pandit Sunder Lal created a vacancy in the office of Vice-Chancellor, Pandit Madan Mohan’s name was uppermost in the lips of the electors, but he who had been working for years subordinating his name and fame would not accept the office but insisted he should be allowed to work for it in his own quiet and unostentatious manner.

REFERENCES

1. Mahatma Gandhi called him ‘Bharat Ratna’ on account of several merits in him.
3. Ibid.
4. See The Leader, 11 Feb. 1916, a leading newspaper from Allahabad.
5. Malaviya ji was fond of music from his early life.
6. See the Commemoration volume, published under the auspices of B.H.U
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. National Herald, 3 Nov. 1946. It was started under the auspices of the Congress.
10. Ibid.
   In fact Andrews was a sincere and true Gandhian. He started his career as a teacher in St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
12. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Lajpat Rai, England's Debt to India.
17. Indian Review, Dec. 1908; a prominent research journal.
18. Ibid.
19. See the Proceedings of Indian National Congress session in Lahore in 1909; well-recorded in the AICC papers and The Tribune, Lahore.
20. Ibid.
21. Undoubtedly Malaviya ji was a very fine orator in public as well as in speeches and writings.
22. Ibid.