

HOMAGE MALAVIYAJI

Y. A. SUNDARAM

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Homage to Malaviyaji.

HOMAGE
TO
MALAVIYAJI

Edited by
V. A. SUNDARAM

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“His life was gentle and the elements
So mixed in him that nature might stand up
And say to all the world ‘This was a man’.”

—Shakespeare.

BANARAS

1949

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PREFACE

Here is Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji's life in a flash. A touch here, a touch there and an outline for a story and for a song.

1861. 25th Decr. Prayag—Beautiful of all cities in India. Twilight hour—Solemn silence reigns around. The world rejoices over the birth of Jesus Christ. Angels sing the song of peace and good-will among men. Tiny temple-bells chime in "Bharati Bhawan". Little lamps illumine a corner of the humble home. Air and earth are full of the sweet sounds of music. In such an auspicious hour, on such a glorious day a babe is born in the Malaviya family. The pious parents, devotees of Lord Krishna, hail the new-comer. They call him Madan Mohan. In days to come the blessed babe is destined to become another apostle of peace and good-will among men.

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1868. 82 years ago. A seven-year old boy is seen preaching to a large concourse of people at the confluence of the three rivers in Prayag. He becomes the cynosure of neighbouring eyes. Thousands of people listen to him. The boy looks like an angel. He is so handsome. He speaks Hindi with wonderful ease and elegance. He recites sanskrit slokas from Srimad Bhagavat. "Who is this boy?", an old mother asks. Madan Mohan, comes the reply from children gathered around. Oh! he is verily cupid's charmer. He has cast his magic spell on us to-day.

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1880—Muir College, Allahabad. The College Dramatic society stages Shakespere's 'Merchant of Venice'. A young man in his teens plays the part of Portia. He speaks so sweetly and pleads for mercy. His words drop as gentle rain. He looks like an embodiment of love and compassion. Exquisite is his acting. The youth is so beautiful to behold. He looks more like a girl than a boy with his soft velvety face, and fawn-like countenance. Principal Augustus Harrison feels proud of his pupil. Madan Mohan's pronunciation of English is perfect. The Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court goes up the stage after the play is over and congratulates the actor. "What is your name?", the English Judge asks. "Madan Mohan Malaviya", replies the young man who captivates the literary world. Once again the charmer charms his listeners on the stage.

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1886. The scene is in Calcutta Town Hall. The second Indian National Congress is in session. The venerable old Dadabhai Naoroji is in the chair. On the third day of the Congress a young man of 25 summers hears voices. "May I speak", asks Madan Mohan his preceptor—Pt. Adityaram Bhattacharya? "Speak, Speak", advises the guru. A chit is sent round to the President. Madan Mohan goes up and makes his maiden speech before the national gathering. That short speech gives the Pundit a niche in the temple of fame. The Sun shines on Malaviyaji that day and all through his eighty six summers.

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1905. On the Gangetic shore in Kashi, Madan Mohan Malaviya dreams a dream. He resolves to do a big thing in life. It is a wonderful year in the history of India. Aurobindo Ghosh dreams of Swaraj through Swadeshi. Gopal Krishna Gokhale dreams of spiritualising the political life of India through public service. Malaviyaji dreams of liberating India through learning. Great spirits are in the air. The Pundit unfolds his dream to the leaders of the Congress. Blessings are showered on him. The voices utter "Go forth and win laurels and do that which cannot be done by anybody else." Malaviyaji prays to God to reveal Himself to him through the Benares Hindu University. *The Lord is Merciful.*

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1909. Lahore. The nation places the crown on Malaviyaji's head. He becomes the President of the Indian National Congress. He exhorts the people to unite. "Be truthful, be humble he says and tells the story of Vasishtha and Viswamitra to the Congressmen.

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1916. Once again in the holy city of Kashi. A galaxy of Governors, Ruling Princes and the Viceroy meet on a beautiful spring morning—scholars and savants recite ancient texts on the river bank. It is Vasant Panchami day. The foundation ceremony of the Hindu University takes place. A solemn occasion. A grand moment in life. Underneath the foundation stone is hidden in the bowels of the earth a copper plate. It bears an inscription which says that

the prime instrument of the Divine will in this work is the Brahmana Madan Mohan Malaviya—“*Lover of his motherland.*” Unto him the Lord gave the gift of speech and awakened India with his voice, and induced the leaders and the rulers of the people unto this end.”

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1919. On the floor of the Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi. The Viceroy presides. India's heart is lacerated by the Punjab massacres. The nation's voice is muffled. One brave leader stands up. His heart bleeds for the cause of righteousness. He puts 93 questions in the Council. The British members are aghast. The hon'ble Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya crosses swords with the Governor of the Punjab—His speech in the Council lifts him to the skies.

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1921. The landscape in Kashi changes. Banaras bursts forth in all its lovely splendour. The heir to the British Throne, the Prince of Wales, visits Banaras, dons the Hindu University robe, puts on a turban and opens the buildings of the University. Temple towers of the University glisten in sunlight. The golden sunbeams fall on Malaviyaji's face. His dream comes true. India is wonder-struck by Malaviyaji's magic touch. Benares becomes the cultural capital of the Motherland.

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1930. In drizzling rain the 69-year-old Malaviyaji sits with members of the Working Committee on a public road in Bombay. The battle for Freedom has begun again. The leaders are forbidden to walk along the King's highway. Who dares to prevent them from treading on India's sacred soil? Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and his colleagues defy the ban of the Bombay Government. The night drags on. The city of two million souls is disturbed. The morning sun rises. People find Malaviyaji, Sardar Patel and friends still squatting on the road. Suddenly a police van turns up. The five leaders are arrested and taken to Jail. Malaviyaji's imprisonment stirs the whole country. “Fearlessness is the only way to Freedom” says Malaviyaji.

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1931. St. James Palace in London. On a winter morning Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, and members of the British Parliament listen to the silver-tongued orator of India. Malaviyaji pleads for the cause of independence for his country. “How beautifully Pundit Malaviya speaks in our tongue! What a mastery he has over the English language”, remarks the chairman of the Conference.

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1935. The scene is in Calcutta where 49 years ago he made his first speech. A young Brahmachari takes a vow to stop the slaughter of animals in front of the Kali temple. It is the 35th day of his fast. Ramchandra is in a dying condition. Malaviyaji arrives in the city. He sits by the

young man's side and recites with fervour the Durga Saptasati. He invokes the Goddess to save the Pundit from death. The recitation is over. Malaviyaji sprinkles the Ganga water over him. The sleeper wakes up from his swoon. His life is saved. Calcutta wonders at Malaviyaji's miraculous powers. Old Rabindranath Tagore hears the story, and is moved by Pandit Malaviya's tapasya. "God never forsakes his devotee" says Malaviyaji.

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1942. Two sages sit side by side on a dais before a vast concourse of people in the campus of the Benares University. What is the occasion for this large gathering? It is the Silver Jubilee of the Benares Hindu University. Holy Kashi becomes holier by the presence of the Mahamana and the Mahatma. "Blessed is India that has given birth to Gandhiji and Malaviyaji". Lucky are we to hail the two men today—say the people.

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1946. The End. How calm! Half a million people in mourning. The city of Banaras is in gloom. The funeral procession of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya passes slowly solemnly along the narrow lanes and alleys of the world's ancient city. Marigold flowers and roses shower over the bier all along the five-mile route. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Pandits join the mourners. At Manikarnika the pyre is lit. The flames leap up and consume the dead body of Malaviyaji. A hapless populace weep aloud on the river-bank. Nature mourns. A whole

nation is sorrow-stricken. There is universal grief. From Noakhali in Bengal, Mahatma Gandhi writes: "The adored of Bharatavarsh is dead. Long live Malaviyaji."

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Fain, if I could, would I describe the beauty of his life, as I had known it during his last thirty years. So many lovely pictures of him float in my mind. His gracious personality is still a tender memory. It is only three years since he passed on. Sweet as the water of the Ganga, pure as the snow on the Himalaya was Malaviyaji. We shall not see his like again. In silence I bow to his spirit. I honour all those who have praised the Mahamana in this book, and am indebted for the kindness and courtesy of noble friends.

V. A. S.

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MAHATMA GANDHI'S
LETTER TO SUNDARAM

18-11-46

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So Purdiji is
gone + yet he is
not gone! How can
he of so many un-
rivalled services?
His ailing body is
has delivered from
torment. But he
is immortal.

Now is your
testing time, you
have to do all you

MAHATMAJI'S LETTER

(Continued)

can to make ~~the~~
his monumental
work a success -
I don't mean merely
financially. I am
trying to write an
article which
you will see, if I
succeed in finish-
ing as I hope to.

Love
Bapu

GOLDEN WORDS

OF

MALAVIYAJI

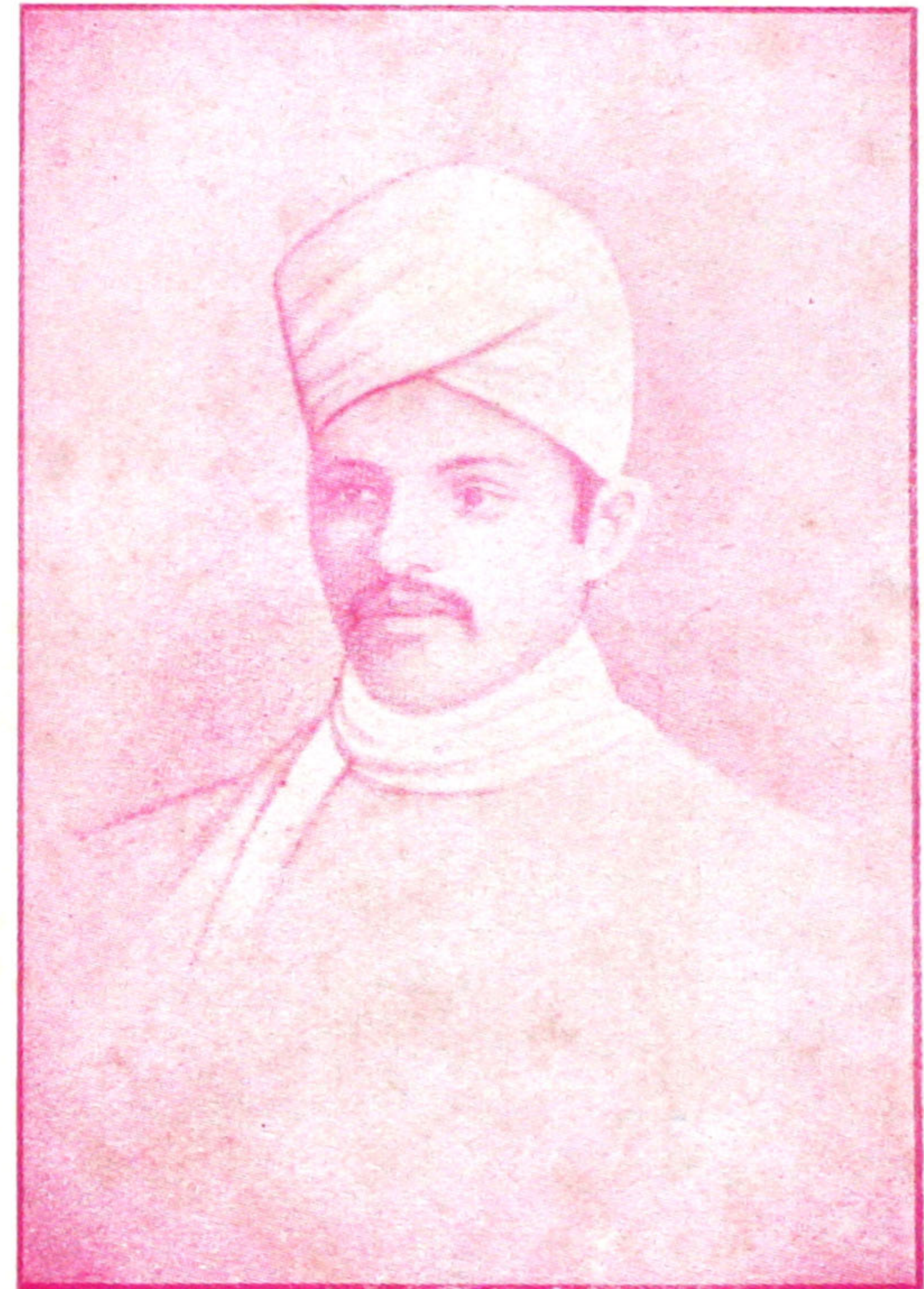
Where is the merit in a man who returns good for good? The wise call him only good, who does good to the evil-doer. They alone are good, who do good to those that do harm to them; and these good souls adorn the earth; for it is better for their birth.

Awake, arise and engage yourselves unceasingly and dauntlessly in works leading to prosperity, with the firm faith that success shall crown your endeavour.

Do not do that unto others what you wish others not to do to you is the Golden teaching of Sanatana Dharma.

Let the teachings of Shri Krishna sustain us in our endeavour for the good of Hindus in particular and of Indians in General for the glory of God and of the motherland.

Everything before and around proclaim the existence of Iswara. He is in everything. He is one without a second. He is the only one and He alone is real. To know Him is the greatest joy of this life.



Twenty-five year old Madan Mohan Malaviya addressed the National Congress and at once became a National Leader. (1886)



The man of God. Absorbed in Bhāgavat.

A GIANT AMONG MEN

A "Giant among men, one of those who laid the foundation of modern Indian Nationalism and, year by year, built up brick by brick and stone by stone, the noble edifice of Indian freedom. With his passing, perhaps it might be said that a certain age in Indian Politics had closed. Men like Pandit Malaviya laboured in days when they had to face enormous difficulties. My earliest memories of childhood are connected so far as Indian politics is concerned with Pandit Malaviya. Somehow Indian politics took shape in my boyhood eyes in Malaviyaji's face and figure.

(Tribute by the Hon'ble Pandit
Jawharlal Nehru, Leader of the
Central Assembly on 13.11.46, New Delhi)

'MALAVIYAJI IS IMMORTAL'

MAHATMA GANDHI

There is a saying in English, 'the king is dead, long live the king'. Perhaps it can be said with greater aptness though in a different setting, of the great and good Malaviyaji whom death has kindly delivered from physical pain and to whom his body had ceased for some time to give the work he would gladly have taken from it. Can we not say of him 'Malaviyaji the adored of Bharatvarsha is dead, long live Malaviyaji?'

His unremitting toil from his early youth to ripe old age has made him immortal. His services were many but the Benares Hindu University, styled in Hindi as Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya must for all time be counted as his greatest and best creation. If it is more popularly known as the Benares Hindu University the fault was not his, or, if it was his, it was due to his magnanimous nature. He was a servant of his followers. He allowed them to do as they wished. I happen to know personally that this spirit of accommodation was part of his nature, so much so that at times it took the shape of weakness. Only he was a powerful man. And has not his own special favourite Bhagawata said that no fault accrues to the powerful?

But it is a defect which can easily be remedied now. Every stone of that majestic structure should be a reflection of true Hindu dharma or culture. The

institution must not in any shape or form reflect the glory of materialism as of the West that we are familiar with, but it should be a true reflection of the glory that is spiritualism. Is every pupil a representative of pure undefiled religion? If he is not, why not? This university will be judged, as all universities should be, not by the number of pupils studying at it at a given time but by their quality, however few in numbers they may be.

I know that this is easier said than done. Nevertheless, it is the foundation of this university. If it is not that it is nothing. Hence it is the clear duty of the progeny of the deceased as also his followers to give it that shape. It is essentially the function of the university to assign Hindu religion its status in the body of the religions of the world, as it is its function to rid it of its defects and limitations. The devotees of the deceased should regard it as their special duty to shoulder this burden.

Malaviyaji has left an imperishable memorial of himself in the Kashi Vishwa Vidyalaya. To put it on a stable foundation, to secure its revolutionary growth, will surely be the most suitable memorial that can be erected by us to the memory of the great patriot. He spared no pains in making a big collection for his pet child. Everyone who reveres his memory can give a helping hand to the labour of continuing the collection.

His internal life was purity exemplified. He was a repository of kindness and gentleness. His

knowledge of religious scriptures was very great. He was by heredity a great religious preacher. He had a marvellous memory and his life was as clean as it was simple. His politics I must leave alone as also his other manifold activities. He, whose life was singled out for selfless service and who had many gifts, would naturally stand for limitless activities. I have ventured to single out what has appealed to me as his most prominent service. And to give a real helping hand in making the institution a living example of true Hinduism will only be done by those who will try to imitate sincerely the purity and simplicity of his life.

ONE OF INDIA'S NOBLEST SONS

DR. TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

In the death of Malaviyaji disappears the most outstanding landmark of contemporary history. From the early days of his life he dedicated himself to the services of the country and the record of his services is the record of the progress of the country in so many departments of life. Not even the worst calumniator could utter a single word against the purity and integrity of his character and the loftiness of his aims and ideals. He was in our day probably the best representative of ancient Hindu culture and philosophy and yet I have no hesitation in saying that he combined with his orthodoxy of belief and practice a breadth of view and toleration for different opinions and different creeds which distinguished him from so many other leaders whose orthodoxy is fossilized and refuses to recognise the claims of modern life.

It was my unique privilege to have come into close touch with him when I was quite a young lad. In later years I came into most intimate touch with him in the profession. When I joined the Allahabad Bar in 1893 he was just beginning to rise in the profession and by the time that he retired from the profession in 1911 he had built up a solid practice which gave him a place immediately after the late Pandit Sunder Lal and the late Pandit

Motilal Nehru. If he had continued in the profession for another few years there was no height which he would not have attained, but the call came to him that he must take active steps to bring into existence an institution of which he had been dreaming night and day. Today that institution stands as the greatest monument of his genius, of his devotion to his ideals, of his influence with Hindu princes and the Hindu public at large. That institution is of course the Benares Hindu University. If he had done nothing else but founded this University and helped it to reach its present position, his name would be immortal in Indian history. But he has done so many other things and has been the creator of so many institutions in Allahabad and other places. The Macdonald Hindu Boarding House owes its origin almost entirely to his efforts. The Minto Memorial not so well-known as it should be, is also the result of his efforts.

But apart from his great services in the field of education, his work in politics entitles him to a place all his own in the political history of the country. He entered the Legislative Assembly nearly 45 years ago and there he made his mark not only as a great orator but as a constructive critic of the government. He commanded the confidence and respect of several viceroys, such as Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge and in later years he came into close touch with Lord Reading and I can say from personal knowledge that lord Reading held him in the highest esteem.

He was a devoted friend of Mahatma Gandhi and no one has stood by the side of Mahatma Gandhi more firmly, more zealously and more loyally than Malaviyaji. I happened to be in England in 1930 when he decided on conscientious grounds to court imprisonment. Principal Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University sent me a cable informing me that his condition in jail was bad, particularly because, as an orthodox Hindu, he could not take food cooked by any one and every one. I took that cable to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was then the Prime Minister. He was taken by surprise to know that Malaviyaji was in jail, and it is within my personal knowledge that Malaviyaji was a free man within a few hours at the instance of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who had known him for long and who had unbounded respect for his character. Next year he went to the Round Table Conference and came into close touch with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on numerous occasions. Again a few years later when I was in England and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald was no longer connected with the government he made very kind and affectionate enquiries about him. Not only did Malaviyaji command the confidence and respect of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, but there were many others among the Labour leaders and the Liberals of England who held him in reverence. It was his character more than any other quality which impressed them all.

Personally I feel under the greatest obligation to him for in my day of juniority he gave me every

encouragement and support. This is not the time when I can afford to write at length about him, but I shall content myself with saying that India loses in him one of her noblest sons and one of her most trusted leaders and Hindu society its pillar of strength. I do not think his memory will ever or can ever be forgotten. He leaves behind him a solid mass of work nobly conceived and nobly executed without any tinge of selfishness or self-interest about it.

THE SILVER TONGUED ORATOR

“The death of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya means not only the disappearance from our midst of a truly venerable figure but also the closing of a life which, while it was long, was crowded with achievements that can be truly described noble as well as notable. It was a life full of ceaseless activities and devoted to service,” thus observed the Chief Justice on behalf of his brother judges, joining himself with the members of the bar who paid magnificent tributes to the memory of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who practised as a member of the legal profession in this High Court from 1893 to 1911 when he retired from the profession to dedicate himself for the establishment of the Benares Hindu University.

Before the work of the courts commenced all the judges and the members of the different sections of the High Court Bar as also the staff of the High Court had assembled in Court No. 5 to pay their respects to the memory of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and on whose passing away the courts remained closed yesterday.

As Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, president of the Advocates Association, could not attend the court on account of illness, he had sent a message paying his tribute to the meritorious achievements of Malaviyaji in different spheres of activity.

I deeply regret that owing to my ill health I cannot be present in the Court of his lordship the Chief Justice where tributes will be paid to the memory of Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya. Nevertheless I request you to read the following tribute on my behalf to his memory'.

During the last 50 years or more our Association has produced leaders I say so with modesty who have distinguished themselves not only in the field of law but in various other spheres of life and shed lustre upon it, but I cannot think of any one who worked with such devotion and spirit of sacrifice in so many fields and achieved distinction in every field as the great departed to whose memory we have assembled to pay our homage. Within a few years of the establishment of the Allahabad University Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya took his law degree and if my memory fails me not, started practice in 1893. When in 1898 I joined the Allahabad Bar Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was looked upon as the coming man in the profession. Within a few years of it he built up a solid and substantial practice on the civil side which placed him immediately after the leaders of those days, namely, Pandit (afterwards Sir) Sunder Lal, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. Choudhri. In the profession he was known to be a lawyer of very keen intellect, extremely fair in the presentation of his cases, courteous to his opponents but above every thing else, his was the shining example which was quoted to us, the juniors of those days of a lawyer

who combined the scrupulousness in the last degree with ability of high order. I know it for a fact that successive Chief Justices—and none more than Sir John Stanley and Sir Henry Richards—held him in high regard not only for his ability but for his spotless character. There was, however, a persistent inner urge in him which called him away from the limited field of law to the larger service of the country. As a young man he had dreamt of establishing a Hindu University on a big colossal scale and while his contemporaries of those days looked upon him as a mere visionary he was building up his plans and strengthening day by day his resolve to give all his time and all his service to the realisation of that dream.

In 1911 when he was almost in the first rank of practising lawyers he felt the call and unmindful of his own interest and the interest of his large family he suddenly gave up his practice only to work for the establishment of this University and to collect funds from every quarter. His enthusiasm was infectious. He got the support of a very large number of people who believed in his earnestness and sincerity even though at times they doubted the practicability of his ambitious schemes. His persistence, however, carried the day. So great was his influence and so widely respected he was all over India and particularly among the Princes that he received munificent donations from the Princes and from the richer classes among the Hindus. He acquired a huge plot of land at Benares and the foundation was laid of

the University by Lord Hardinge. An Act of the Legislature was passed incorporating it and now over a quarter of a century it has been imparting education to the youths of the country in various branches of knowledge. It is given to few men to see their dreams realised. I maintain that if he had done nothing else but established this University his name would go down to posterity as an integral part of Hindu history but he did a great deal more.

In the political field he shone from the very first day he joined the Indian National Congress. He entered Legislature nearly 40 or 45 years ago and there made his mark as a great orator and as a great political reformer. He commanded in an unstinted measure the respect and confidence of his countrymen. He was at the height of his fame during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge and there were few men who commanded greater confidence of the Viceroy of those days than he and the late Mr. Gokhale. Right up to the last moment of his life his interest in politics continued unabated.

He lived the typical life of a pious and orthodox Hindu and yet his orthodoxy never stood in his way when the country demanded that he should cross the seas and go on its behalf to the Second Round Table Conference. I was present all along with him in England and I can say from personal knowledge that there was no Indian who commanded the respect of English politicians in England in a greater measure than Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He was known as the 'silver tongued orator'. So great was his com-

mand of English that on one occasion a great English politician in introducing him to the audience in one of the rooms in the House of Commons expressed his surprise that without ever having been to Oxford or Cambridge as a student he should possess such wonderful facility of expression in a foreign tongue. Deeply learned in Sanskrit and the religious lore of his ancestors he throughout his life led a life of extreme piety which gave him a great hold over the Hindu mind. The one thing for which he was noted was not his intellectual gifts great as they were and his political fervour which knew no bound but character pure, high and solid and sense of devotion and sacrifice in the service of his motherland.

I respectfully join all those who are assembled here on this occasion to pay their homage to his memory. I sincerely hope and trust that his great example will continue to influence us all our life to the interest of the country.'

A GOLDEN LAMP EXTINGUISHED'

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU.

Hyderabad (Deccan), Nov. 15.—'Pandit' Madan Mohan Malaviya's death was hastened, because of his sorrow over the communal strife in India'.

'Pt. Malaviya, who had striven to make during his lifetime unity the one basic creed of India, gave up his life as sacrifice in his old age, because men were no longer brothers, but enemies in their motherland. The greatest Hindu of his time and the greatest among all great Hindus of ages, Pandit Malaviya fulfilled in himself the great noble and universal ideals of Hinduism, which did not recognise division between human clans and classes.

'Never was there a bitter thought in his heart even when Indians forgot their own greatness and culture and slew one another like beasts.'

Pt. Malaviya's 'greatness was unquestioned, he was also a man of ineffable sweetness and courtesy. There was another man known over the world for his courtesy, namely Mahatma Gandhi, but much as she loved her little Mahatma', Pt. Malaviya's courtesy was far greater and sweeter than Mahatma Gandhi's.

Even as she spoke, said Mrs. Naidu, probably the remains of Pandit Malaviya were being cremated.

And she was trying to envisage the scene on the banks of the Manikarnika where thousands upon thousands of Pt. Malaviya's fellow citizens, men and women must have gathered, feeling orphaned, because the great father and fellow citizen, who lived there and worked, had passed away from their midst.

Recounting the part that Pandit Malaviya played in building up the Indian National Congress, Mrs. Naidu said that Pandit Malaviya was one of the earliest pioneers among those, who founded the Congress. In these many years, the Congress had changed beyond recognition, and those of his contemporaries who were his colleagues in founding the Congress more than 50 years ago, could not keep with the wonderful and incredible changes that the new generation brought in the Congress. They could not be revolutionaries. But Pandit Malaviya, even when he did not agree with the revolutionary changes that were taking place swiftly, never deserted the Congress. Sometimes, he expressed his views with that moving voice of his, and protested gently against such rapid changes.

Giving a vivid picture of Pandit Malaviya at the A. I. C. C. meeting at Allahabad in 1942, which was a historic year of resolution, Mrs. Naidu said Pandit Malaviya was so old and frail that he was literally carried to the dais, 'and he sat there all bent down, but his spirit was alive and young and immortal. Today, the whole country is mourning, because the great flame quenches, a golden lamp.

extinguished, yet not really extinguished, His spirit would be a beacon light to succeeding generations down to the ages.

'Pandit Malaviya remained a Hindu to the core, a nationalist to the core, a great human being to the core.

A TRUE SERVANT OF THE COUNTRY

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD

Malaviyaji did not belong to one man and to one country. He was a man of universal fame. By his death a void has been created which would be difficult to fill. His noble example and works will be a sort of inspiration for generations to come'.

Pandit Malaviya was a true servant of the country. His services were too many to be recounted in a few sentences. In spite of his differences Malaviyaji continued to help and guide the Congress at critical times. During the Congress movements of 1921, 30 and 42, when all other leaders of the Congress were arrested Malaviyaji guided the followers of the Congress.

His services to education, Dr. Prasad said Benares Hindu University was his living example. Although he was himself poor, he collected crores of rupees for the university.

As a religionist Pt. Malaviya did immense good to the country. He was very accommodating to men of other religions who went to see him.

A YOGI

HIS EXCELLENCY SHRI M. S. ANEY

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya placed before us the life of a Yogi who, renouncing all selfish pursuits, devoted himself solely to the service of his religion, culture and country. Benares Hindu University will stand as a monument to his patriotic effort. No Indian has done so much to popularise the Hindi language and Nagri script in Northern India as he had done. With his intense love for Hinduism he had a catholicity of spirit and breadth of view to respect other religions and their followers. He therefore had friends and admirers in every kind of people. I can venture to say that he was the common friend of all and could have been rightly styled the Ajat Shatru. He was the embodiment of piety, purity and patriotism. May his soul guide the new generations for a long time to come.

HONOURED IN HIS GENERATION

THE RT. HONBLE SIR GEORGE SCHUSTER.

Among all the pictures that remain in my memory of friends in India none is more vivid than that of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. It is among my friends that I place him for I felt a deep affection for him and he on his side always treated me as a personal friend even at times of the acutest political controversy. It is among the great men too that I place him. I see his picture as one who combined gentleness with a burning enthusiasm for the causes which he thought right. Thus he exercised a compelling force which gave him power to achieve great and enduring results. Banaras University will be the special memorial to him, but his influence will affect all who knew him throughout India and other lands. So to use words from our Bible, I pay tribute to him as one of those "that were honoured in their generation and were the glory of their times.....that have left a name behind them that their praises might be reported".

A MAN OF EXQUISITE COURTESY.

THE RT. HONBLE ELLEN WILKINSON.

My memories of Pandit Malaviya are of his exquisite courtesy. Such courtesy is the flower of a fine mind and a kindly spirit. Of all my memories of India the talks I had with him at Banaras in 1932 remain the most vivid. There was no rancour-no harshness of thought even-against anyone. His was the aristocracy of the mind. He was as convinced of the justice of his cause as he was of the value of his view of his religion. With perfect grace he granted to others the right to think otherwise and to feel themselves as right as he. That is the democracy of the intellect-though I think there was very little of democracy in his political opinions.

In the presence of Pandit Malaviya I felt a sense of holiness-of something withdrawn. The tiny figure, the delicate face, the clothes of soft white wool, the gentle shudder at the mere idea of un-sanctified contacts, were all so different from the cheerful humanity of Mahatma Gandhi, with whom I always feel one can talk as one politician to another.

Gandhi has a great knowledge of, and interest in, even the minute details of politics. I always felt that Pandit Malaviya was, at heart, really quite indifferent as to how this carnal world gets itself governed.

A SOURCE OF GREAT INSPIRATION

BY SHRI SAMPURNANAND

Twelve months have gone since Malaviyajī passed away from our midst. These have not been ordinary months. Events have happened which few of us considered possible a short time ago. Freedom which seemed so far off, of which, to speak the truth, some of us were really afraid, even while expressing intellectual support to it, has come and Indians have now to make decisions involving peace and war and the happiness and prosperity of millions. But it has brought in its wake the partition of the country. The cradle of Indian civilization and culture, the greater part of the land on the banks of the Sindhu and the Saraswati, is no longer ours; it will become alien to us not only because of the accident of a separate Government but because the administration in that region will be in the hands of people pledged to propagate a culture deriving its existence and strength from foreign sources. This is not all. Partition has been accompanied by large-scale pillage and arson, rape and forcible conversion and an uprooting of populations which has no parallel to offer. The material loss has been great, the loss of life has been heavy. But who shall calculate the spiritual damage done to the man compelled to disown the faith of his fathers under duress and to the woman who is robbed of that which she values more than life itself, her honour?

Malaviyaji is not with us. He did not live to see the day of India's independence. The thought of it, the yearning for it, was always so near to his heart. Like many others, I was privileged to meet him a few days before his death. He could not make himself distinctly heard and we did not wish him to exert himself. Still, he could not restrain himself. He spoke to me of a number of things, cow protection for instance, in which he was interested all his life long. And the one thing that was uppermost in his mind, claiming precedence even over cow protection, was the country's independence. He would not fail to refer to it in one context or another. We can hardly imagine the satisfaction, the joy, he would have felt if he had been spared a few months to witness the fruition of his labours, the consummation of the task which the Congress which he had helped to found had set itself to perform. But it seems to me, on reflection, that perhaps it is best as it is. Malaviyaji has been spared the pain which would have overshadowed by far his joy at the advent of independence. Those of us who had the privilege of coming into intimate contact with him know what a rare sensitive soul he was. I have seen him weep over the woes suffered by the cow. I and others know what sleepless nights he spent, what acute pain he suffered, when accounts were brought to him of the brutalities which were practised by the police and the magistracy on the people of Ballia, as an aftermath of the 1942 movement. One shudders to think what the consequences to Malaviyaji's delicate

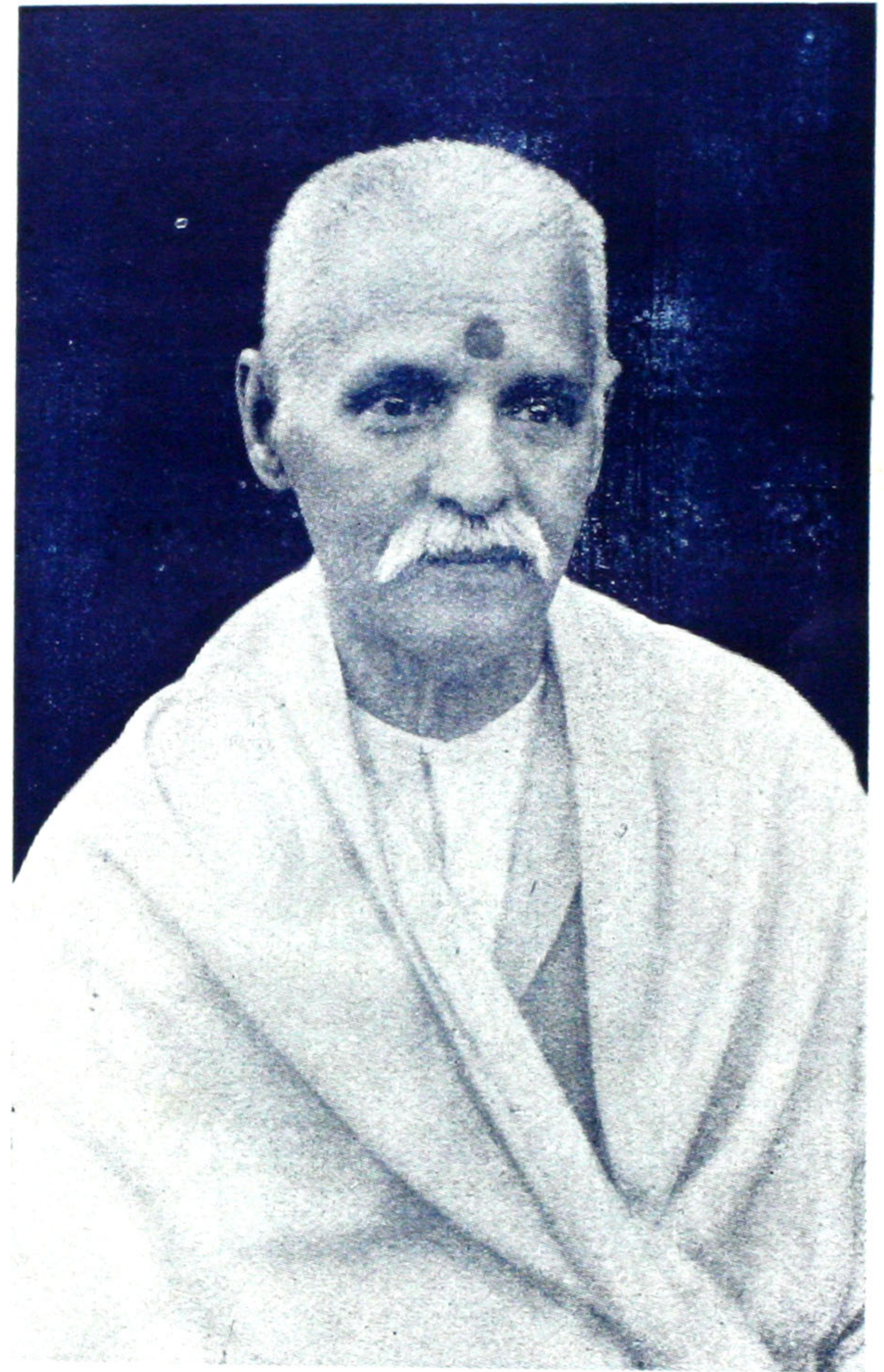
health would have been if news of the recent happenings in the Punjab had been brought to him. He could not have survived the shock, but every moment of his life till death brought relief would have been a nerve-racking experience. The sense of utter impotence to stop this madness would have meant for him an unbearable torture.

I have said that he was a rare, sensitive soul. He was rare not only in being a man of wide and deep sympathies but in the depth of his cultured mind. There is no dearth of eminent scholars of Sanskrit but the fact that a person has made a wide and deep study of one branch or another of oriental learning does not necessarily mean him an exponent of the culture associated with that learning. Malaviyaji may not have been a Vedic scholar; his interests, in any case, lay more in the domain of the Puranas which he rightly considered to be the best means of inspiring the masses with courage, hope and self-confidence along with that fervour and faith which only religion can impart. Our scriptures were, to his mind, not merely collections of hymns, philosophic obiter dicta, and a jungle of fantastic stories. They were store-houses of culture and full of that inspiring teaching which lifts man above his little self. He had imbibed deeply the spirit of Hindu culture and he lived it. He was aware of the fact that true religion is above the limitations of time and space; it is eternal but it has to be presented to humanity in the context and the back-ground of the material and mental environment in which the people

actually live. That is why he was able to make his versions of Pauranic stories so realistic ; the past was so subtly interwoven with the present as to acquire an undying freshness.

He was an orthodox Hindu. This was one of the secrets of his immense popularity. Not that he was not aware of the great necessity for social reforms but he proceeded about them in a cautious manner which he felt, would weaken much of the antagonism from the inert mass of unthinking orthodoxy.

The generation which Malaviyaji represented is no more. A newer generation of workers has taken the place of the old stalwarts. It has tremendous problems to face. Independence, won after such a hard fight, has to be maintained and translated in terms of peace and prosperity for the common man. Every citizen has to be given the opportunity to rise to his full stature. Let us hope that, faced with these problems, we shall not be led into an unthinking imitations of the ideals and methods of other nations. We have to assimilate knowledge from wherever available, for truth does not know national boundaries but we have to weave it into a pattern with our own traditions. I have no doubt that the example of men like Malaviyaji will be a source of great inspiration and guidance to us in our work today.



Dharmatma Malaviya



81 year old and frail but
spirit young and immortal.

ONE OF THE GREATEST MEN.

PREMIER PANDIT GOVIND VALLABH PANT.

I am deeply grieved to hear of the demise of revered Malaviyaji. He was one of the greatest of men ever born and his name will always be enshrined in letters of gold in the history of India. He was a devoted patriot, an eminent statesman and one of the illustrious architects of modern India. His activities were varied and he was a friend of every good cause. He was a perfect gentleman of very high ideals and character and inspired respect and affection in all those who had the privilege of coming in contact with him. While taking an active part in the fight for national freedom and the politics of the country he, at the same time successfully accomplished a lot in the constructive field and his solid achievements, particularly in the field of education, will ever continue to inspire the youth in this land. The Hindu University will serve as his living memorial and it will be the duty of everyone of his admirers to see that it fully maintains and upholds the great ideals for which he lived and worked.

MALAVIYAJI—TRUE DESCENDANT OF ARYA RISHI

DR. S. K. MAITRA

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya belongs to the class of men who have a vision, who dream dreams, to whom reality is not the sordid prosaic thing we generally take it to be, but to whom meadow, grove and green, the earth we pace and every common sight' does seem 'apparelled in celestial light'. He was one of those to whom was vouchsafed that knowledge, the possession of which entitles a man to be called a seer.

This knowledge, in fact, is what the Greeks called Sophia, and which was the great legacy which their thinkers have left us. It is knowledge of the universal, of the ideal of what in modern terminology is called the values, as distinct from the knowledge of the particular, the actual, the facts. The other kind of knowledge is what may be called Scientia—knowledge of particular facts and events and processes and their relations. These two types of knowledge are, broadly speaking, represented respectively by Greek and Roman culture. Their very names, one Greek and the other Latin, indicate the countries of their origin. The Greek culture is noted for its love for the universal, for its predilection for values, whereas the Roman culture is noted for giving us

particular sciences dealing with different departments of life, especially the science of law. We called in our country these two kinds of knowledge by the names jnana and vijnana. Jnana meant for our ancient sages knowledge of the values. When Narada approached Sanat Kumara for instruction, he had mastered all the sciences that were known in his day, yet the latter did not hesitate to say that all that he had learnt was names, names, names. ("Yad vai kinca etat", "Whatever you have learnt is only names"). He did not possess the knowledge of values which alone could be called jnana, and which would enable one to cross over sorrow.

In Malaviyaji there was a perfect blending of these two kinds of knowledge, of idealism and realism.

As a true descendant of our Arya Rishis, Malaviyaji showed a predilection for Sophia, for that knowledge which we call Jnana and which gives us insight into the values. This represented the idealistic trait in his character. But he combined with this—and that, too, I would say, as a true Arya—scrupulous regard for the particular facts and processes of the world, in one word, realism. In fact, it is the combination in him of idealism and realism that stamps him out as a true representative of Arya Dharma, for does not the Gita say, "Yogasthah kuru karmani" ("Perform actions, while remaining in Yoga"). What is the meaning of this great teaching of the Gita? It is nothing but this, that devotion to the ideal should be joined to a scrupulous regard

for the actualities of this life. The devotee of the ideal should not live in a cloudland, but should come down from his seclusion and do his allotted share in the work of the world. The Gita speaks of this also as the union of the Yogesvara and the Dhanurdhara, the man of ideal and the man of action, and says that human society can only function properly if there is such a union. What the Gita, in fact, teaches is that everyone should be both a man of ideal and a man of action, that unless our actions, are informed by a love for the ideal, they are not worth anything. This is a truth which we realize today more acutely perhaps than at any other period of the world's history. The World-War which is just over, but the effects of which still continue, has taught us one thing, and that is, that a purely materialistic civilization, which has no regard for the values of life, however grand it may look outwardly stands on a very weak foundation, and tumbles down like a house of cards at the first touch of conflict which it itself inevitably brings forth. Equally ineffective is that idealism which has contempt for the realities of the world. If our country has suffered from anything more than any other, it is this spurious idealism which believes in monastic seclusion as the only way to salvation. I would call it spiritual isolationism, and I say deliberately that it is to this, more than to anything else, that we owe our present political and social degradation. Isolationism of every kind is bad, but this spiritual isolationism kills the very soul of a nation. In Malaviyaji,

however, we had a leader who imbibed the true spirit of our Arya Dharma and embodied in his own life that philosophy of Yoga in action which is perhaps the greatest gift of our ancient culture to the world. It is to this that Malaviyaji owed his great success as a man of action. He was a practical Vedantist, in the sense in which Swami Vivekananda understood the term.

But he was more than that. He not only embodied in himself the ideal of a practical Vedantist which would give us the jnana-vijnana-triptatma of the gita, the man who has obtained satisfaction through jnana and vijnana, but he came close to the ideal of the Bhagavata, the union of jnana, vijnana, vairagya, sraddha and bhakti, which the Bhagavata says (XI. 19 13) was the goal of life taught by Bhishma to Yudhishtira. What is the additional element which the Bhagavata here introduces? It is nothing else than a right dose of emotion. It is the possession of this which made Malaviyaji perhaps the most human among all our great leaders. Exclusive devotion to reason or logic makes a man rather stiff and incapable of understanding and sympathizing with the follies and foibles of his fellow-men. not for Malaviyaji, whose heart melted at the sight of the sufferings of men and whose motto was contained in the following verse which he was very fond of quoting frequently,—

“नत्वहं कामयेराज्यं न स्वर्गं न पुनर्भवम् ।
कामये दुःखतप्तानां प्राणिनामर्तिनाशनम्”

(‘I do not seek kingdom or heaven or rebirth ; the only thing I seek is the removal of the sufferings of creatures.’)

Not for him was the worship of pure reason divorced from feeling, which would make him lose that living touch with ailing, suffering humanity, the maintenance of which he viewed as at once man’s duty and prerogative. In this respect he was at one with poet Tagore, who said. “Science may include in its field of knowledge the starry world and the world beyond it ; philosophy may try to find some universal principle which is at the root of all things, but religion inevitably concentrates itself on humanity, which illumines our reason, inspires our wisdom, stimulates our love, claims our intelligent service” (Religion of man, pp. 1131 14). His humanism sparkles, like the foam of a rushing stream, out of every sentence in that famous statement of his, which has been rightly called his last testament, which he made a few days before his death. In point of vigour of diction and its appeal both to reason and emotion, it reminds one of Tagore’s famous letter to Miss Rathbone, which also in a sense can be called the poet’s last testament. The very first sentence creates a stir: “I feel that humanity is at stake”. The sentences that follow sustain and enhance the effect: Hindu culture and religion are in danger. A state of emergency exists and the time has come for the Hindus to unite and to revitalise the sources of help and succour and to make effective self-protection and self-assertion. It is not in a spirit of intoler-

ance that I issue this statement but it is after due care and contemplation, and because of the fact that unless the Hindus as a community now assert themselves, the Hindu-Muslim problem will remain in the field with all its menacing potentialities.” The whole statement is a wonderful revelation of his personality. Every word of it breathes the spirit of humanism, of intense love for Hindu religion and Hindu culture, in the service of which he dedicated his life.

Malaviyaji is not dead. He lives in his deeds. He lives especially in that great work of his, the Benaras Hindu University, which has been rightly called one of the greatest achievements of the 20th century. We cannot show our love for him better than by making this great institution grow from strength to strength, from glory to glory. Malaviyaji devoted the whole of his life to the cause of Hindu religion and culture. That religion and culture, as he said in his last statement to which I have already referred, is now in danger. If we really respect and admire him, we must put our hands to the great task of revitalizing it. The task is not an easy one, and it will demand the mobilization of all our resources to accomplish it. But if we really cherish his memory and not merely do lip service to it, we have to take it up and carry it on in the way in which he would have carried it on, by selfless service and unflinching devotion.

THE MOST LOVABLE OF OUR PUBLIC MEN

“THE HINDU” MADRAS.

Pandit Malaviya was the most lovable of our public men; and he was respected as much as he was loved. At a time when full-timed politicians were rare the call to national service was so irresistible to him that he gave up a magnificent practice at the Bar in spite of onerous family obligations. There was no ostentation about his self-dedication; it came to him as naturally as fragrance does to the flower. Few men could have combined in themselves in so exceptional a degree so many aptitudes for a political career nourished by appropriate training. He had started life as a Hindi journalist and built up a fine reputation for his paper. And his interest in journalism continued to be close and friendly. It was his inside knowledge of the potentialities as well as the problems of the Press that made him a formidable critic of the Press laws which have made a mockery of freedom of opinion in this country. As a member of the Legislature for many decades he led the serried cohorts of nationalism against the citadel of the bureaucracy with an unruffled dignity, an urbane eloquence and a high moral fervour which won him the respect of even his most reactionary opponents. As an educational administrator his record must be accounted unique. Though numberless people have

helped, he was the supreme architect of the Benares Hindu University. Of that grand achievement it might be justly said, what the well-known epitaph of Wren said of St. Paul's, *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*.

The unifying influence in this long life of exceptionally crowded activity was Panditji's devotion to the faith of his fathers and the ancient culture of the land. Steeped in the literature, sacred and secular, which in Sanskrit still nourishes the roots of a living tradition, Pandit Malaviya was not in the unfortunate predicament of those who are born strangers to the splendid legacy from the past. Firmly anchored in the culture and *mores* of his people he looked out on the modern world with the frank and friendly eye of an equal. He was not indifferent to the great advances that Western science and social organisation had achieved. He wanted his countrymen to receive from the West the best it could give but not at the cost of their individuality or self-respect. And he had a robust faith in the power of Indian spirituality to bring health to an activity-mad world tormented by suicidal urges. Like all the best minds of both the hemispheres he realised that the first condition of India's rehabilitating herself and helping to persuade the world to follow the ways of peace and co-operation was for her to achieve political emancipation. It was because he was sustained by profound faith in the spirit of man that his mind retained to the end its resilience as well as vigour. He never stopped growing in

tolerance, charity and understanding. The most orthodox and abstemious of men, he did not hesitate to disregard taboos and even braved the rigours of jail life when he felt that the people's interests might be imperilled or national self-respect was insulted. His devotion to Gandhiji was eloquent of the true greatness of the man. There was not in him an atom of vanity or *amour propre*. To the last he was a crusader for righteousness and because he saw in Gandhiji a pillar of fire he followed him unquestioningly in many a crisis when his own innate moderation and aversion to strife might have counselled a different course. He was a man cast in a large mould and such was his happy eclecticism that he could combine in himself many rolls which in others might have seemed irreconcilable. He was a founder of the Hindu Mahasabha and yet his faith in the Congress never wavered. He was a true sanataniist but with not the slightest suggestion of obscurantism about him. He was truly among the children of light.

A DEDICATED SPIRIT

THE "LEADER"

In the death of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the country loses one of its most eminent public men, a distinguished educationist, a peerless patriot and a prince among men and the United Provinces one who for more than half a century dominated its public life and wove himself round the hearts of the meanest of its inhabitants. Representing in himself all that was best and noblest in Hindu culture and civilization, he made it his life's mission to revitalise its culture so that the world might come to know of the achievements of ancient Hindus, and Hindu society on its part may be benefited by its contact with the cultural achievement of other countries and nations. It was in fulfilment of this desire that he early conceived the dream of a University devoted to the study of Hindu culture and civilisation in all its aspects, and what greater tribute can there be to his vast energy, his single-minded devotion and the unselfish spirit in which he dedicated himself to this task, than that he should have lived to see the practical fulfilment of his dream by the establishment in the holy city of Benares, by the side of the Ganges, of the Hindu University, over whose destinies he presided with such loving care till the breakdown in his health made it all but impossible for him to carry on? Today the Hindu University

stands as an imperishable monument to proclaim to the world the vitality of Hindu culture and the greatness of the dedicated spirit which devoted the greater part of its earthly life to its foundation and growth.

Malaviyaji's interest was, however, not confined to the ancient achievements of Hindu religion. He was more keenly interested in the reorganisation of Hindu society in order to make it a living force in the lives of his countrymen, impregnable to the assaults made on it from outside. He knew that on account of historic circumstances over which it had no control and the passage of years, Hindu society had developed excrescences which were in no sense an essential part of Hinduism as preached and practised by the sages of old. It was his love for his country and community which made him anxious to remove these excrescences so that Hinduism may shine in all its pristine glory. That he did not shy at it is an indication of his progressive mind which thought in terms of future advancement and not merely in terms of conserving what was great in our past. So long as Hindu society and Hinduism exist, his services to both are not likely to be easily forgotten.

Withal, there was in him no tinge of that narrow sectarianism, the deifying of sectarianism to the ruin of the common interest of the whole which today passes muster with certain classes of leaders. Twice he presided over the destinies of the Indian National Congress, once in 1919 at Lahore and again in 1918 at Delhi. One would look in vain in either of these

addresses for the least trace of communalism. Whatever he strove for, whatever he fought for in the public life of his country, whether it was on the platform of the Congress or the country's legislatures, it was for the people of India as a whole, and he took a legitimate pride in the achievements of Muslims as he did in the achievements of his co-religionists. In him dies a valiant fighter in the cause of his country's freedom, one who through shadow and sun-shine never lost faith in the future of his country, never doubted clouds would break, never dreamed, though right were worsted wrong would triumph, held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, sleep to wake.

In this hour of sorrow when a great nation mourns the passing away of a beloved leader, saint and politician, reformer and patriot, educationist and elder statesman, we shall be failing in our duty if we do not recall that the blow which has fallen on all has fallen on 'The Leader' with a special measure of intensity, as Malaviyaji was the founder of 'The Leader' and presided over its early years with the loving care of a parent. And the only way in which we can repay him for all that he did for us, is to re-dedicate ourselves to the ideals for which he lived, strove and fell, and carry them forward to the triumphant conclusion, and we do so today, a day which will become a sacred memory to unborn generations of our countrymen.

HERALD OF THE NEW AGE

J. P. VASWANI.

The recollections of that meeting will for a long time remain green in the garden of my memory. It was a summer's evening and the earth over which we moved was intolerably hot. I was in the company of Sri T. L. Vaswani : we were returning from Calcutta, where Vaswaniji had presided over the All-India Gita Conference, and on our way to Sind we halted for a few days at Banaras. Vaswaniji had to address, that evening, a meeting of professors in the Benares Hindu University. Before proceeding to the meeting, Vaswaniji expressed a desire to see Pandit Malaviyaji.

The sun was fading out of sight when we arrived on the grounds of the University : and the soft tints of the setting sun served as a wonderfully beautiful background to the landscape thickly covered by mango trees that grew there in great abundance. My heart within me throbbed : soon I would meet one of the greatest sons of Mother India.

In strange contrast to what I thought was the sight I beheld. Pandit Malaviyaji's residence, I expected, would be thronged by admirers hailing from different parts of the country, longing to have his darshan, and by devoted students anxious to pay the reverent homage of their loving hearts to this great founder of their Alma-Mater. Instead, I found the compound of his house empty, almost desolate.

We entered the house : it was so simple and the atmosphere was so peaceful, undisturbed by the meaningless chatter of press correspondents and the official clatter of private secretaries and personal assistants. In the front room sat an attendant awaiting Vaswaniji's arrival. He took us into the next room : and there on a cot lay one whose face had little resemblance with the stern, set countenance I had so often seen in the papers. For a moment or two I could not believe that I was face to face with Pandit Malaviyaji.

Quietly and calmly he lay with the repose of a sage, and in his eyes was the lustre of a Rishi. I looked, again and again, at his wonderful, velvety face : it was so radiant and serene. 'What a marvellous man !', I said to myself. 'At a time when in the name of progress modern India is being swayed, more and more, by forces of an alien culture and civilization, and Hindu traditions are becoming a memory of the past, this man holds fast to the lamp of Hindu ideals. Here is a man who, living in the suffocating, strangulating atmosphere, inevitable in a modern University area, still aspires in thought, word and deed to bear witness to the wisdom of the Rishis.'

As soon as he saw Vaswaniji, he made an attempt to get up. His heart was still brave and full of courage, but his body was weak. And he had to be helped into a sitting position.

Vaswaniji went up to him and said :—'I have

come to get your blessings.' Malaviyaji smiled. 'You have come to get my blessings!' he exclaimed; 'You who are a shining star in the spiritual firmament of India!'

What simplicity in those words, what humility and what beauty!

And then he pointed to a booklet which lay near him. It was 'The Gita and the Modern Age,'—Vaswaniji's presidential address at the Gita Conference, Calcutta. 'I have just been reading this today,' he said; 'it is a marvellous thing. In fact, there is, in everything that you write, a flame: every word penetrates right into the heart.'

I bent low to touch his feet: he placed his soft hand of benediction on my head. And then I sat down at the feet of these two apostles of Indian culture and leaders and inspirers of India's youths. It was a rare privilege. In silence I listened to what they spoke to each other. I drank in every word as it came out of their lips: inspiration was in their talk. There was something ethereal about their conversation, something so delicate that the very act of writing it may destroy its fragile grace, its faint perfume. They spoke concerning the Indian situation, the problem of Pakistan, the pitiable plight of villagers, especially in Sind, the way the youths of India were drifting; the two exchanged views on the revival of Hindu culture and the return of India to her place of glory and greatness in the assemblage of nations. They spoke of the New Age that would surely come after the night, in which the nations are

plunged, is over. 'We are still in the transition period', Vaswaniji said, and Malaviyaji added:—'The New Age is already in the hearts of seers and saints.'

The future of the Hindu University, which he had nurtured since its infancy, sometimes caused him anxiety. He seemed anxious that the University, which had cost two crores of rupees, should reflect, more and more, the Hindu Ideal.

'I have one request to make to you', he said to Vaswaniji.

'You need not request me', Vaswaniji replied; 'you have but to order me.'

'I request you to kindly spend a fortnight every year in the University and inspire the students with love for Hindu ideals and ancient wisdom', Malaviyaji said.

Great as a politician, he was greater in his love for Hindu culture and the wisdom of India's Rishis. Free from the interests and passions that inevitably creep into the life of a man devoted wholly to politics, he utilized the greater part of his energies in building a centre of education and learning, which has now grown into a world-renowned University and which is unparalleled in India for its technological departments. While politicians had always in view the next election, the thought of the next generation had ever been before him: while politicians had been working for the growth of their respective parties, the growth of the country had been foremost in his mind. Political giants like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta,

Surendranath Banerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who in their own days influenced the destinies of the nation in no small measure, have passed away and today their work and names are gradually fading away from the memories of men, but the Hindu University will ever stand as a living reminder of the greatness of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji.

The dream danced in his eyes that the University might become a centre out of which would go out influences which would thrill India from end to end, renovate and re-vitalise this great and gifted land and make her once again a nation of the strong and free....In his heart was the faith that the problems and perplexities of modern life could yet be solved by the application of the teaching of the Rishis and sages of ancient India. Has the University realised, in some measure, the vision of its great founder? Has the University succeeded in resisting the onslaught of the modern forces? Has it answered the challenge of western industrialism? Has the great institution of learning approached any nearer the one source of knowledge and life? Did Pandit Malaviyaji, in his life-time, see his hopes fulfilled, his dream realised, or has he passed on to the Great Beyond with his aspirations locked up in his heart? For an answer we must await the verdict of Time.

The cause of cow-protection was dear and near to him. When Vaswaniji took leave of him and left the room, I followed. And as I was passing out of the door of his room, he called me. 'I am an old man', he said to me; 'and I may not meet you again.

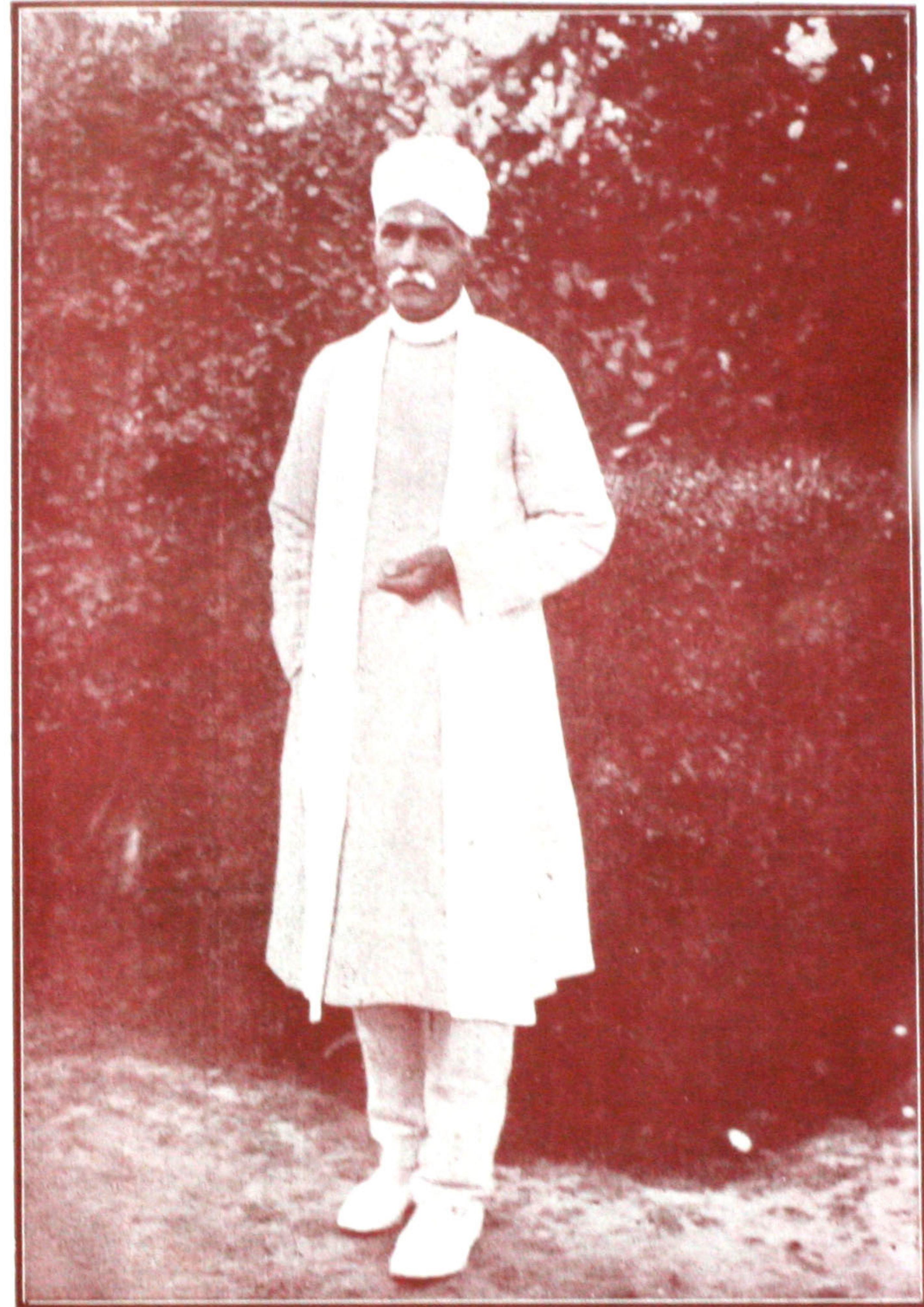
But before you leave, I have just one word to say to you. Tell Vaswaniji to take up the cause of cow-protection and see that the barbaric and inhuman system of cow-slaughter is stopped by non-violent methods'. He spoke so quietly, so convincingly, and the words are still ringing in my ears. I assured him that the cow was very sacred to Vaswaniji and the cause of cow-protection very near to his heart. And then to re-assure him, I described to him how only a few days before we set out for Calcutta, Vaswaniji was taking his usual evening stroll in the Hyderabad Cantoment area when from a distance I sighted a cow being pushed and pulled and dragged, evidently much against its will. I drew Vaswaniji's attention to this and he asked me to go and find out what the matter was. I ran up to the spot, made enquiries, and was told that the cow would be slaughtered in a few minutes' time. I ran back and reported the matter to Vaswaniji, and this was more than he could bear. In haste, he himself proceeded to the spot and offered to purchase the cow at any price, if only to save its life. The butcher very shrewdly raised hitches. The cow simply must be slaughtered, he said, as it was meant for the military officials. Eventually he agreed to sell it for more than double its actual price and Vaswaniji paid for it on the spot. 'The cow', I told Malaviyaji, 'is now happy and gay, grazing on the farm of a friend.' As soon as I finished speaking to him, I saw that a look of joy lit up his countenance and in his eyes appeared the glow of a light which was almost otherworldly.

I bowed down to him in lowly reverence and asked for his blessings. Once again, in benediction, he placed his soft, tender hand on the back of my head and muttered a sutra in Sanskrit. As he spoke, I felt that in his words was a breath which breathed out peace to all mankind. And, as I left him, I felt renewed, re-vitalized, as though I had breathed a purer air, and had drunk from a fountain of fresh waters.

Today the news travels to me over the radio of the passing away of this great one. For a moment mine eyes are touched with tears,—but for a brief moment only. For the message comes back to me,—the message he gave me on that memorable evening,—the message of the Gita concerning the immortality of the soul. In a voice, tremulous with emotion, he uttered the beautiful lyrical sloka from the Gita:—

‘Never the Spirit was born and the Spirit shall cease to be nover ! Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the Spirit for ever. Death hath not touched it, dead though the house of it seems.’

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is not dead: he has but passed on to join the Band of the Shining Ones who, behind the veil, are building, stone by stone, the temple of India's Freedom. Generations unborn will salute him as a great builder of the Indian nation, as an apostle of Indian ideals and pioneer who called India to the Great future that awaits her. Homage to him !



For the fourth time President of the 48th Congress
at Calcutta. (1933)



Malaviyaji at 79.

AN EMBODIMENT OF LOVE

H. H. MAHARAO OF KOTAH

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviyaji was one of the most eminent leaders of India. There was hardly any important aspect of Indian National regeneration to which he did not make a substantial contribution. The Benares Hindu University, which is his monumental work, embodies his love and devotion to our great ideals and illustrates how wisely he realised the need of a nation in the making. He played an eminent part in the political, social and other activities of the nation and as a gifted orator, with tremendous power of moving his audience, he continued throughout his long life to be a great advocate of the Country's Cause.

But Malviyaji was not only a political leader, a social reformer and a great educationist. He was also in the true sense of the term a great "Rishi", reminiscent of our glorious past. He led a life of dedication and was instinctively responsive to every noble cause. Full of zeal, optimism and self-confidence which characterized all his activities, he worked ceaselessly for the betterment of the world he lived in. His spotless character, his boundless faith in God, his saintly life and his spirit of accommodation endeared him to all and he was held in great respect by every one—princes and people of different views and persuasions. His personality had a powerful

charm and his smile was winning and persuasive. Imbibing all that is best in the West, he held fast to the old Brahmanical way of life and was an embodiment of love and purity, of spirituality and sympathy. He inspired all who came in contact with him and generated in them a feeling of respect for his ideals. His contribution to the renaissance of modern India is really unique in the modern world of materialism.

Malviyaji is no longer with us but his immortal work and his high ideals will continue to inspire for long the present and the future generations in our Country.

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To few men is it given to conceive great and noble things for the benefit of their fellowmen; to fewer still is given the good fortune to see their noble conceptions nobly realised by their own efforts. Of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the revered founder of this University, it can be truly said that he not only had the vision of dedicating a new temple to Saraswati in the ancient and sacred city of Banaras, but also the tenacity of purpose to achieve its material realisation, and within his own life-time to see it become the great seat of learning that it is today.

Maharaja of Bikanir

Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya has indeed been the life and soul of the Banaras Hindu University ever since its inception and he has rendered invaluable service as its Vice Chancellor.

Maharaja of Mysore

LIFE OF UNPARALLELED SACRIFICE

ACHARYA NARENDRA DEV

The chief quality in Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was that he never talked ill even of his enemies.

When Malaviyaji entered public life, there were very few people who were giving their whole time to the service of the country. But when the call came to Malaviyaji he sacrificed his lucrative practise at the Bar and worked heart and soul for the country. His pure and serene life, his simplicity, his unparalleled self-sacrifice, his intense patriotism and his manifold services will always be a source of inspiration to the Indian people.

Malaviyaji was a pillar of India's glory. His interest in the politics of the country remained undiminished till the last breath. His enthusiasm and courage were such even in his old age as would bring shame to the youth of the country. His services in the field of education were most valuable. His best memorial is the immortal creation of the Hindu University.

CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTION

21-11-1946.

The Working Committee places on record their profound sense of grief and loss at the death of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who served the country with signal devotion in various capacities for an unbroken period of over sixty years and who was thrice President of the Indian National Congress. India thinks of his manifold services and achievements with pride and gratitude. He was an embodiment of the rich culture of India and reminded us of the Rishis of old. In the Benares Hindu University we have a memorial of his sacrifice, energy and love of India. The Working Committee offer their homage to his memory.

x x x x

NATION-WIDE TRIBUTES

Malaviyaji has left behind him an inspiring monument of his self-less devotion in the Benares Hindu University to which he dedicated so many years of his life and the best that was in him. His was a noble life, lived for great causes and India owes a debt to him which cannot be repaid.

Dr. Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar.

“Even though we know that he might not be with us long, the news of his death is painful. He was one of the pioneers in the national movement. He joined the Congress when he was a young man of 25. Ever since, he remained loyal to that organization even though he did not always endorse its policies. He was a great scholar of Sanskrit and a regular student of the Hindu Shastras. The nation mourns his loss.

Acharya Kripalani

x x x x

The devotion, sincerity and selflessness with which Pandit Malaviya worked for 60 years for the national cause must be rare in the annals of any country. There were few men in India who could be mentioned in the same breath as Pandit Malaviya.

Pandit Hirdyanath Kunzru.

x x x x

A great figure had passed away from the Indian scene. He was not only a great parliamentarian but a great educationist and social reformer.

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar.

Pandit Malaviya, was one of the most illustrious of our national leaders. He led a selfless and strenuous life which was worthy of emulation by the younger generation. He did his work with skill and independence and we found in him a great and fearless critic of the Government. His speeches on the Sedition Bill and the Press Act are well-known. He was a great citizen of India."

Sir Manekji Dadabhoy

x x x x

He knew Pandit Malaviya from his school days. Later his reputation as an educationist grew. That reputation would always be remembered. The speaker knew him also as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council and later as leader of the Nationalist Party in the later Assembly. There might be political differences with Pandit Malaviya, but in spite of those differences, the respect for him was very high.

Mr. Yamin Khan

x x x x

In the passing away of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, India has lost the Grand Old Man of India, a great patriot of unrivalled self-sacrifice who has given of his best to the service of this country for over 60 years—the father of the Benares Hindu University. A Brahmin living up to the ideal and best traditions of Sanatana Dharma.

Dr. Alladi Krishnasawmi Aiyar.

"Hindudom can only repay the debt of gratitude to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, if we all act upon

the message which he delivered with his last breath to rise and resist heroically every anti-Hindu aggression."

V. D. Savarkar

"Another great personality of our country has passed away. It was characteristic of Pandit Malaviya's life that he carried on his magnificent constructive work along with the political struggle. The Benares Hindu University is a living monument to his memory."

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad.

Malaviyaji is dead only physically. Spiritually he will continue to live and inspire India for many generations.

G. D. Birla.

That Pandit Malaviya was one of India's greatest sons, a selfless worker, a mighty builder and above all, the greatest patriot that had lived in India during the last 50 years.

Premier Bardolai.

"One of India's noblest sons has passed away. In his erudition in education, politics and Hindu religion and rites, he was without an equal. There is no doubt that the Bengal tragedy quickened his end. Let his last call to the Hindus serve to unite them and make them fearless champions for serving and saving Hindusthan."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee

Pandit Malaviya was one who had dedicated himself to public service and in that service displayed not only great ability but unassailable political integrity. Pandit Malaviya was a man of vision. Where there was no vision people perished. Progress depended on the existence among us of people who were capable of seeing distant visions, people who, while taking a full part in the affairs of the day, kept their eyes on the future. It was men of that class who provided the inspiration by which the world lived and did not stagnate. It was because Pandit Malaviya belonged to that class of men and ranked high in that class of men that we regarded him as a great man and every party, class and community in the country united in honouring him.

P. J. Griffiths

“The passing of Pandit Malaviya will be regarded as a great calamity in every Indian home.” “He was one of those giants, born about the middle of the last century, who in their several ways helped to build a new India. Pandit Malaviya had big conceptions and made big contributions to our national life. His services in connection with the Punjab disturbances will never be forgotten by his countrymen.”

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is nothing but heart from head to foot. Full of the milk of human kindness; charitable indeed certainly, but, what is less common, in judgment; unselfish to a fault,

tenacious in adhering to his opinions, sometimes to the point of obstinacy; at the same time with a broad toleration for the opinions and feelings of others; with any amount of respect for age and seniority; with no end of pride in his religion and country; and very sanguine about the future of his race; loyal to friends and forgiving to opponents; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is a model of a Hindu and a Brahmana—Sir C. Y. Chintamani.

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Benares Hindu University is Malaviya's crowning achievement. It is a stupendous monument to his peculiar genius,—his piety, his faith in the truth of Hinduism, his audacity in conception, his persistence in execution, his magic influence in the world of Pandits and in that of Princes. Supreme in this sphere, he is all but supreme in Indian politics. Utterly devoid of personal ambition, he never bothered to gather a party round himself, or found a school of thought. Surendranath, Mehta, Gokhale and now Gandhi—to these he has always yielded first place with reverence and whole-hearted admiration. For he is without a particle of envy or malice. When the world of politics is in convulsion, the unwavering loyalty of the Pandit to the Indian National Congress is in the nature of a romantic attachment. It led him to seek imprisonment for the second time.

Dr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

EARLIER TRIBUTES

What Indian education owes to Pandit Malaviya is known in Europe, but never before have I seen a great institution which was so much the work of one man. If Pandit Malaviya had never been a politician he would have been held to be the greatest educational leader and if the Benares Hindu University had not been his child he would have been regarded as a great politician. The combination is almost unique in the history of either India or the West.

Colonel Wedgewood M. P.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the most active politician in any council followed. He is a man of beautiful appearance, a brahmin, clad in white, with a beautiful voice, perfect manners and an insatiable ambition. He is a great leader on the Legislative Assembly.

The Rt. Hon'ble Montague.

Of the patriarchs among leaders of India's struggle for freedom none has so impressed me with his fairness, sincerity and cultural greatness as Malaviya. He has a manner full of grace and charm and a demeanour calm, dignified and with splendid aryan poise. His face is handsome and still remarkable youthful. In his speech he is disarmingly candid and direct—quite the opposite of what we are told to expect from eastern politi-

cians. His personality radiates the sweetness and simplicity of a child yet his words carry the strength and conviction of a man with a settled philosophy of life.

Edgar Snow.

The leader of the party, Madan Mohan Malaviya, is a very eminent man, who, if we take everything into account, is a figure about equal in importance to Pandit Motilal Nehru. With Mr. Gandhi, they make up the trimvirate of Hindu leaders with whom Britain has to deal. He is the same age as his brother Pandit, and he follows the same profession, but his connection with public life has been much longer, for he entered the Imperial Legislative Council as long ago as 1910. He is an orthodox high caste Brahmin, he is Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University, and the influence which he wields and the love and respect which he enjoys among the Hindus are very great indeed. An Indian member on the Government side of the House, speaking in debate in February last, said that if any one man might be regarded as the leader of the Hindu community, that man was Pandit Malaviya. It is a wonderful thing to contemplate, that one man should be the leader of 200,000,000. and he may with some truth be said to be the leader of them all for in the Hooghly at Calcutta in December he washed the untouchables with his own hands.

It is a nice point whether he or Pandit Motilal Nehru speaks the finer English. Both have acquired a great mastery over the English tongue, but while

the Nehru sentences are crisper and more robust, the Malaviya vocabulary is wider, the syntax more flexible, *diction more choice*. He says hard things about the Government, and often impugns the sincerity of British statesmen, but his bitterness and Pandit Motilal Nehru's fall far short of the bitterness of the Adams brothers, or of the bitterness of Parnell and Healy, to quote two cases of Nationalist leaders against the British. He over responds more readily to generous treatment; *no leader was ever freer from thought of self*.

Age sits lightly on the slender, erect, handsome figure, clad in white 'achkan' and long white 'dupatta' and there is no faltering in the courage with which, in his sixty-ninth year, he enters on the great struggle of his life.

"His skin was dark as bronze; his face,
Irradiate, but yet severe,
His eyes had much of love and grace,
But glowed so bright, they filled with fear."

The Pandit is not dark as bronze; he has the normal hue of upper India. But I have quoted those lines of the young Bengali poetess because the rest of the stanza conveys some and the greatness of his heart.

Arnold Wark M. P.

Pandit Malaviya stands today, 'I venture to suggest, as the symbol of Indian unity among diversity of opinions.

Mrs. Annie Besant.

I have the privilege of knowing Pandit Malaviyaji ever since my return to India in 1915. I have had the privilege of closest communion with him. I regard him as one of the best among Hindus, who though orthodox, holds most liberal views. He is incapable of jealousy of anyone. He has a heart large enough to accommodate even his enemies. He has never aimed at power. And what he has is due to a long period of unbroken service of the motherland, such as very few of us can boast. He and I are temperamentally different but love each other like brothers. There never has been even so much as a jar between us.

Mahatma Gandhi

Pandit Malaviyaji had harboured me in his own room. I had a glimpse of the simplicity of his life on the occasion of the foundation ceremony of the Hindu University, but on this occasion being in the same room with him I was able to observe his daily routine in the closest detail, and what I saw filled me with joyful surprise. His room presented the appearance of a free inn for all the poor. You could hardly cross from one end to the other. It was so crowded. It was accessible at all odd hours to chance visitors who had the licence to take as much of his time as they liked. In a corner of this crib lay my charpai in all its dignity. I was thus enabled to hold daily

discussions with Malaviyaji who used lovingly to explain to me, like an elder brother, the various view points of the different parties.

Mahatma Gandhi.

The Hindu University is a monumental work, the credit of which is almost exclusively due to the genius, energy, devotion, and self-sacrifice of one man—The Great Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The University, as it stands to-day, is the result of the single-minded devotion of one man. His was the conception, the plan and the execution. The Hindu University is pervaded by the spirit of Pandit Malaviya. He is the University and vice versa.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been one of the earliest and one of the most devoted workers in the Congress cause. My memory goes back to the events of 1886 when my young friend having just left the college after a distinguished academic career for the first time spoke at a meeting of the Calcutta Congress. He was so young that he had to be lifted up on a chair in order that the audience might have an opportunity of having a look at him. He had a fascinating appearance—which he has even now—but the audience was more charmed by the eloquence of the youthful orator than by his good looks, and that speech—one of the very best that I have heard—made a deep impression upon the minds of the Congress gathering, and pointed him out as one of the future leaders of the Congress movement. The

promise of 1886 has now been abundantly fulfilled and today Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya stands forth as one of the great buttresses of the Congress movement. Sobre and moderate in his views, temperate but eloquent in their expression, he has been rightly declared the silver-tongued orator of the congress.

Babu Suhrendranath Banerji.

The services of Pandit Malaviyaji to the country are clear as day. Panditji is among those who have sacrificed their whole life for their country.

Pandit Motilal Nehru.

The honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is inseparably connected with the Hindu University and will live long in the memory of grateful posterity.

Sir Sundar Lal.

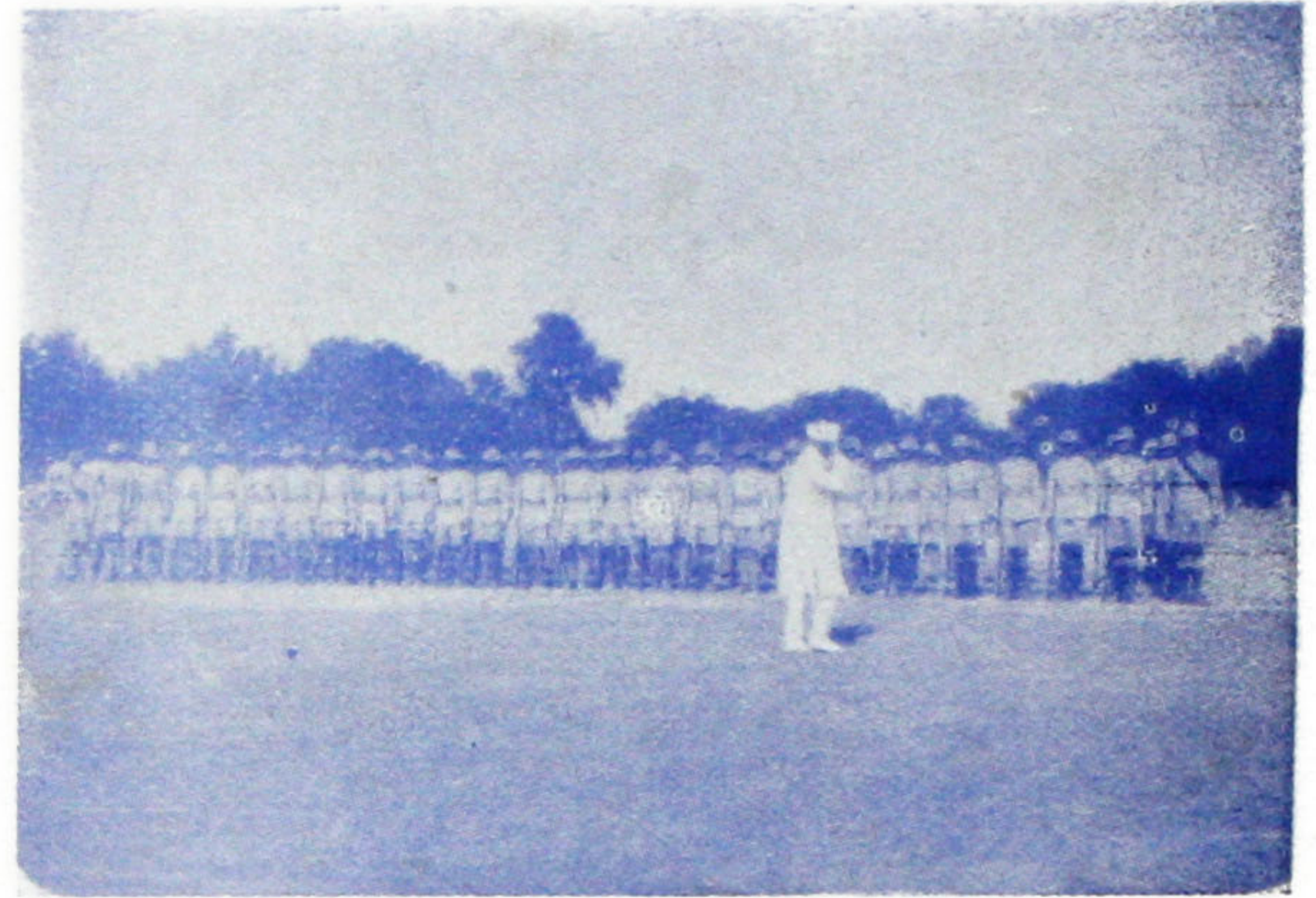
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has attained remarkable success in the field of politics, but his most constructive work has been in the educational line. He is one of the most distinguished alumni of the Calcutta University. The Benares University is a wonderful institution. To bring it into being required a tremendous personality, a power of organisation like that of Pandit Malaviya. There are people who may have differences of opinion as to Malaviyaji's political views, but I dare say there is none who will deny the fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji is a gentleman undoubtedly with the most remarkable power of organisation.

Dr. Hassan Suhrawardhi.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is one of the most honoured and respected of the moderate leaders. While there may have been any differences of opinion on ordinary matters whenever there was a crisis or some great national service to be done he has proved that there is no greater patriot than he. When the Press Act was before the Council some people supported it, one or two Maham-madans even supported it, but Panditji was the first person to oppose it in the Council. When the Defence of India Act was put forward, many people wavered but Panditji stood firm. In the end when our opponents wanted to create divisions amongst ourselves and thus weaken the Congress it was he who came out of the moderate camp and led us. In grave national events he has been only guided by a sense of national duty.

Maulana Hasrat Mohini.

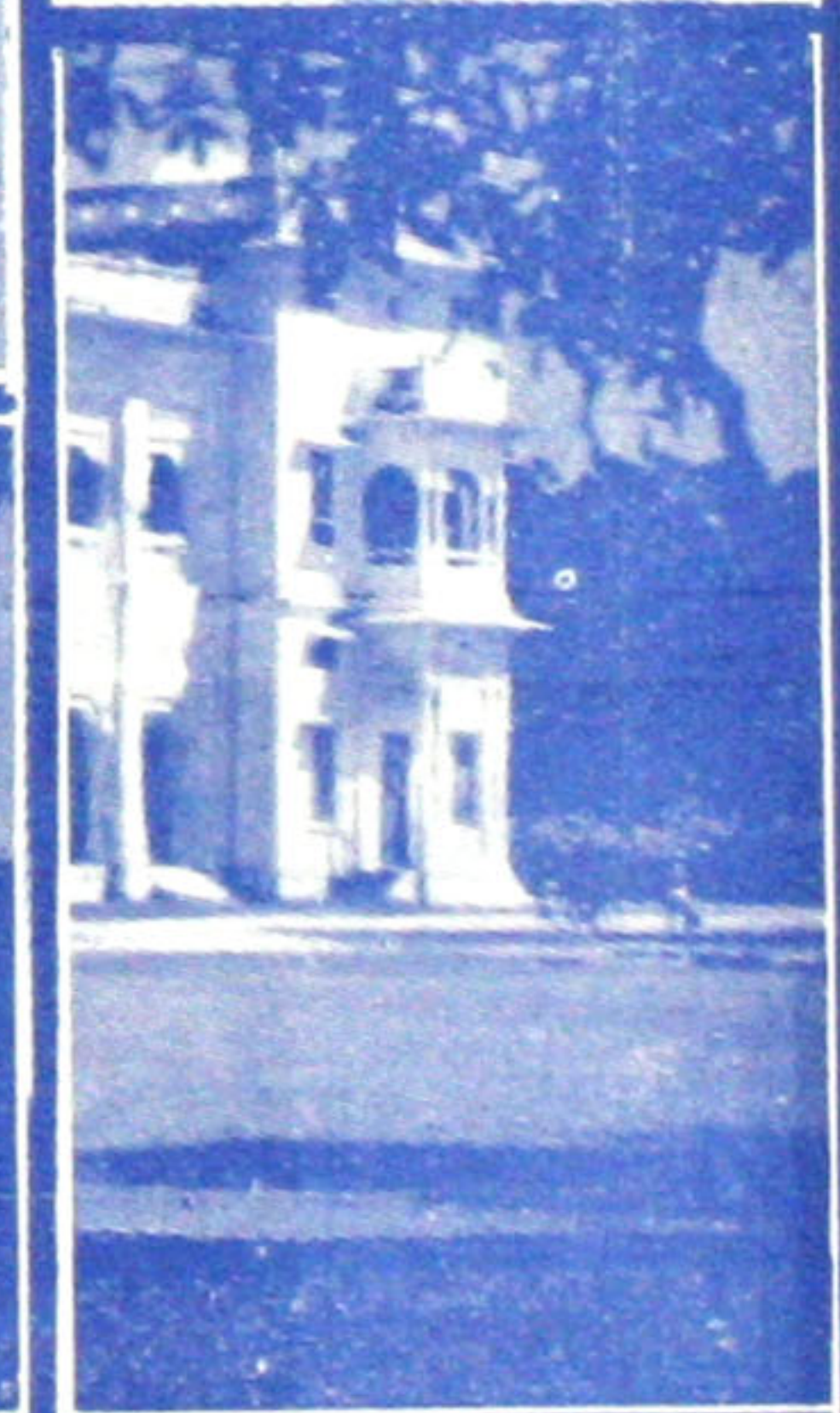
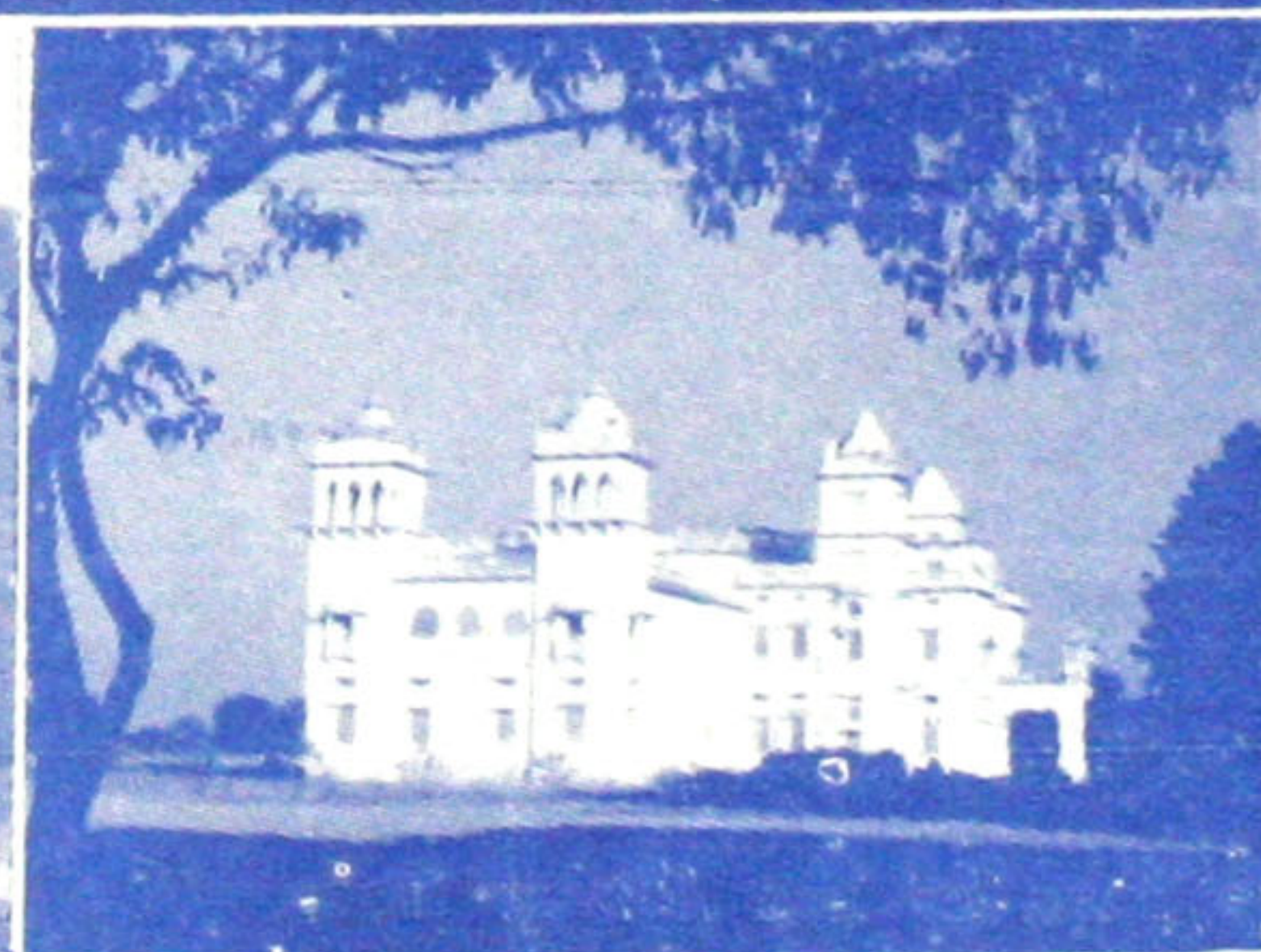
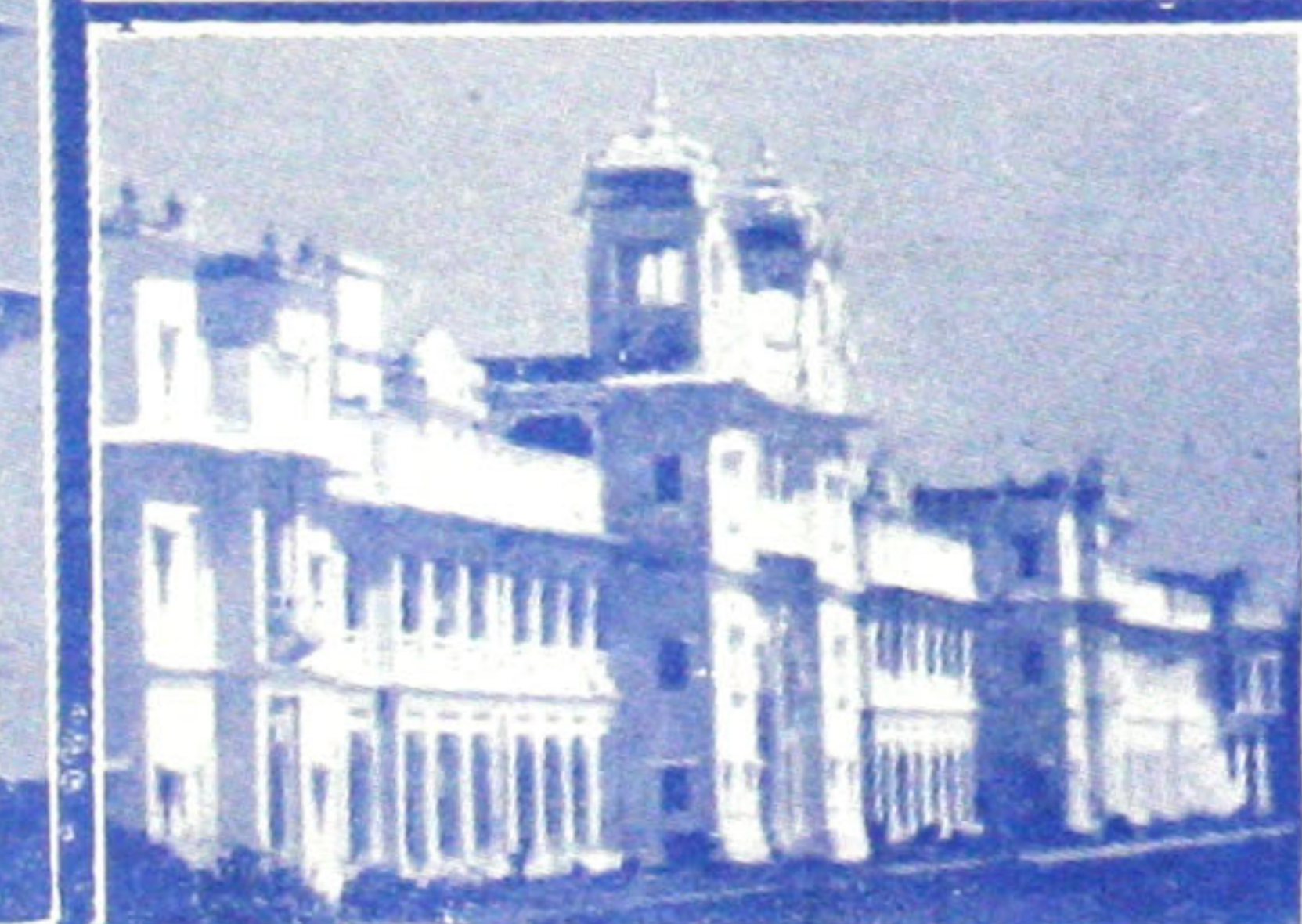
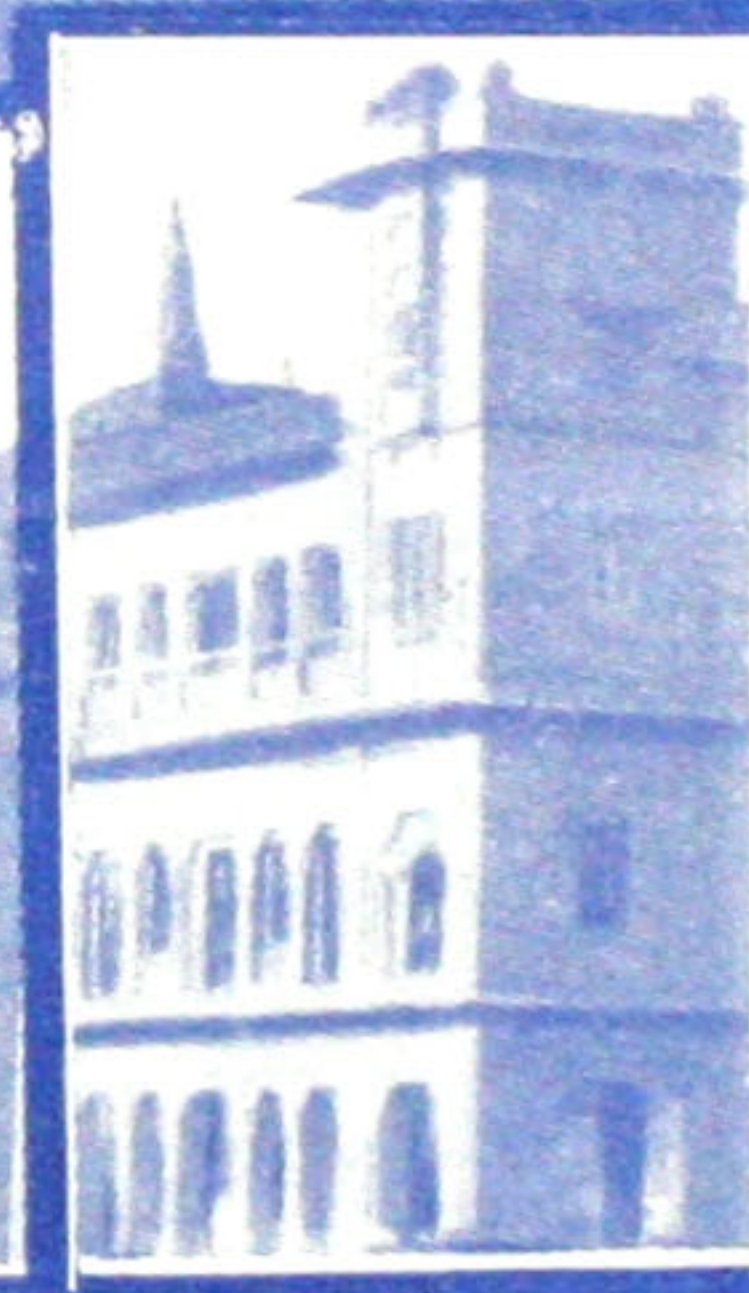
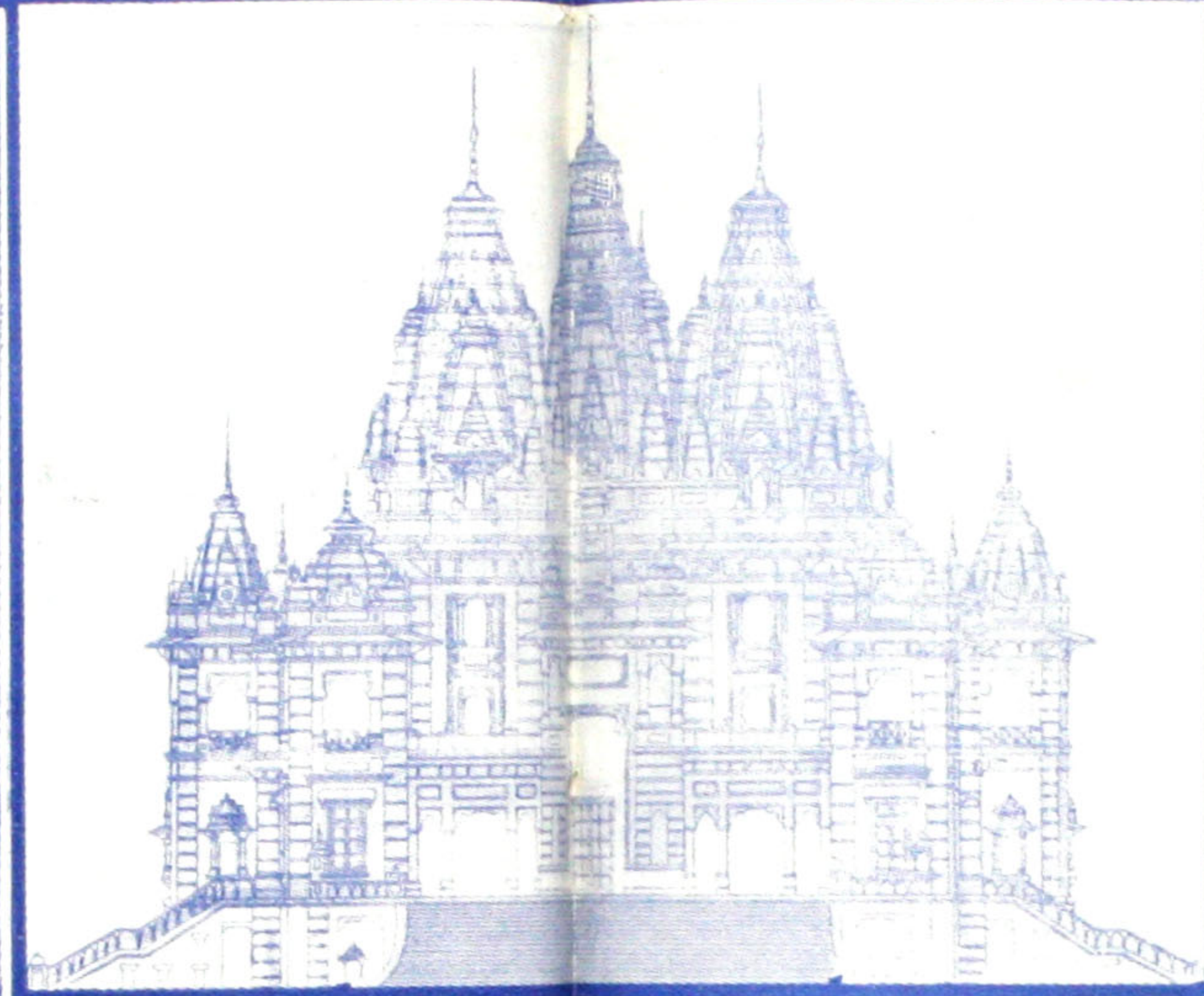
The greatest dream of Pandit Malviyaji's life an institution where Hindu culture could be taught side by side with the sciences as perfected in the occident—is already a reality that lives and pulsates. Only a man with his energy, persistence and influence could have set up the Hindu University at Benares. The journeys that he made in quest of support for that institution if put end to end would doubtless run into thousands of miles. The speeches that he made from the public platform, in private sitting rooms would, if put together, make many volumes. The warmth of his eloquence melted in time the Hindu inertia and he secured the funds needed to



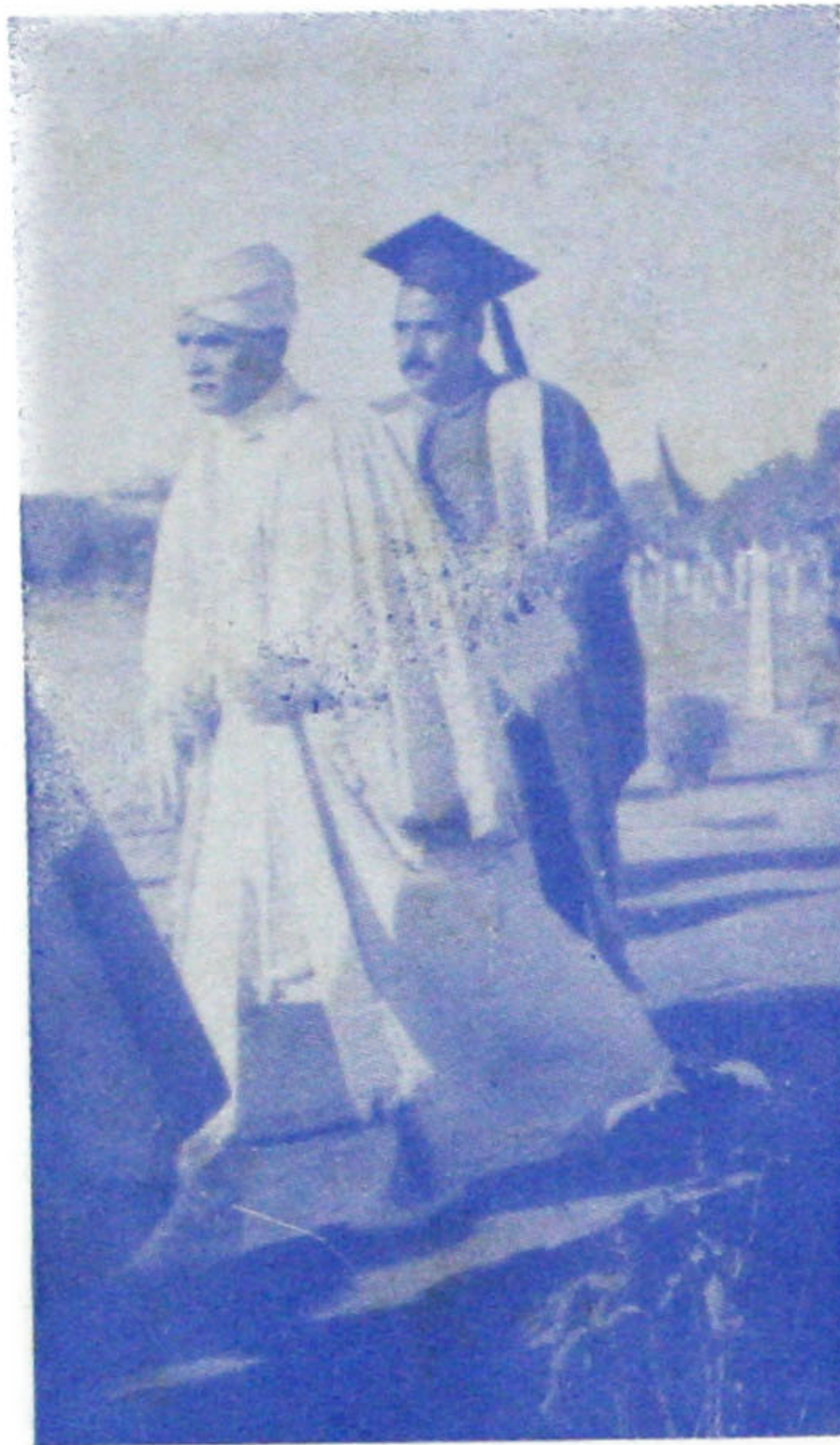
Malaviyaji taking Salute in the University.



Mahamana with Sundaram in Krishnakutir.



"IF YOU SEEK HIS MONUMENT, LOOK AROUND."



Malaviyaji going to the Convocation.



Malaviyaji under the *Sirisa* tree.

make a start. Few Indians are capable of as much sustained effort as this leader who yesterday entered his seventy-first year. Great and many sided as his contributions to Indian progress has been it will be eclipsed by the work that he will, I believe, accomplish for winning Indian freedom during the years—that Providence may vouchsafe him for the purpose.

St. Nihal Singh.

In a very unique and special sense Pandit Malaviya symbolises India not only in the minds of his own countrymen but also in the eyes of the outside world.

Sir C. V. Raman.

In my opinion Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya will rank high in any group of American educational statemen. His passion is for education ; but he is not a mere visionary. A talk with him will convince even a hard-boiled Anglo-Indian how vigorously and incisively and sensibly he has dealt with every situation and problem arising out of the Hindu University during the past few years. He is a far sighted, warm-hearted and lovable man. Malaviya, to my mind, stands at par in diplomatic and administrative ability with the best captains of education that America or Europe can show.

Dr. Sudindara Bose

The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has already won an honoured place in the hearts of the people by his devoted services in the cause of

the motherland. He is not one of those who seem to think that the best way to crown one's life-long services to the country is by deserting the national flag at the time of one of the greatest crisis in the history of the nation. He believes in loyalty and not in desertion and therefore he has proved his fidelity to the national cause by being with us during our trying moments.

The Honble Fazlul Haq

"THOU WAST NOT BORN FOR DEATH"

V. A. SUNDARAM

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji was a many-sided genius of the Indian Renaissance. He was one of the rarest figures in Indian History—one of the noblest lives that Hinduism ever gave to mankind. He was the supreme architect of the temple of learning in Kashi, a pure devotee of God, an eminent educationist, father of a nation, a Karma-Yogi, lord of languages, ancient and modern, a master-mind, nestor among politicians, a great parliamentarian, prince among patriots, patriarch among the leaders of his generation, religious reformer, scholar, savant sage, and servant of India and mankind, torch-bearer and wonder-worker.

For eighty-five years Pundit Malaviyaji went about doing good. To do good was his mission in life. He became great, he became immortal, by doing ceaselessly good to all beings. He was good to the sub-human beings and to plants too. Mahamana Malaviyaji believed in the ancient religion of Sanatana Dharma and preached the gospel of the immanence of God. Sanatana Dharma was Eternal Dharma.

It was ancient, most sacred, most high. It was a Dharma, the Mahamana said, which could bring salvation to the whole world. Knowledge, devotion and renunciation were its three pillars. Knowledge

was its soul. Sanatana Dharma believed in God's presence not only in mankind, but even in birds, insects, animals and plants. If the people could feel the presence of God in everything, none would think of injuring the other. "Do not do that unto others, what you wish others not to do to you" was the golden teaching of Hinduism.

Mahamana Malaviyaji was very fond of the cow and worshipped the Gomata. The divine gentleness, which one saw in the innocent face of the mother cow, was visible in Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji's charming countenance, so full of purity and sweetness. The last act of the Mahamana's life on earth was to address a cow conference in Banaras.

The Mahamana was very fond of birds which are even more beautiful than animals. He used to soliloquise, when he was in the mountains and talk to the birds.

Many years ago Malaviyaji was found to be lost in reverie on seeing a blue-winged bird, swinging and singing on a Deodar tree in Simla. When it flew away, Malaviyaji uttered in a painful voice the following words 'Ah truant, why are you so unfair? Why do you fly away so soon? Little did I know till then, that Punditji was such an ardent lover of birds. In his home at Allahabad, he used to feed the birds every day before taking his midday meal. At Rameswaram he was found welcoming the little messengers of the dawn. There was a Franciscan love in him for the blithe spirits of the air.

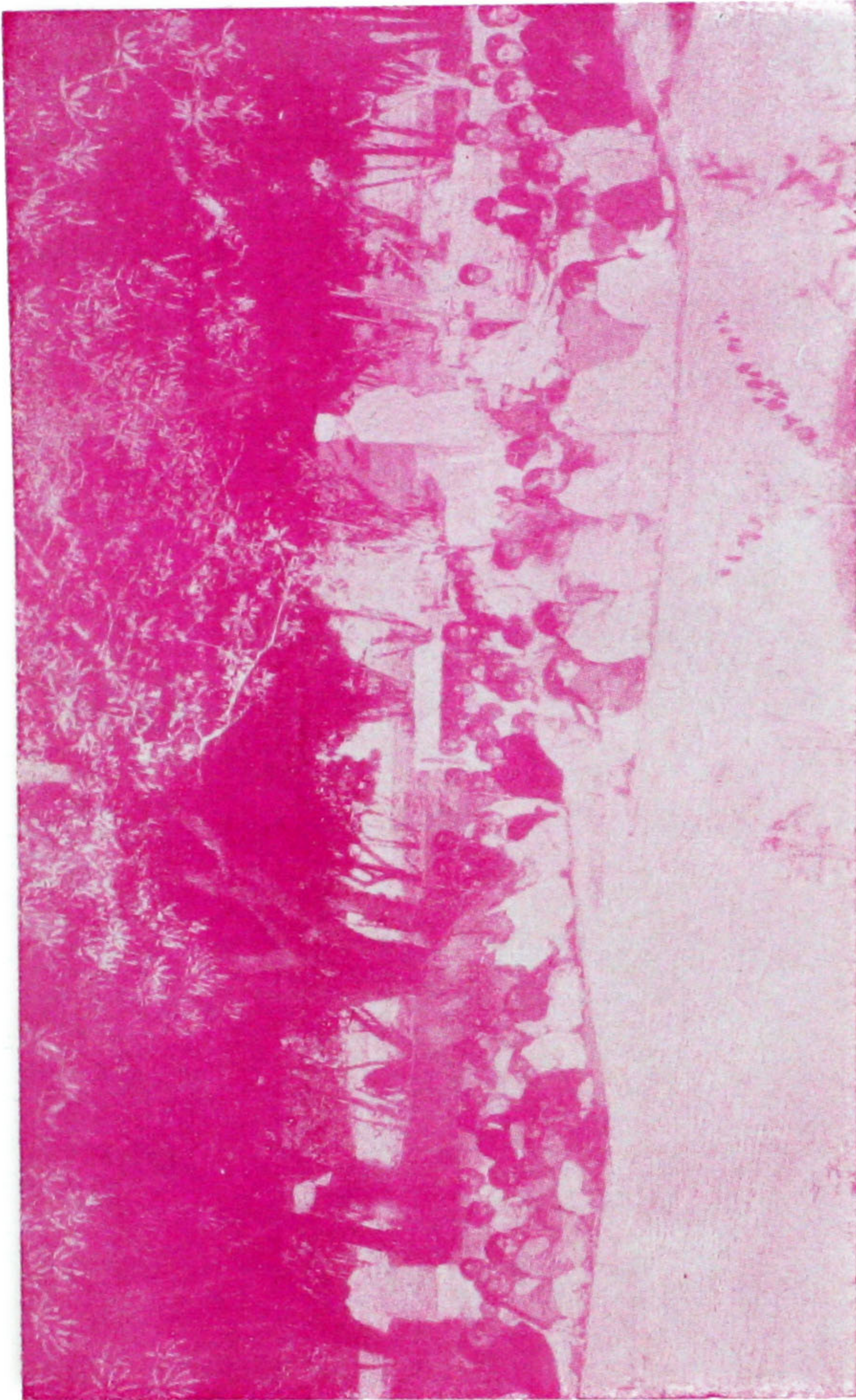
सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर ।
 Speak the truth. Do the duty. Malaviyaji exhorting students.



The Mahamana was passionately fond of flowers. Not merely of the lotus, the jasmine and the rose, which perfume the Indian air by their maddening fragrance, but the great Punditiji specially loved the beautiful wee little flowers on the fields, which one sees in millions on the fair Gangetic valley. Once while walking across the fields of the Viswa Vidyalaya, the Mahamana pointed out the lovely sapphire colored Sanka-Pushpi blossoms, which had covered the whole ground in early spring time, and asked his companion to tread gently over the flower-smiling land. Then he spoke of the medicinal value of the little Sanka-Pushpi and how very beneficial it was to the brain in hot weather. While talking about flowers the Mahamana's soul bowed in adoration to the creator of plants, animals and mankind.

As Punditiji was greatly interested in the science of Ayurveda, he had studied the life and history of plants and knew hundreds of names in the vegetable kingdom. For hours he would talk to the gardner, the botanist, and the horti culturist, about the endless variety, the utility and the beauty of plants. 'Give me more money, I will make the Viswa-Vidyalaya into a lovely garden,' he would often say. He was a gardener and his excellence could be seen by the way he sowed the seed of the Viswa Vidyalaya and watched tenderly the growth of the plant and watered it during his life-time.

It is all a wonder, how he changed with his magic wand, the fallow fields of Nagwa in Banaras, into a cultural capital and a garden of learning.



Malaviyaji with the little ones in the Banaras University.

The large-hearted Punditji was fond of the beautiful little ones of the world. He enjoyed their angelic company. He taught the children to sing in praise of Bal Ram and Bal Gopal and of Prahalad and of Dhruva. 'I have over a hundred grand children' he whispered one day. Whenever the children clung round the old sweet-voiced Punditji, he would pat the kids and talk to them in the child's language of love and joy.

To the mothers, the Mahamana was reverential and worshipful. He always addressed them as 'Deviyo'. There was purity in his expression and divinity in his look. He would tell the women of the immortal stories of Arundati, Droupadi, Maitreyi, Gargi, Savitri and Sita and transport his listeners to ethereal realms. The women of India adored the Mahamana. Who can forget the vast gathering of fifty thousand women, who had gathered on the Bombay beach to hear his soul-stirring address in 1930, during the Satyagraha days when he came out of Bombay Arthur Road jail. He exhorted the women of India to be brave and fearless and to save their honor in moments of danger and practice methods of self-defence. The Mahamana's words infused a new hope into the hearts of the women of India.

Punditji moulded the lives of tens of thousands of young men and women. 'Practice truth, do your duty, he would say to everyone, who went to receive his blessings. On a score of occasions young India had heard the Mahamana's golden voice at the annual

convocations of the Banaras University, when he chanted so beautifully ancient Vedic hymns and exhorted the youths to follow the path of 'Dharma'. The vibration of the word 'Dharma' when uttered by the Dharmatma, thrilled the hearts of the great national gathering at Kashi.

Besides the large number of students, the poor folk used to flock to the annual gatherings. Punditji loved the poor, the needy, the sorrow-stricken. They were ever outside his door. He would talk to everyone of them in the dialect. Hundreds of poor people waited outside his small room to have his darshan—to have a glance at his God-like face, so full of grace and beauty. Malaviyaji's eyes were suffused with tears as he greeted the village people. He talked to them of Ram and Krishna and advised them to love one another and walk along the path of dharma. His heart was moved by the sufferings of the ill-clad, starving millions of his countrymen.

From his childhood Malaviyaji was accustomed to meet large crowds. He began lecturing to them in the Magh Mela from his seventh year. For sixty-five years and more the Mahamana spoke to large gatherings in various parts of India. Millions of words must have fallen from his lips, lakhs of people must have heard the silver-tongued speaker of India. As an orator he was transcendental. He inspired his hearers by his moral fervour and by his patriotic words. He made great speeches in the Congress, Councils and Assemblies and some of them lifted him to the skies. His reputation grew as his golden

voice became mellow. The people of India adored Malaviyaji for his sweet words and for his golden deeds.

Looking at the soaring, sun-lit spires of the Banaras Hindu University and the panorama of colleges, hostels, laboratories, pavilions, and residences, the mind wanders to Prayag, where amidst immortal scenes of purity and beauty, the dreamer and builder of the Viswa-Vidyalyaya was born eighty-seven years ago. To breathe the air of the Mahamana one must go on a pilgrimage to Prayag-his native city.

Beautiful is Allahabad. Beauteous are the lovely scenes in the city, where ethereal breezes blow at the confluence of the three rivers. There is Madan Mohan's cradle. There are his early memorials—the schools where he studied in his boyhood, the famous Muir College, where the boy Madan Mohan acted gracefully the graceful part of Portia in 1882; the clubs, societies and Samajs, where he spoke are all at Allahabad. The school, where he taught, the Newspapers, which he edited, the newspaper "Leader" which he founded in 1909, are in Allahabad. Allahabad has the temple of justice, where Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya practised as a lawyer for eighteen years. The city is so rich in associations and is full of historic memories. That is the city of Malaviyaji's perennial inspiration. Earth had not any thing to show more fair for him and whenever Pundit Malaviyaji went out, his heart fondly turned to Allahabad. 'It is the most beautiful city of India. It is noted for its health and purity. The sight of



I have often wondered whether in Malaviyaji's old and frail body live again the soul of Goutama Buddha.

the confluence of the three rivers is exhilarating. I like it best," said the Mahamana, while referring to his beloved native city. Allahabad had exercised a tremendous influence on Malaviyaji for eighty-five years. One day in the month of Mag, when Allahabad looks like paradise on earth, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji took a plunge in the Triveni, heard voices calling him to consecrate his life and talents, came out of the river with a prayer on his lips, went home and shared the Himalayan vision which he saw, received his parents' blessings, and their precious gift, took a vow before them and with an indomitable will came down to Banaras to fulfil the dream of his life—to raise the noblest monument in India to Hinduism. There is something Bhagirathian about the majestic and solemn fervour with which the Mahamana plunged into the greatest mission of his life.

Ten-thousand days in Kashi, from 1916 to 1946, dreaming, planning, working, preaching, praying, making use of every minute of his waking hour. Who would remember the by-gone days and yet who can forget the glorious years, when the Mahamana crowned the city of Kashi and immortalised it by his sacrifice and selfless service. It is not an easy thing to build a University which has become in the words of a world-renowned savant, 'unique'. 'It is the work of a superhuman being, said another distinguished statesman and scholar. The Mahamana breathed his soul into the University. Look at the institution! Look at the care, the anxiety, the



In a thoughtful mood.

labour behind the marvellous undertaking. It has taken half a century of thought, prayer and work to transform the dream into reality—what painstaking, workmanship, skill statesmanship and patience behind this colossal enterprise. The University, as one sees it in its prosperity in 1947, did not just spring up. For thirty years, the Mahamana worked like a titan. He strove with the Gods, saved the University from all harms, and brick by brick, stone upon stone, he built, what Mahatma Gandhi called ‘The majestic structure’ of the Viswa-Vidyalya, which stands on the rock of his patriotism, purity, and self-sacrifice. ‘I have built this shrine of learning with my blood. I have drawn the picture. Let them praise or criticise it,’ said the Mahamana, a month before his death. While sharing his hopes about the future of the Viswa-Vidyalya with a friend, the Mahamana wrote down the following pregnant words :—

‘It is only men, who possess great courage and patience and who have developed in them a constant spirit of self-sacrifice and who possess undying devotion to the cause which they have understood to be great and glorious that can serve an institution like the Banaras Hindu University.

With all those matchless qualities the Mahamana built the University, which has become the pride of India! Thank God India produced a savant and a sage like Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji.

*Broadcast from Delhi, Station
On November 12, 1948.*

MALAVIYAJI MEMORIAL FUND APPEAL

“We desire that this Fund, which will constitute a Memorial to one whose services to the motherland have been so great, should in size be commensurate with what Malaviyaji had himself achieved in his own lifetime,” declares Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime-Minister of India in a letter to the press issuing a country wide appeal, signed by prominent leaders, for contributions to the late Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The following is the text of the appeal :—

It is needless to recount the many and varied services which Pandit Malaviyaji rendered to the cause of Indian freedom and national education, in his long life of service and sacrifice. He was one of the makers of modern India. The two dominating passions of his life were politics and religion. He was identified throughout his life with the Indian struggle for freedom. He was associated with the Indian National Congress almost from its inception and twice presided over its annual sessions. Today when we are marching towards victory, we should remember with gratitude his outstanding services to the national cause.

In his youth there were many who were the victims of a superstitious valuation of Western civilization. He felt that our education should grow out of our cultural traditions and be relevant to our envi-

ronment and needs. With an attitude of reverence towards ultimate values and realism towards practical needs, he with the help of a few others, established the Benares Hindu University, which is today the largest residential University in the country, well known, not only for its departments of arts and the humanities, but for its faculties of science, pure and applied, and technology. He lighted a lamp at Benares whose light will penetrate far into space and time and continue to shine as long as our civilization lasts.

He was himself the embodiment of Hindu culture, gentle but not weak, determined but not aggressive, a spirit as clean as the mountain air. His white robes reflected the purity of his heart and his presence had a sanctifying grace.

It is only fitting that the people of India, whom he served with such zeal and enthusiasm, should do their utmost to perpetuate his memory and carry on his great work. In order to further this noble purpose it has been decided to raise a memorial fund, to be styled Malaviyaji Memorial Fund, and we appeal for generous donations for this fund. The funds collected shall be settled on a trust with the object of extending and developing the activities of the Benares Hindu University and to carry out such other objects as the Committee may determine. No target figure is being fixed for this fund as it is hoped that the public response will be commensurate with the greatness of the undertaking.

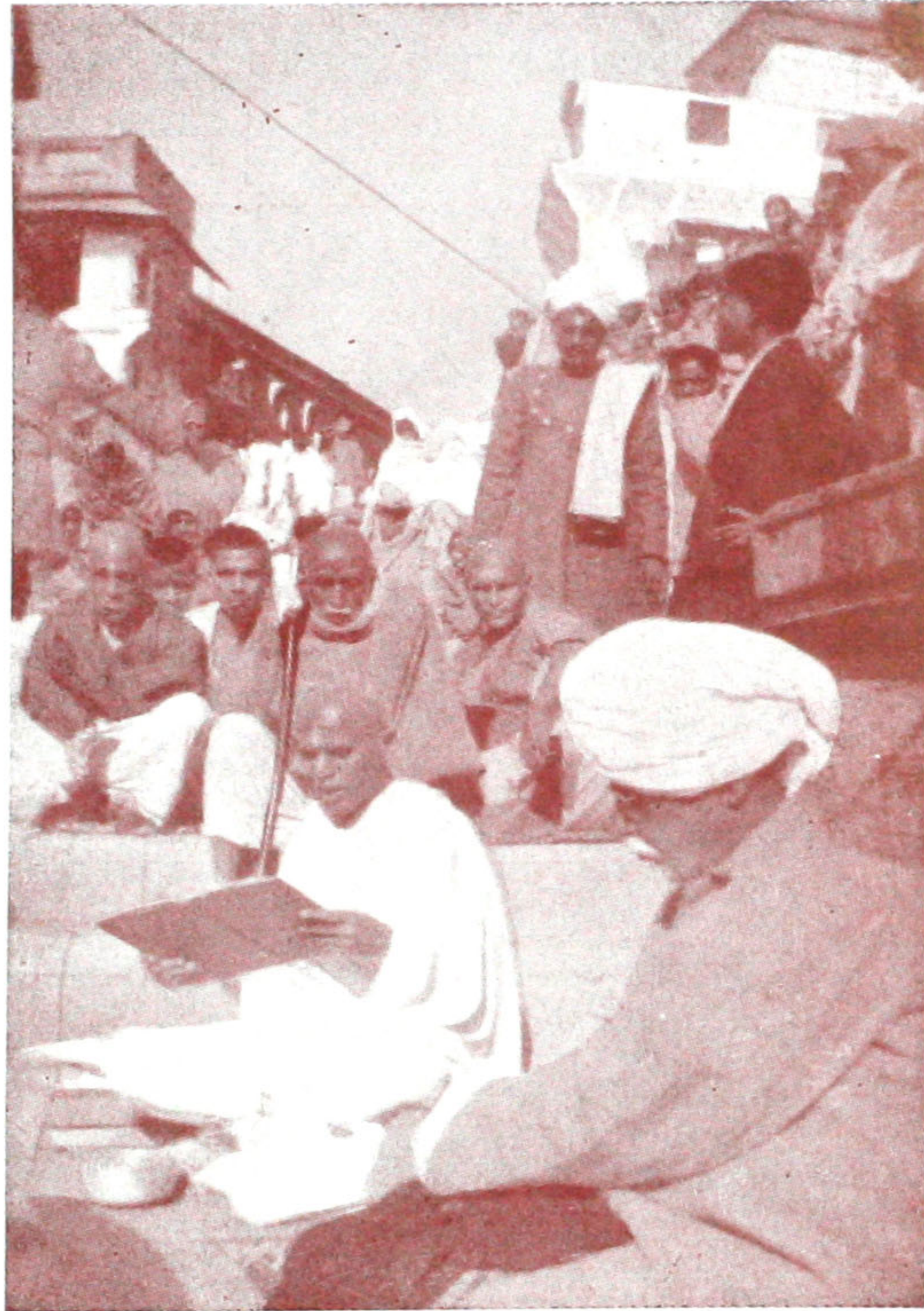
कोऽनु स स्थादुपायोऽत्र येनाहं दुःखित्तत्पनाम्
अनः अविष्टम भूतां भवेमं दुःख पादु ह्यहं

What may be that means whereby I may enter
into the hearts of those who are undergoing pain
and share their sorrow and suffering.

This was the prayer of an ancient sage
thousand of years ago. That is today my
prayer.

Mr. M. Malaviyaji

The Mahamana's Daily Prayer.



Malaviyaji denounced untouchability and officiated at the ceremony of reclaiming converts.

APPENDIX

IMMANENCE OF GOD

To my mind, it is a wonder when any one tells me that he doubts the existence of God. But it is not surprising that men's minds should not be settled on this very important question which has agitated the minds of the best men in all the previous ages, because the system of religious education that used to obtain in the country has been very much dislocated. There are only some portions of the population who receive regular instruction in religion. And there has been so much change brought about in other departments of life that this object is not regarded as one of those primary subjects to which attention need compulsorily be given. The greater the advance that science has made, the deeper has been the support which the idea of the existence of a supreme power has received. The ancient Hindu religion, the oldest that is now extant on earth, has taught us for thousands of years of the existence of God. The Suktas and the Rig Vedas are full of it. You cannot imagine any creation without the existence of a creator and the Vedas are full of the idea of the whole creation having been created by that creator. Some time ago, particularly in the last century there was a great deal of difference of opinion among some of the leading men of Europe as to the idea of the existence of God. But I am glad to

think that the more the men have debated the subject, the greater the progress that science has made, the deeper has been the change in their conviction.

Now, one might think that this is hardly a subject for public discourse, that it is more a subject for a lecture in the class room than a subject for public discourse. But my class rooms are held in the open sky and my class rooms are both for my own instruction and for communicating the ideas to others. I have therefore thought it fit to touch upon this subject with a view to throw out some suggestions which might probably strengthen the convictions of some of the young men who are struggling to find a solution of this question. It is also natural that it has its effect upon other convictions which shape men's minds and therefore their actions in life.

Now, the ancient Vedas teach us that in the beginning of creation nothing existed but one Supreme Power.

Science has told you of the geological era ; it has told you of the millions of years that have passed since the dawn of creation. You read of it in your Vedas. Manu has translated the idea by telling you that the whole of the creation was full of water. There was the gaseous age ; there was the age of water. Water was the first creation. From that time up to this all the efforts that have been made by scientists to explain the various stages through which the world has passed have confirmed, as I said, the belief in the existence of one Supreme Power.

Among the philosophical writers on this subject, there have been many in the past who have discussed it very fully in our Sanskrit literature. Among modern writers those who started as agnostics have come to believe in the existence of a God. One such person I will particularly name—Hegel, the greatest scientist of Germany and Zoologist. He has in his '*Little Creation*' fought against the idea of a God particularly such as he says is known to Christian writers and philosophers. But when he has said all, he has had to admit that there is one Supreme, all pervading energy to be found in the whole of the universe, that matter and energy are constant, that you find that it is indestructible and that its energy pervades all the whole creation from time immemorial. You find that this idea has been accepted by many writers who doubted the existence of God. Hegel does not acknowledge that there is a God in the sense in which others do. But he has the idea of a God in nature and he has shown that he cannot find a solution for this question without accepting the idea of such a God. Now the Hindu religion has taught us that God exists in nature. Yesterday I said that our religion teaches us that God is immanent in all created beings. What is the meaning of it ? God is not described in the Hindu religion as an engineer who is erecting a building on a plan which he has conceived. God is described as being immanent in the whole creation and it is a wonder that the men of Science as they go on studying their problems of science are becoming more and more theists and

convinced of the existence of God. Now I would ask you, particularly the young men who have not given a thought to this subject to think how the matter stands. The idea of God in the Hindu religion is not that of a man working like an engineer upon material different from himself. He constitutes the material. He creates it. He brings it into existence by that undescribable, almost unimaginable power which represents him.

How many amongst us think of how a Jiva takes shape? There is the union of the male and the female, and in that union, one living cell unites with another. But what is the condition of it? It is said that if you take one drop of fluid, you will find tens of millions of sperms. One such is described in the Upanishads. I have told you that if you take one drop of fluid, you will find millions of Jivas in it—tens of lakhs. It is difficult to imagine how small one tiny little Jiva must be.

If you take one hair of your head and divide it vertically into 100, then you take one of these 100 and divide that again into 100, that is, if you divide one hair into 10,000 parts of it vertically, then you conceive an idea of the existence of a Jiva. It is described as the tiniest of the tiniest. Imagination almost fails to think of the little something which will be a ten thousandth part of one hair vertically divided. Therefore, you will understand the statement of the scientist which confirms this idea of the *anor aniyam*, of the tiniest of the tiny Jiva, unimaginable smallness; *anor aniyam*, the tiniest of the

tiniest which the Upanishad describes. The scientist says that in one drop of fluid there are millions of these sperms.

Now the man and woman, the male and the female throughout creation, come together, and it is only one of these unimaginable tiny things, only one of these pass from the male to the female. There unite the two tiny cells together and constitute into something which is again difficult to imagine because of its smallness. That constitutes the Jiva in the womb of the mother. It is difficult to imagine that. So the Upanishads say *anor aniyam*, the tiniest of the tiniest.

What is there that develops it into its further stages? Now in that tiny something you find in the womb, provision has been made for feeding it from the moment the two have melted together and become one. There is a provision in the mother's constitution by which food shall pass on to the something which has found a habitation here. That food is supplied to it for nine months and more. It receives food through that arrangement which is called the *nada*, the naval chord. It grows and your wonder must begin to rise as you think of its greatness. That tiny unimaginable small thing begins to develop. And what do you find? The father's constitution, the father's complexion, or the mother's complexion, or the blend of the two, and all the features either of the father or of the mother begin to reproduce themselves. You have often seen a son tell you the tale of whose son he is,

a daughter tell you the tale of whose daughter she is. The likeness between the father and the child, or the mother and the child, or a combination of the likeness, of the two, constitutes this growth. And what is this growth? Month after month it grows until it has developed unto itself all the features of the father or the mother or a combination of the two—the same complexion, the same eyes, the ears, nose, mouth, hands, legs, fingers and all. Will you imagine what is the power which is working at it? A millionth, one upon ten lakhs of a drop of fluid having found a place which was created for it develops all the features of the parents who have given it its *janma*, develops all the features without anybody moving his little finger to help it to develop. There is a tube provided through which comes its food. That food builds its body. But that food has not the power to give the shape to its body, the features to its body, That tube merely supplies the food which is to build up the physique; but the features do not come from that food because you often find a son or a daughter taking after the mother. It comes from the living cells which are united, those cells of the tiny nature which I have described. So you have seen that all the power of developing the features of the father or the mother, all the power of reproducing the features of the parents, was contained in that tiny something which the Upanishads try to describe as the ten-thousandth part of a hair. Now, think for a moment what that means. You have seen men producing photographs which contain

even the smallest pictures. Those pictures can be produced, extended and expanded. But can you imagine what this photograph in its tiniest form contained and how is it that this power develops, continues to develop until the child becomes fully developed and is ready to go out of its cosy corner in which it has lain for nine months and more?

Now you pass on; you find that this power is working among all men and women.

Throughout the world wherever man is, you find that his growth takes place under similar conditions. There is no one from behind to feed, no hand to touch him, nothing to work upon him, and yet the whole thing is growing, as if some very powerful super-human engineer were guiding the operations. You pass on from man to beast. You find that all the mammalia, the lion, the elephant, the horse, the cow, the cat, the dog, you find that all these show a similar condition. The birth of the whole creation among the whole of the mammalia takes place under similar conditions. You pass on to the birds and you find that the birds also show a similar growth. From the tiny little things they develop all the features which they show when they come out of the egg. This you find in the insects also—in fact in all the other creations, among the trees, in the vegetable world; you find the growth of the male and the female operating and producing the flower and the fruit.

Those who are born of the eggs, the vegetable, those who are born of the sweat and things like that,

in all this you find the same power working almost invisibly and developing the constitution. You find an oneness in this constitution. The arrangements which are made for protecting the fetus which becomes the child are similar. There is a bag of water which is there to protect the child in the womb from the injury just as you have a city wall in order to protect city. You find that this development takes place not only in one part of the world but throughout the world of which man has any knowledge. You find this taking place not once which may be ascribed to accident, not only in one place, but taking place from year to year, from day to day, all over the world. Look at a man; you think of the differences of complexion, you think of the differences of development; but look at man in all parts of the world and you find his essential features are the same. So also with other classes of animals. with birds, with trees. You have got certain types, certain genuses. You will find that they develop on the same lines. The identity of development is remarkable. The development is itself remarkable but the identity of important essential features is remarkable and the continuance of life in all these classes is remarkable. You think of a man going on from generation to generation. What is the power which makes it and which sustains it? If you see this building you say that the engineer was a wise man, a skilful architect, who devised a building very much suited to the requirements of a College of Science. You find in your own constitution that provision has been made in a

remarkable manner for all the needs of the human existence. The design is well carried out. When you see the building, you say the provision has been made for comfort, for light, for air and for keeping the place entirely suitable for the work to be done there. What do you find in your own case? The eyes are there to help you and you find the eye lash covering the eyes to protect it from dust. You find the ear, the nose, the teeth, all these are there with a certain purpose, You have got two tubes through one of which passes the food that you take in. With the other you breathe. You have got arrangements for scavenging which are perfect. As when you look at the building, you say that there must be some intelligent man who has done it very well, so when you look at your constitution, you are compelled to come to the conclusion: "Oh! there must be some intelligent creator who has created this constitution. "Can you doubt it? Does any of you doubt that there is some thing matter to think over when you think of the design of your body, when you think of the design which prevails among all sections of the animal class, birds, beasts and the vegetable creation. The prevalence of this design throughout nature, the almost unimaginable manner in which it is brought into existence arrests attention. Scientists have told you of the descent of man. They have traced the descent of man. But scientists have yet to trace and to explain how it is this power came in to that tiny little thing. What is that tiny little thing? What if the power compressed in that tiny

little substance which takes its first shape in coming into existence? You have not explained how this power is put into it. They have not yet explained how the seeds are formed; how on the same soil with the same water when you put in different seeds or different flowers, you obtain different results. They have yet to explain it. You are left face to face with the question that there is an intelligent design throughout creation and that this design is visible everywhere in the Universe and you find no explanation of it except to acknowledge that there is some power which has designed this creation and which does design it from day to day.

And then comes the question if you are satisfied that this is so, if you are satisfied that there is some intelligent power which is responsible for this design, that it is not merely the result of accident, of a combination of circumstances. Science has failed to explain that it is so. That it is the result of an intelligent working of some power which works everywhere throughout the creation which works incessantly, which is inexhaustible in its energy, indestructible in its power, that intelligent power pervades the Universe you are driven to this conclusion. Is there one among you, men of science, as well as those who have not studied science who will disagree from the view that there is some power which we are not able to describe, which we are not able to imagine even in its fullness, that there is some power which is working throughout creation? If you are so satisfied, then

arises the question what is the nature of that power and how can we obtain a knowledge of it? A very difficult question much more difficult than the question whether a power does exist. That power has been described as omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, because you find it working, manifesting itself in all parts of the world, everywhere seems to know all, seems to judge all. That is why it is described as omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. But it is difficult to say anything beyond this as to its nature. But if you are once convinced that such a power does exist, you are at once also convinced that this is only one power, that the same power is working everywhere in the universe because of the essential identity of creation, of the types of creation. That you have essential identity of the features in the various types leads you to conclude that there is only one power. It is working as one and the same; it is not different; it does not bring about a clash of products; it is only one power which is working throughout the universe. If you are once convinced that there is a great supreme power working in the Universe, it is not difficult for you to come to a conclusion that power is only one undivided power. There are not two Gods in the Universe; there is only one God; and that God is the common God, the God of Hindus, of Mussalmans, of Christians, of Jews, of Parsis, and of all. You cannot resist the conclusion that there is no second God, there is only one God. This is what the Vedas have proclaimed for ages.

God is one ; there is no second God ;

He is one ; the Brahmanas describe him variously ;

He is one ; they imagine Him in various forms and call him by various names. So do the other religions teach. It is a mistake to think that the Hindu religion teaches the worship of many gods. The Hindu religion has never believed in the existence of many gods ; those that worship God in the different names are worshipping Him as the manifestation of one God. All the others are Bhaktas, the great personages and devotees who are respected and adored. But Brahman, God, is only one and no other.

In the Vishnu Sahasranama, the thousand names of God, which the millions of Hindus after taking their bath, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from Karachi to Rangoon, utter—in that Vishnu Sahasranama, the *Jagat Prabhum Deva Devam Anantam Purushottamam*, the God of the Universe, the God of gods what is it you hear ? He is the Supreme Light :

He is the supremest thought ;

He is the supreme creator ;

He is the supreme of the supreme ;

The Holy of the holies ;

The auspicious of the most auspicious ;

God of all gods ;

The father of the entire Universe.

This is what the Vishnu Sahasranama teaches. It is a matter of surprise and regret that there should be some people who should imagine that Hinduism teaches the worship of many gods. With this *stotram* repeated from one end of the country to the other, this *stotram* which repeats the same sentiments hundreds of thousands of them in number, it is a matter of surprise and regret that anybody should think differently. But the truth is there. The Vedas have taught that there is only one God. Lord Krishna, who is worshipped as the Avatar by millions of Hindus, when he gets up early in the morning, in the Brahma Muhurtham, the one whom He contemplates is Brahman. He contemplates the one Brahman, who is the Creator, the Sustainer and the withdrawer of the entire Universe. Such is the teaching of Hinduism. From the highest Vedas down the latest pronouncements this is what Hinduism teaches. Nor should anyone think that Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara in three forms are three. Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesvara are only three names of the One Indivisible God, Who is without a second.

Bhagavan says to Brahma ; “I am not three ; I am one : I am described by three names ; Srijan when I am Creator ; Rakshan when I am described as protecting the World and Mahesvara when the time of Pralaya comes. The descriptions are given to me according to the Kriya, which I perform. But I am only one and not three”. So you will find that the current notion that at least there are three gods whom the Hindu worship, is also without any

foundation and those who are led to regard Hari and Hara as different are therefore labouring under a delusion. You have the *Vishnu Sahasranama*; you have the *Sivasahasranama*; contemplate God in one form; you are then absorbed in thinking "I am in that form". Your mind shuts out an idea of thinking him in any other form. When you want to dedicate your whole soul to the worship of God in that form, for the moment you seem to think as if you are worshipping a God different from what others are worshipping.

But that is not so. If you think of God in one particular aspect your whole soul is poured into it. Other thoughts are shut out not because they are antagonistic but because you want to concentrate your whole mind or the whole soul upon the particular aspect in which you contemplate it; therefore let no one labour under the delusion that Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are different gods; that Hari and Hara mean two different gods. They mean nothing but one God. These are truths which no one who is acquainted with the teachings of the Hindu religion can question. These are truths which no one can dispute. Therefore I wish you not to let this wrong notion prevail amongst any one, particularly among our young men, that the Hindu scriptures enjoin the worship of several gods. There is only one God described from the earliest Vedas down to the present day, by all teachers and worshipers. Similarly in the Mahomedan religion they worship only one God. So also among Christians; so that throughout the

Universe you find an agreement in this essential point. When you are once agreed that there is a God in existence, describe him by whatever name you like, the second agreement easily comes in namely that there is only one God and no second. We are all the children of that one God.

The Vishnu Sahasranamam describes him as the Father of the entire Loka, the entire Creation. Now once you remember the fact, that there is only one God that there is a God of all Gods, the Father of the Universe, you at once see what relationships exist between men, and not only between man and man but between man and the rest of the Creation. We are all the children of one common God. Once you are convinced of this fact your relations with each other are determined.

As children of one Father you should not quarrel with each other but should love each other, have regard for each other, have respect for each other. So it is the duty of man who has understood the one-ness of God to regard his fellow-creatures and fellowmen with love. Once you come to that conclusion, all strifes, all quarrels, all unbecoming scrambles for things of the world should perish. Man should love not only man but should also love what are described as the beasts, the birds and the other creatures of God, except those who might rush to attack you. If a beast comes to attack you, you are entitled in self-protection to kill him if need be. If a man comes to do battle against you you are entitled in self-protection, in the right of private defence or

of public duty, to strike him, and, if need be, to kill him; but except in such cases no man who has realised the oneness of God and of his immanence in the Creation can raise his hand against his fellow men. No man ought to do it. The feeling of strife and quarrel and of scramble for power must drop as dead fruit. The one feeling which should pervade should be the feeling of love of one towards the other. There are many people who will agree extending this feeling of love to all human beings. But there are some who find it difficult to extend it to all human creations. But if you once realise that the same power which has worked in you, which has worked through you, which sustains you, is working among the rest of the creation, you cannot help having a feeling of brotherhood with all sentient creations. You cannot help regarding them like your own. I am glad to find that some of the great scientists in Europe, particularly Hegel, who was regarded as agnostic and as an opponent of Christianity and of religion, recognised that the rest of the Creation and we are brothers in reality. Other European scientists have also recognised this fact. This fact is being more and more widely accepted in the West. And I am in hopes that a knowledge of this fact will spread far and wide and that one day all mankind will come to know this truth and that in increasing numbers. They will practise this truth in their daily life. Once you come to this conviction you cannot hurt any living creature. You know that God is immanent in him as in you. You cannot hurt

any living creature except under conditions which I have mentioned before. The number of those who are coming under this belief is growing. In our Sastras, you know that Ahimsa has been praised; Ahimsa, that is, not causing hurt to any one is one of the cardinal virtues and is one of the *yamas*.

Manu has laid down the five cardinal virtues which are common to all classes, namely :

Ahimsa—hurtlessness

Satyam—truthfulness

Astheyam—taking any man's property without his consent; theft

Soucham—purity of body and mind; and

Indriya Nigraham—restraint of your passions and senses.

Manu has laid down that these five cardinal virtues must be practised by all; and of these Ahimsa is the first if you once recognise your brotherhood with living creatures and all sentient beings, you must recognise that ahimsa is the primary duty laid down upon man. You must recognise that killing is sinful.

Wordsworth's *Heart-leap Well* contains a verse which I might remind you of :

'One lesson, Shepherd, let us two divide,

Taught both by what she shows, and what conceals

Never to blend our pleasure or our pride

With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels'

That is the duty of Ahimsa laid upon man. That is the duty which all men ought to practise towards their fellow creatures. Remember that if we hurt a man, if a man is pricked with a pin he will feel the pain of it. All living creatures similarly feel the prick of a pin. You remember the old grand truth, that great principle, which the Christians very much cherish that you should do unto others as you would wish others do unto you. That is the great principle which scientists also preach, because of their recognition of the identity of life among all sentient beings. But this principle was enunciated several thousands of years ago by the teachers of the Hindu religion. It is embodied in the Mahabharat and it is from the Mahabharat that it has travelled on to other places and to other lands. But whether it did so or not, you find that this great principle which the Christians call the golden rule of life, and which the Mahomans also accept in a different form, that this principle was taught thousands of years ago and it was embodied in the Mahabharat.

Listen to the essence of the teaching of religion and cherish it in your heart. What is disagreeable to you you ought not to do unto others. If a man put a knife into your skin, you will feel pain. Do not therefore put a knife into the skin of any creature. If one robs you of your money, you will feel pain; do not therefore rob any one else of his possession. If a man looked at your mother or wife with an evil eye, or tempted her, you will feel pain, do not therefore

cast an evil eye on another's mother or wife. So on, this rule lays down that you should not do unto others what you would not done you. This is the negative aspect.

The positive aspect is laid down in another sloka which says. "Do that unto others which you would wish others to do unto you" If you are thirsty in the hot season, if you are a traveller and if you feel thirsty, you feel the need of water. You ask a fellow-man to give you a drink of water. You are then cooled and you feel grateful to him. Therefore if a man feels thirsty, help him with a glass of cool water. If you are ill, you want medical aid. When the medical aid is given to you you feel relieved. Therefore provide medical aid to every person who is ailing. Give a morsel of food to another brother or creature who is hungry. That is the great teaching contained in Hinduism, in the Mahabharata. But it is not merely embodied in book; it has been practised for ages. Every Hindu performing the Bali Vaisva Deva knows that he is expected to lay down a portion of the food which has been made ready for him for the use of all other fellow creatures, for the use of dogs, for the use of the birds, for the use of the cow. You also offer an oblation of water to all sentient creatures. After offering water to your own pitrin, you are expected to offer water to all creatures and you name them. "The Devas, the Asuras, the Rakshasas, the beasts of the jungle, the birds of the air, the creatures which live under water, those that live under ground, those who are under-

going indescribable suffering in Hell, those who are my relations, those who are not my relations, those who are not my relations, those who are relations in a previous birth, may they all be cooled and gratified by this offering of water, and may also he who desires to receive water at my hands be so gratified." That is the practice of the Sastras. It is not that this water reaches the creatures who are named, but you put yourselves in that spirit of charity, in that spirit of brotherhood, that the whole creation lifts you from the ordinary sphere of human existence and raises you into a god on earth, makes you realise the identity of your nature with the identity of the nature of God who pervades all creation. That is the practice which is carried on by all pious Hindus who know their Sastras and who practise them. That will therefore show to you that the idea of God being immanent in sentient beings, is the transcendental teaching of Hindu religion. That teaching has become the common possession of the Hindu from the highest to the humblest because even the Pariah offers oblations to his ancestors. On my side he does it and I suppose in this side he offers it. You will therefore find that the teaching of Hinduism on the most important question of questions has become the common possession of the whole community. Where it is not, it ought not to be. The doctrine should be spread far and wide and brought into practice.

If this idea of the existence of God of all nations and of all creation, if this idea of the one common father of the entire race, if this idea of

God being immanent in all created beings, not merely men but beasts, birds and others should once take possession of a man's mind, then he is lifted from the sphere of strife and quarrel and misunderstanding into that of the realisation of the identity of God in Nature. And if you once arrive at this stage all political quarrels, all personal quarrels fall to the ground. This idea of God I wish you to ponder over and, if you agree with me, to propagate it among all our fellow creatures. It is the highest teaching which any religion has given to man and it is this highest teaching which must take possession of men all throughout the Universe. This will lift him into the happiest upon earth, not in one particular spot but throughout the world, wherever created beings find their existence. I commend it. You will understand why the Hindu religion teaches all those who follow it to all mankind without any discretion, to place ahimsa among the foremost of the Hindu doctrines. This Ahimsa requires to be preached and to be practised and if it is to be preached and practised, you will hear no more of these dreadful destructive wars, these wars of commerce and of trade, of capital and labour and of landlord and tenant which is going on. If you realise this great truth, you will feel that you are entitled only to your own share of what is necessary to enable you to lead a happy and comfortable existence and that you must have solicitude for the comfort and happiness of all other created beings. And if you once provide all that is necessary for the comfort of created beings in

whom mischief may be caused or with whom you may be brought into contact, there is no room left for any quarrel, social or political. Such is the logical result of this great doctrine of the immanence of God among all created beings. I do not think that I need take up your time by drawing your attention to all the results which follow from the adoption of such a view, both in the political field and in the relations of man to man and of man to other created beings. I commend it to you and I hope that it will help you to think, whether what I have said commends itself to you or not, or whether you are able to pick many holes in what I have said or not, over the most important problem which concerns man, and that it will help you to understand this question somewhat better than it is generally understood.

APPENDIX

THE WORLD HAS MARVELLED

PANDIT MALAVIYAJI'S FOURTH PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE 47TH CALCUTTA CONGRESS.

Fellow Delegates,

I offer my profound thanks for the honour of being called upon for the *fourth time* to preside over the deliberations of the Indian National Congress. That the honour has been conferred on me at a time when the country is placed in very abnormal circumstances. when our revered countryman-Mahatma-Gandhi-and a large number of India's patriotic sons and daughters are still undergoing imprisonment, makes my gratefulness for this signal mark of confidence in me all the greater. I also fully realise the responsibility which has thus been placed upon me. I pray that I may prove equal to it.

When I was entering Delhi to preside over the Congress last year, I was arrested and detained in jail until some time after the Congress had met and passed its resolutions in spite of the efforts of the Police to prevent it from doing so. This fact and the attitude of the Government towards the Congress as disclosed in recent official announcements, had prepared people to apprehend that I would not be allowed to attend the Congress this year. also. This

is no longer a matter of conjecture. While writing this note this morning I received the following letter from the Collector of Benares :—

“Dear Pandit....., The Bengal Government have advised the Local Government that the Public Safety Act is in force in Bengal and that if you and other leaders proceed to Calcutta for the Congress Sessions you will not be allowed to attend it. I am directed to communicate the above to you and I request that you will be so good as to pass on the warning to other leaders who may be in Benares at the present time.”

I appreciate the action of the Bengal Government in sending this warning in this courteous manner. I have informed them however that I see no justification for their decision that we should not be allowed to attend the Congress, and have told them by what train I intend to leave for Calcutta. Last year the Government arrested a large number of people on their way to attend the Congress at Delhi. This year also I hear that the Police are very active in preventing people from going to Calcutta to attend the Congress. But apprehending perhaps that like last year they will fail this year also in preventing delegates from reaching Calcutta, the Police Commissioner of Calcutta has issued press notification warning the public that whosoever harbours, receives or assembles in any house or premises in his occupation or charge or under his control, a person whom he knows to have been deputed to Calcutta as a delegate to the Indian National Congress, 1933, will

render himself liable to prosecution under the Penal Code. He has also warned all landlords that the Reception Committee of the said Congress has been declared an unlawful association and that any place which in the opinion of the Bengal Government is used for the purpose of the said unlawful association is liable to be notified and taken possession of by the Police who may direct any person therein and take possession of the moveable property found therein. The Government have thus obviously done all they could severely to discourage and prevent the holding of the Congress at Calcutta. They will arrest as many Congressmen as they will be able to get hold of. But it may be presumed that, like last year, the Congress will yet be held in Calcutta and congressmen will yet exercise the elementary right of association and of free speech. Also that, like last year, the annual session of the Congress will be followed by Provincial and District Conferences all over the country at which resolutions passed by the Congress will be ratified.

This should convince the Government that there will always be a sufficiently large number of Indians in the country who will be prepared to submit to arrest, imprisonment and every other punishment which the Government may, in the exercise of its power inflict upon them, but who are not prepared to give up the right of every human being to protest against or offer resistance to unjust, oppressive or humiliating “law” and orders. And it ought to lead the Government to revise its attitude towards

the Congress.

Its present attitude is morally indefensible and politically unwise. It cannot be too strongly condemned. The Congress may well be described as the unofficial Parliament of India. It is the greatest and most active political organisation of the country. It has been in existence now for forty seven years, it has a great record behind it. The most important constitutional and administrative reforms which have taken place in India during the last half century have all been due to the work or pressure of the Congress. It has been the constant and fearless champion of the people's right for freedom and self-government. The forty six volumes of its reports, the numerous reports of its Provincial and District Conferences and the proceedings of the Imperial and provincial Legislative Councils, all eloquently attest how the Congress has been fighting for measure after measure with only one object in view, namely the amelioration of the condition of the people and their national advancement in all important directions. It has always pleaded for equal political rights and equal justice to all classes and sections of the people. During the last thirteen years, the most respected of Congressmen have repeatedly suffered imprisonment for the sake of the country's cause. For all these reasons the people regard the Congress as their best friend and guide, and are ever willing to listen to its advice, even when it involves a sacrifice of their personal interests.

Ever since the Montford proposals were published

the Congress has been pressing for the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government of India. Finding that the Government gave no sign of willingness to respond to the request, the Congress declared in 1929 that if Government would not announce their willingness to grant British Dominion Status to India up to the end of the next year the Congress would advise the country to declare itself for complete independence. The Viceroy did make a declaration on 1st Novr. 1929, but that did not meet the requirements of the Congress, and consequently on the 1st day of January, 1930, the Congress declared complete independence to be its goal. On the 12th March succeeding Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to concede to minimum national demand which he clearly defined. The Government adopted strong measures to suppress the movement. But it failed to do so. Then after nearly a year's resolute administration, Lord Irwin's Government considered it wise and just to make a truce with the Congress through Mr. Gandhi which is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Pact was made with the approval of the British Government. The Congress was then invited by the Prime Minister of England to send its representatives to the Round Table Conference because it was felt by the Government that without the Congress the Conference could not be regarded fully representative. The Congress appointed Mahatma Gandhi as its sole representative and he attended the Conference as

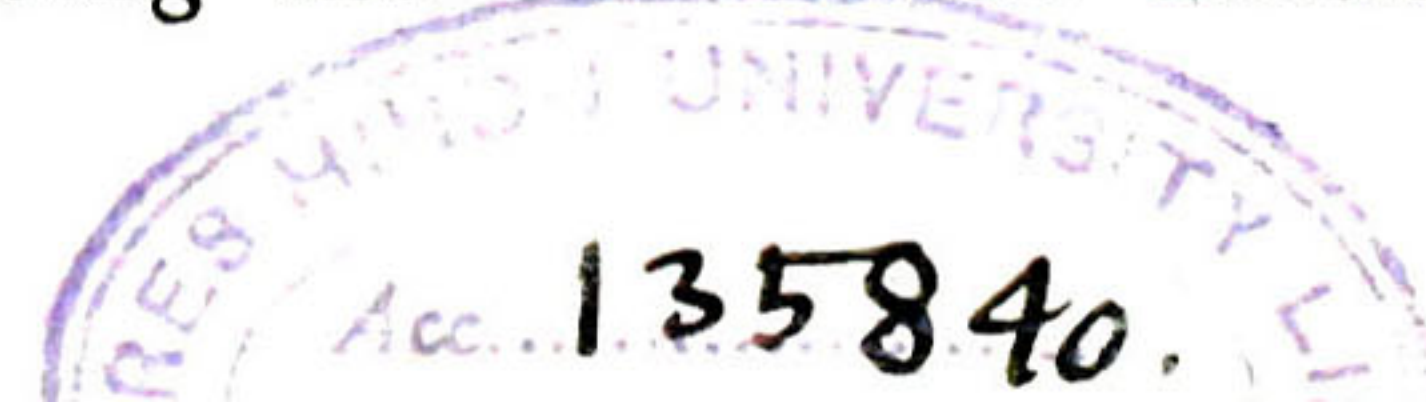
such. He returned to India anxious to cooperate with the Government in the further work of the Conference. But while the Conference was going on in London, the General Election in England brought a large conservative majority into Parliament and a strong Conservative became Secretary of State for India. "As the result of the election" in the words of Mr. Benthall, who represented the European merchants of Calcutta at the Conference, "the policy 'undoubtedly' changed. The right wing of the new Government made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight Congress. The Muslims who do not want Central responsibility were delighted. Government undoubtedly changed their policy and tried to get away with Provincial Autonomy with a 'promise of central reform'. "We have made up our minds, "continues Mr. Benthall, before this that a fight with Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better. But we made up our minds that for a crushing success we should have all possible friends on our side. The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro, and others. If we could not get them to fight Congress, we could at least ensure that they would not back Congress. We pressed upon Government that the one essential earnest good faith which would satisfy these people was to undertake to bring in the Provincial and Central Constitution in one act."

"So we joined with strange companions, Govern-

ment saw the argument; and the conference instead of breaking up in disorder with 100 percent of Hindu political India against us ended in promises of cooperation by 99 percent of the conference, including even such people as Malaviya, while Gandhi himself was disposed to join the standing Committee.

This need no comments. The subsequent pronouncements and actions of the Government, culminating in the statement of 4th Jany. 1932, have made it clear that even before the return home of Mahatma Gandhi, the Government had decided upon launching a strong, carefully planned, comprehensive attack on the Congress and had coolly concerted their plans for it.

In the light of these facts it becomes easy to understand why the Viceroy refused to grant an interview to Mahatma Gandhi when he so earnestly sought it with a view to remove the differences which had arisen between the Government and the Congress in some provinces and avert resort to Civil Disobedience. The Government did not give him that opportunity and has kept him interned since that time. The attack on the Congress was hurled like an avalanche. The most drastic ordinances were promulgated and extended to all parts of India which gave to officials almost unlimited power over the public and resulted in unparalleled repression throughout the country. It is estimated that nearly 120,000 persons including about several thousands of women and quite a number of children have been arrested and imprisoned during the last fifteen months. I will



not attempt to give a summary of the numerous acts of oppression which have been perpetrated on our people since the present policy was inaugurated. Even with the censorship and control to which the press has been subjected, what has been published in it from day to day sufficiently shows the unprecedented character and extent of that oppression.

It is an open secret that when the Government started repression the official expectation was that they would crush the Congress in six weeks' time. Fifteen months have not enabled the Government to achieve that object. Twice fifteen months will not enable it to do so. While the Government has with the profuse use of physical force largely checked the outward demonstration of defiance of its authority, the moral victory has been with the Congress which has kept up every essential line of its activity. The prestige of the Government has been greatly lowered by the change of its policy due to a strong conservative party having come into power in Parliament. The oppression that has been carried on has made the feeling of the people against the Government more bitter than they were ever before, and the desire to sever the connection with England has been spreading and growing stronger and stronger.

It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Government that its quarrel with the Congress is due to the adoption of Civil Disobedience by the Congress. I have shown by quoting the letter of Mr. Benthal that the Conservative Party and the European Com-

munity of Calcutta decided to fight the Congress not because it had taken up the Civil Disobedience Movement, but because it insisted upon a real transfer of power from British to Indian hands, in other words upon having the substance of independence in the management of the Country's affairs. It must be remembered that as Sir Samuel Hoare once boastfully stated, the initiative this time has been with the Government. The Congress offered Civil Disobedience in defence of the rights of the people which were attacked by the Government by means of the ordinances or unjust orders passed under existing laws. It has throughout the campaign been in the power of the Government to stop Civil Disobedience by withdrawing the ordinances or by abandoning the policy of repression. From what I have stated above it follows that even if the Congress suspended Civil Disobedience the present Government in England and in India would still fight the Congress until it agreed to accept the severely limited measures of reform which is all they have decided in their wisdom to concede to India.

As regards Civil Disobedience every student of constitutional history knows that it is the right of every human being to resist or refuse to obey a law or ordinance or a Magisterial order which is obviously unjust, oppressive or humiliating, if he is prepared to bear the punishment which such resistance or refusal might bring to him. To deserve public support human laws must follow, in the words of an English Jurist, "the laws of nature, as justice, equity, modesty,

mercy and (in summa) doing to others as we would be done to." As another English jurist has said: "The legislator has no title to lord it over the dispositions of the human heart rather is it his function to interpret and minister to them." When a Government promulgates ordinances, or "laws" which give to officials almost unlimited power over the public placing their liberty, their power and their property at the mercy of the Executive, exposing them to orders and restrictions which are obviously meant to humiliate, terrorise or demoralise the people, it becomes their right to disobey such orders and to resist such ordinances or 'laws'. Under the English Constitution the British Parliament exercises sovereign power as a legislature, and in theory it has a right to make or unmake any law whatever for Britishers. But as a great English writer (Dicey) has pointed out, the actual exercise of authority by any Sovereign whatever, and notably by Parliament, is limited on every side by the possibility of popular resistance. Further on he says "The external limit to the real power of a Sovereign consists in the possibility or certainty that his subjects, large number of them, will disobey or resist his laws" and still further a Sovereign may wish to do many things which he either cannot do at all or can do only at great risk of serious resistance, and it is on many accounts worth observation that the exact point at which the external limitation begins to operate, that is, the point at which subjects will offer serious or insuperable resistance to the commands of a ruler whom

they generally obey, is never fixed with precision." Another great writer cited by Dicey has said:—"If a legislature decided that all blue eyed babies should be murdered, the preservation of blue eyed babies would be illegal. But legislators must go mad before they could pass such a law and subjects be idiotic before they could submit to it." This limitation exists even under the most despotic monarchies." Yet another English writer (John Drinkwater) says:—"To demand that the citizen should support his state in a cause which beyond all reasonable question is an unjust or even seriously an unwise one, is to make demands upon private conscience which no person or institution has the right to make. Mr. Fisher gives a concise statement of the case: "The notion that the state is sacrosanct, that it can do no wrong, that it must be supported and defended no matter what iniquities it may perpetrate, that the one and only law of citizenship is 'my country' right or wrong is utterly contrary to the dictates of the individual conscience."

It is indisputable therefore that if a legislature or a despot should promulgate a law which is obviously unjust or oppressive and attack our elementary liberties, the people have the right to disobey such a law and to offer to it "serious and insuperable resistance." This right of disobedience or resistance is a most valuable constitutional weapon in the hands of a people, by the fear of which they can force legislators or despots to exercise their powers within the limits of reason and justice, and by which they

can re-establish their natural rights and liberties when they have been attacked or invaded. The greatest of our liberties is the liberty of opinion. It was well said by Erskin that other liberties are held under Government by the liberty of opinion keeps governments themselves in due subjection to thier duties. "This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age and the world has been only purged from ignorance with the innocent blood of those who have enlightened it." It is our duty therefore to resist or disobey a "law" under the guise of which our liberty of association and free speech is attacked. Mahatma Gandhi has done a great service to mankind by teaching that such resistance should be offered in a civil non-violent manner calmly bearing the injury that may be inflicted and forbearing from inflicting it on others. His teaching has been accepted by millions of people in India. Let us follow it with firm faith that righteousness will triumph and let us tell the British Government that the people of India, disarmed, living under a foreign despotic rule, and thirsting to regain their freedom will not in any event abjure this invincible shield of Civil Disobedience. The right course for the government to adopt is to adjust its relations with the people on the basis of Justice, liberty and equality so that mutual goodwill and friendly feelings may replace the present feelings of bitterness and increasing ill-will of which resort to Civil Disobedience is, in the circumstances in which we are placed, the unavoidable result.

The present relations between India and England are based on a poisoned basis. Englishmen and the English Parliament have assured themselves that they have a moral right to continue to govern India which means to exploit India for their own national aggrandisement. They are not prepared to recognise that like every other country India has the right to govern itself that it has a right to complete independence to the same extent that Great Britain has. It was by a strange combination of circumstances that England came to establish her rule in India. Those circumstances are too well known to require any description. From the time of the Queen's Proclamation British statesmen have often spoken of Indians as equal fellow subjects. But they have never treated us as such up to this time. Ever since the Congress came into existence it has been urging that self-government should be established in India. The Congress was pressing this demand upon the Government when the great war broke out in Europe. The king of England and British Statesmen generally appealed to the people and Princes of India to support England and her allies in the war because England had entered upon the war in defence of treaty rights and obligations and to establish the principle that right is might, while her opponents the German were trying to establish the contrary principle that might is right. English statesmen also said that they were fighting for freedom. They declaimed against the intolerable degradation of the foreign yoke. As Mr.

Montague and Lord Chelmsford said in their report "The war has come to be regarded as a struggle between liberty and despotism, a struggle for the right of small nations and for the right of all people to rule their own destinies." The speeches of American and English statesmen proclaimed the war was against German militarism and for conceding the right of self-determination to all nations—small and great. India whole heartedly helped England and her allies in the war. Englishmen generously acknowledged India's contributions to the war. They welcomed with appreciation India's aid to the Empire and spoke of Indians and Britishers as joint and equal custodians of her common interests and fortunes. Notwithstanding all these utterances after the war was over England changed her attitude towards India. It has never yet agreed that India should exercise the right of self-determination to establish which she contributed her lives and treasure. On the contrary she has treated Indians during the last 13 years as an inferior race whose pace of progress towards self-government must be determined by the Parliament of England. The arrogance of the assertion has wounded India and has aroused the most bitter feelings. The repression which British Government has carried on in India upon a hundred thousand of their equal 'fellow subjects' upon those whom Englishmen had welcomed during the war as joint and equal custodians of their common interests and fortunes, constitutes the blackest chapter in the history of the

relationship between India and England. It is one which ought to fill every Englishman with shame.

The greatest insult that England has offered to India has been that it has interned the most honoured "Indian" and imprisoned tens of thousands of the most patriotic sons and daughters of India. It has gone on at the same time preparing a constitution for the future Government of India with the help of some Indians of its own selection and liking. It has framed the constitution under the arrogant claim that it is the right and moral obligation of the British Parliament to determine to what extent and with what limitations and safeguards it will allow India to administer its own affairs. The White Paper is an ugly revelation of the attitude of British Statesmen who dominate the English Parliament today towards India and her problems. It constitutes a deliberate affront to the patriotism and intelligence of Indians worse than it is to-day. It was idle to expect that a constitution born under the influence of the attitude which British statesmen entertain towards India could be one which could be acceptable to the Indian people. It is not surprising that the White Paper is being condemned all over the country. I hope that no self-respecting Indian who has a correct sense of his duty towards the Motherland will take part in any further confabulations regarding the White Paper unless and until the British Government should change its present policy and should make up its mind to treat Indians as equal fellow men who are as much entitled to complete Independ-

dence in the management of their own affairs as England herself is in regard to her affairs.

I appeal to my countrymen to wake up to the reality of the situation. I take it that every Indian wants that we should have complete freedom for the management of our own affairs. The attainment of this freedom will become easier if we will unite and work with one mind and purpose to achieve it. I implore all Hindus and Musalmans, Sikhs, Christians and Parsees and all other countrymen, to sink all communal differences and to establish political unity among all sections of the people.

The Unity Conference which was held at Allaha- bad has nearly brought about communal agreement. I earnestly hope that the Conference will soon resume its work and complete it to the satisfaction of all communities. Our national political aims are common to all parties, and with the disillusionment which the White Paper has brought about, there is every reason why we should be able to establish political unity in the country. If we succeed in doing so, the pressure of United India is bound to induce the British Government to revise its attitude towards India and Indians and to invite them to exercise their rights of self-determination and to prepare a constitution which shall give to India real Independence to manage her own affairs.

I shall not take more of your time. We are meeting under the most abnormal circumstances. All obstacles including arrests, confiscations, use of physical force and high-handed acts of repression

and oppression are rampant around and against us. But we must not be cowed down. God will help us to consider every matter from the single view point of the honour and interest of our dear Motherland and He will enable us to give a sound and correct lead to our people in a situation which is full of difficulties but also full of hopes. Our goal is clear. Our determination to achieve it is sufficiently evidenced by the sacrifices undergone by countless men, women and children within the last three years. The world has marvelled at the heroic fight we have carried on. Our women and children have earned for themselves an imperishable name by the noble part they have played in our struggle for freedom. But let us still further strengthen our determination. Freedom's full price has to be paid. The Congress is the friend of the people of all classes and of all sections. It is pledged to secure equal justice for all. I ask every man and woman to become a member of the Indian National Congress. I appeal to every countryman of mine humble as well as high to contribute something every day to its funds, and to be prepared to bear his or her share of sacrifice and suffering in the cause of the Motherland. In the midst of much darkness, I see a clear vision that the clouds which have long been hanging over our heads are lifting. Let every son and daughter do his or her duty to expedite the advent of the dawn of the day of freedom and happiness. Truth is on our side. Justice is with us. God will help us. We are sure to win. Vande Matram.

APPENDIX

THE MAIDEN SPEECH

But perhaps the speech that was most enthusiastically received was one made by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, a high caste Brahmin, whose fair complexion, and delicately chiseled features, instinct with intellectuality, at once impressed every eye, and who suddenly jumping up on a chair beside the president, poured forth a manifestly impromptu speech with an energy and eloquence, that carried everything before these.

*(From the Congress Report of 1886
by A. O. Hume.)*

What is an Englishman without representative institutions? Why? not an Englishman at all (cheers), a mere sham (cheers), a base imitation (cheers), and I often wonder as I look round at our nominally English magnates how they have the face to call themselves Englishmen and yet deny us representative institutions, and struggle to maintain despotic ones. (Loud cheers). Representative institutions are as much a part of the true Briton as his language and his literature. Will any one tell me that Great Britain will, in cold blood, deny us, her free-born subjects, the first of these when, by the gift of the two latter, she has qualified us to appreciate and incited us to desire it? (Cheers).

No taxation without representation. That is the first commandment in the Englishman's Political Bible; how can he palter with his conscience and tax us here, his free and educated fellow-subjects, as if we were dumb sheep or cattle? But we are not dumb any longer. India has found a voice at last in this great Congress, and in it, and through it, we call on England to be true to her traditions, her instincts, and herself, and grant us our rights as free-born British citizens. (Prolonged cheering). Representation is a thing required in every part of the world, as soon as a nation emerges from barbarism, even where rulers and ruled are one people, having one common language, domicile, religion, literature, and what not, and how much more so is it needful in this country? We know that the English people, true to their higher instincts, have introduced here so much that is good, that to them we owe many and great blessings (cheers). We acknowledge these blessings with gratitude; we owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the English people, and there is no fear of our ever forgetting our obligations to them (Loud cheers). But while we are thus deeply grateful for the blessings we enjoy we cannot but feel that there are still many points in which our condition can be and ought to be improved, and we see first and foremost that the system of administration, that now obtains, is despotic (loud cheers), and is deficient in the principle of representation, the fundamental characteristic of a free government, (Cheers). There is not a true born Englishman who would not be horrified if told that

the Government of India dealt with the whole people of India as slaves, and yet, if any such man will fairly face the facts of the case, he will be compelled to admit that, despite all other good gifts, in this matter of excluding us from all share in the government of our own country, the government is really treating us as mere slaves. The right to be represented is inherent in every educated free-born British subject (Loud cheers). Gentlemen, we all recognize the great Proclamation of 1858 as our Magna Charta, and in that Proclamation Her Gracious Majesty was pleased to assure us solemnly that she would regard all her subjects of whatever race, creed or colour with an equal eye, and consider the welfare of all equally. Her Majesty's Indian subjects were therefore to be regarded in the same light as her subjects in any of her other colonies and possessions. But how can it be said that we are treated in the same way when we are not allowed the slightest voice in the administration (cheers), when we are not allowed the opportunity of saying one word as to our sentiments in regard to the laws and edicts which year by year are flung forth over the land, and under which we have to live and suffer? (Cheers) I ask you if that is regarding us with an equal eye, if that is treating us as those of the English race in other possessions of Her Majesty are treated? (Cheers).

I am sorry that time does not allow me to speak fully and freely on this great subject, but after all in the present day it is almost a waste of time to prove either the reasonable character or the justice of

our claim. Every cultured mind admits this, at any rate as an abstract proposition. It is always imaginary practical difficulties, or our supposed incapacity, that is urged. But when you see Indians competing with Englishmen in every walk of life to which they can find or force an entrance, and not unfrequently emerging triumphant from the friendly contest (loud cheers), it is extremely inconsistent to say that they are unfitted to assist in the consideration and preparation of laws for their own people, and incapable of joining in that great work of administration, which has, or should have, for its sole object the prosperity of their native land (cheers); and I ask every generous English mind to say whether we have not a strong ground for complaining against this exclusion as a piece of un-English injustice. Surely it is the desire of every generous hearted Englishman who loves liberty to confer the freedom, he himself enjoys, on all.

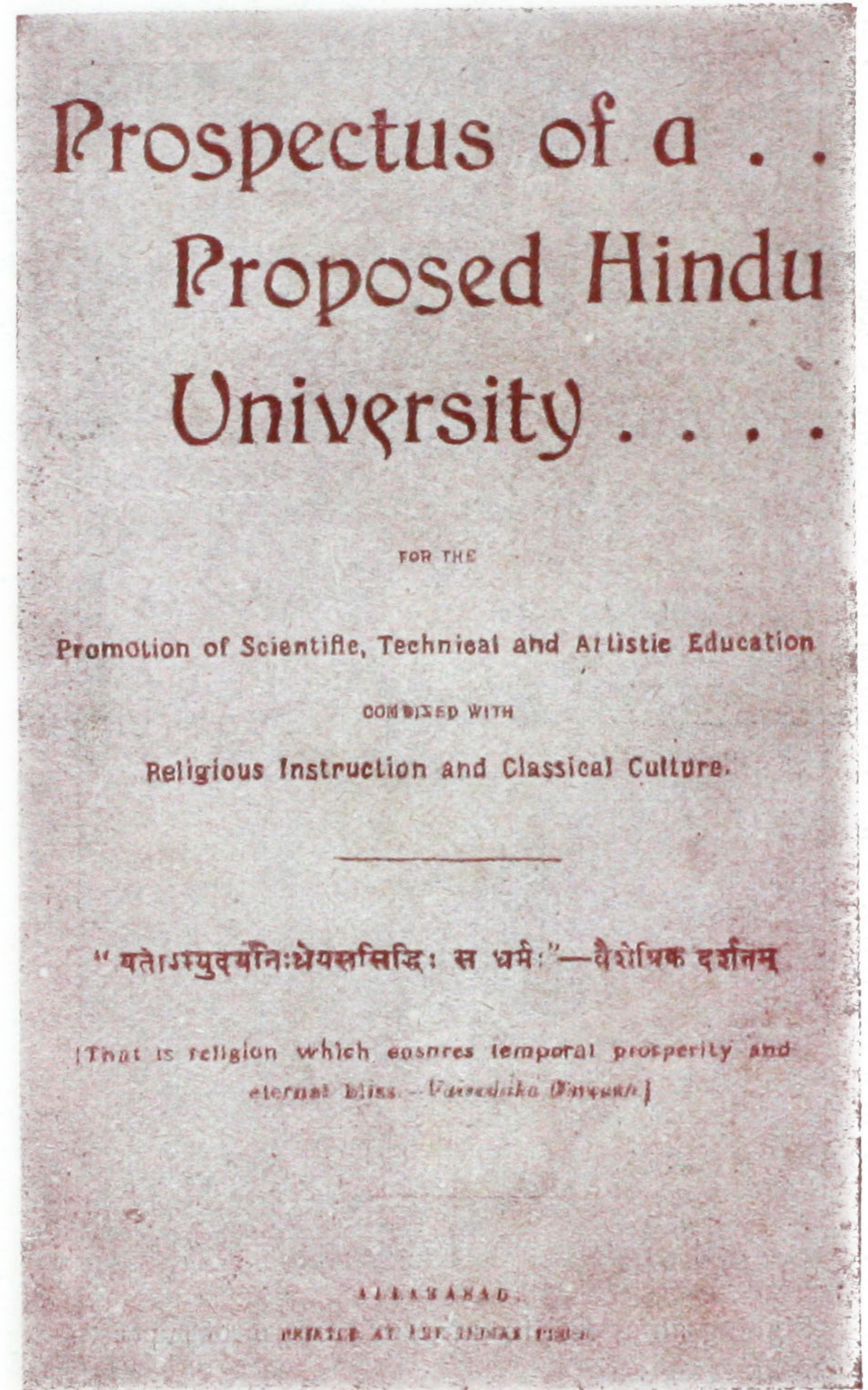
“For he, as an English poet says,” that values
liberty confines

“His zeal for her predominance within
“No narrow bounds; her cause engages him
Wherever pleaded. 'Tis the cause of man.”

(Loud cheering)

But our president signs that I am exceeding the allotted period, and I will only add, may the cause of the people, of India. the cause of liberty and right, engage the attention, heart and soul, of every honest Englishman in India and in England, and may each

true Briton, who values the rights, the privileges, the freedom which have made him and his country what they are, aid us, like true Britons, to the fruition of our aspirations for equal rights, equal privileges and equal freedom," (Loud Cheers)



The dream in 1905.

APPENDIX

A NOBLE DOCUMENT

THE DRAFT SCHEME OF THE PROPOSED HINDU
UNIVERSITY. 1905

Name:

1. The Society shall be called the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya, Kashi,—*anglice* the Hindu University of Benares.

Objects:

2. The objects of the Society are—

(a) To establish a Residential Teaching University at Benares—

(i) To promote the study of the Hindu Shastras and of Sanskrit literature generally, as a means of preserving and popularising for the benefit of the Hindus in particular and of the world at large in general, the best thought and culture of the Hindus, and all that was good and great in the ancient civilisation of India ;

(ii) to promote learning and research generally in arts and science in all branches ;

(iii) to advance and diffuse such scientific, technical and professional knowledge combined with the necessary practical training, as is best calculated to help in promoting indigenous industries and in developing the material resources of the country ; and



Signing an appeal for a Second Crore of rupces.

- (iv) To promote the building up of character in youth by making religion and ethics an integral part of education.
- (b) to prepare and to encourage the preparation of suitable treatises and text-books in the principal vernaculars of India, in arts, science and technical and professional subjects;
- (c) to print and publish such journals, periodicals, books or leaflets as the Society may think desirable for the promotion of its objects;
- (d) to establish and maintain, and affiliate, admit, recognise or otherwise utilise colleges, schools, pathshalas, chatuspathis, hospitals, workshops, laboratories, libraries, museums, art-galleries, botanical gardens, and other educational and research institutions conducive to the objects of the Society;
- (e) to institute and maintain professorships, lectureships, scholarships and fellowships for the encouragement of learning and research;
- (f) to establish, maintain and construct suitable *brahmacharya ashrams*, hostels and other residences for students prosecuting their studies in institutions connected with the University;
- (g) to establish and maintain quarters for professors and fellows residing on the premises of the University;

- (h) to provide for the examination of students prosecuting their studies in institutions connected with or affiliated to the University, to grant degrees and to award certificates to successful students; also to award prizes, stipends and scholarships, to enable them to prosecute further studies;
- (i) to purchase, take on lease or in exchange, hire or otherwise acquire and hold property, movable or immovable, and any rights or privileges which may be deemed necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Society, and to account or otherwise deal with, all or any part of the property of the Society;
- (j) to construct, maintain and alter any house, building, or works necessary or convenient for the purposes of the Society;
- (k) to accept any gift or property, whether subject to any special trust or not, for any one or more of the objects of the Society;
- (l) to take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meeting or otherwise, as may, from time to time, be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Society in the shape of donations, annual subscriptions or otherwise;
- (m) to invest the money of the Society not immediately required in such securities and

in such manner as may, from time to time, be determined ;

- (n) to accept and administer any trusts which may be directly conducive to any of the objects of the Society, either gratuitously or otherwise ;
- (o) to provide a superannuation fund for the professors, lecturers, officers and servants of the Society, or otherwise assist them, their widows and minor children when otherwise unprovided ;
- (p) to help students who receive education in institutions under the control of the Society in finding suitable occupation or employment ;
- (q) to do all and such other acts as are incidental to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects or any of them.

3. Instruction will be imparted through the medium of English ; but, as the vernaculars are developed, it will be in the power of the Trustees to allow any one or more of them to be used as the medium of instruction in subjects and courses in which they may consider it practicable and useful to do so. English shall be taught as a second language.

4. The names, addresses and occupations of the First Trustees of the Society are :—

H. H. the Maharaja of Darbhanga, K. C. I. E.
 The Hon. the Maharaja of Cossimbazar.
 The Hon. Mr N. Subbarao, Madras.
 Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Bangalore,

The Hon. Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thakersey,
 Bombay.

The Hon. Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, Karachi.

The Hon. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Rao Bahadur,
 Amraoti.

Rai Bahadur Lala Lalchand, Lahore.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Harichand, Mooltan.

Rai Ramsaran Das Bahadur, Lahore.

Raja Madho Lal, C. S. I., Benares.

Babu Motichand, Benares.

Babu Govind Das, Benares.

The Hon. Raja Rampal Singh, C.I.E., Rai Bareli.

The Hon. Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Lucknow.

Thakur Surajbakhsh Singh, Sitapur.

The Hon. B. Sukhbir Singh, Muzaffarnagar.

Mahamahopadhyaya Paudit Adityaram Bhatta-
 charya, Allahabad.

Dr. Satish Chandra Banerji, Allahabad.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Allahabad.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,
 Allahabad.

5. The income and property of the Society, whence soever derived, shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the Society as set forth in this Memorandum of Association, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend, bonus, remuneration or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to any of the members of the Society ; provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent the payment in good faith of remuneration to any officer or servant of the Society, who

may also be a member thereof, in return for any work done or services actually rendered to the Society.

6, As, and so far as, funds will permit, the University will comprise all or any one or more of the following Colleges :—

- (1) A Sanskrit College—with a Theological department;
- (2) A College of Literature, in which all or any one or more of the following subjects will be taught:—

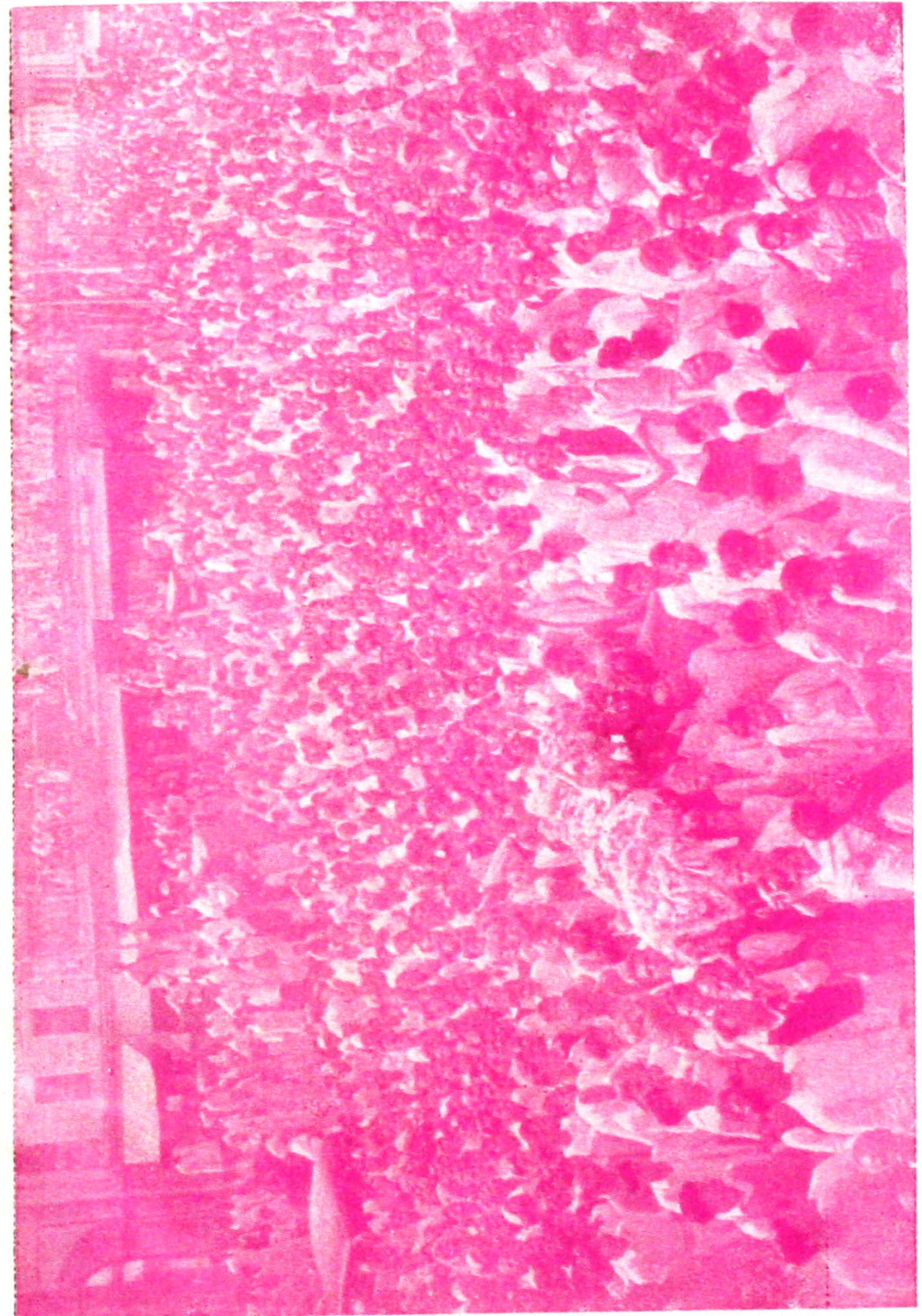
(i) Languages.	(vi) History.
(ii) Comparative Philology.	(vii) Political Economy.
(iii) Philosophy.	(viii) Political Science
(iv) Logic.	(ix) Sociology.
(v) Psychology.	(x) Pedagogics.
- (3) A College of Science and Technology which should consist of the following four departments :—
 - (a) The Department of Science in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects :—

Physics, theoretical and practical.	Botany.
Mathematics.	Geology.
Astronomy.	Mineralogy.
	Biology.
 - (b) The Department of Engineering, in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects :—

(i) Civil Engineering.	(iv) Electrical Engineering.
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- (ii) Municipal and Sanitary Engineering.
- (iii) Mechanical Engineering.
- (v) Architecture.
- (vi) Mining and Metallurgy.
- (c) The Department of Chemistry, theoretical and applied.
- (d) The department of Technology where instruction will be imparted in scientific subjects combined with such practical training as is indispensable for persons who intend to pursue an industrial career either as artisans, industrial apprentices industrial teachers or captains of industry. Instruction will be imparted in Technical and Industrial Chemistry, Bleaching, Dyeing, Printing and Finishing of Textiles, Manufacture of Paper, Manufacture of Textiles, Ceramics, Woollen Yarn manufacture, Worsted Yarn manufacture, Designing, and Textile Engineering (mechanical and electric).
- (4) A College of Agriculture, in which instruction will be imparted in all or any one or more of the following subjects :—
 - (i) Science and Practice of Agriculture.
 - (ii) Agricultural Chemistry.
 - (iii) Horticulture and forestry.
 - (iv) Economic science as applied to Agriculture.
 - (v) Agriculture and Rural economy.
 - (vi) Agriculture in foreign countries.
 - (vii) Law of landlord and tenant in relation to agriculture.

- (viii) Veterinary medicine.
 - (ix) Dairy, Husbandry.
 - (x) Agricultural Botany including the life-history of plants and plant diseases.
 - (xi) Land Surveying.
 - (xii) Agricultural Engineering, imparting a general knowledge of Engineering as directly applied to agricultural work.
- (5) A College of Commerce and Administration, in which all or any one or more of the following subjects will be taught :—
- (i) Political.
 - (ii) The Organization of Commerce and Industry.
 - (iii) Modern History.
 - (iv) Commercial Law.
 - (v) Banking and Finance.
 - (vi) Co-operation, Co-operative Credit Societies and Banks.
 - (vii) Transportation.
 - (viii) Manufacturing Industries.
 - (ix) Agricultural Industries.
 - (x) Administration of Firms.
 - (xi) Administration of Estates.
 - (xii) Household administration (sanitation, chemistry of food, home ceremonies, the family, &c.).
- (6) An Ayurvedic College, or a College of Medicine, where instruction will be imparted in Anatomy, Physiology. Surgery and Therapeutics, and where a knowledge of what is



The whole of Banaras joined the funeral procession.

best in foreign systems of medicine will be added to a knowledge of the Hindu system. Laboratories will be attached to the College for prosecuting investigations in important branches of [medicine and pharmacy. A museum, a botanical garden, a hospital and a veterinary department will also be attached to the College.

(7) A College of Music and the fine Arts consisting of :—

- (i) A School of Music.
- (ii) A School of Elocution, and
- (iii) A School of Art, Photography, and Painting, Sculpture, bronze and metal work, lacquer works,

7. The Theological department of the Sanskrit College shall be under the control of the Faculty of Theology which shall be elected, under rules to be framed by the Board of Trustees, by such Members of the Society as accept the principles of the Hindu religion as inculcated by the Shastras.

8. The Faculty of Theology shall prescribe the rules for the admission of students into the Theological department, the curricula of studies, the rules for the examination of students, and qualifications of candidates for degrees corresponding to the degrees of Bachelors and Doctors of Religion.

9. All colleges and departments of the University, other than the Theological department shall be governed by the Senate of the University which will



The cremation at Manikarnika

be organized according to rules and bye-laws to be framed thereafter by the Board of Trustees.

10. All colleges, schools and institutions of the University, except the Theological department, shall be open to students of all creeds and classes.

11. Religious education shall be compulsory in the case of all Hindu students of the University; provided that such religious education shall relate to the principles held in common by the principal denominations of Hindus: provided also that attendance at religious lectures will not be compulsory in the case of non-Hindus, or of students whose parents or guardians may have a conscientious objection to their wards attending such lectures.

12. Funds specially subscribed for any particular branch of the work of the University shall be devoted to that branch only. Out of the general funds subscribed for the University, one-half shall be devoted to the promotion of Scientific, Technical and Industrial education, and the other half to other branches in such proportion as the Board of Trustees may decide to be proper.

13. The accounts of the University shall be audited every year by duly qualified accountants, and published.

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