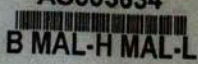




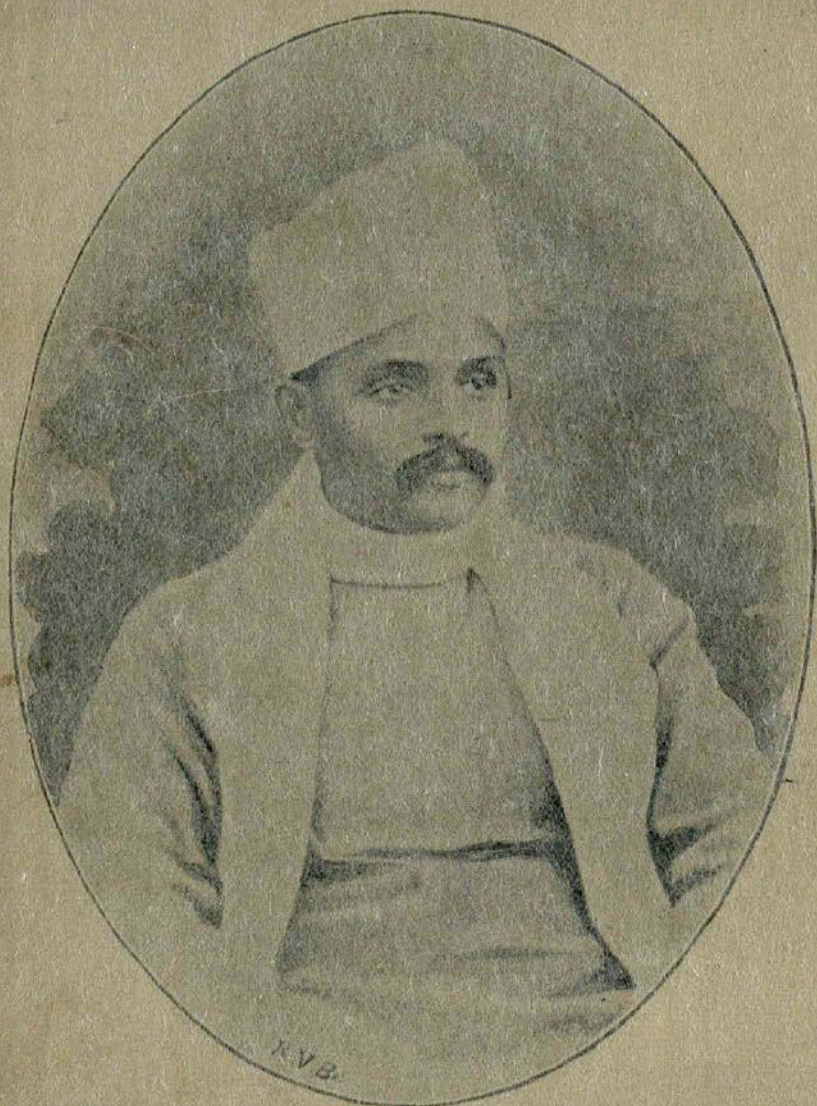
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Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.



THE HON. PANDIT

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MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

HIS LIFE AND SPEECHES

SECOND EDITION.

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MADRAS  
GANESH & CO., PUBLISHERS

1919



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## PREFACE

ACCORDING to Carlyle, history is a series of biographies. This is pre-eminently true of the history of the patriotic movement in India. Indeed, that movement has as yet no history apart from the careers of India's patriotic sons. This is a time of popular education, of national awakening. The people are not yet as a people educated, the nation as such has not yet awakened, some would say, is not even born yet. However this may be, there is no doubt that sooner or later—sooner rather than later—there will be a sense of national unity among the inhabitants of this land, which will make its future history in many ways different from, though not altogether a contrast to, its past. Among the men who in their day and generation have laboured and are labouring to bring about the fulfilment of the past in the future and the birth of a future greater and more glorious than was ever dreamt of, not the least distinguished is the man whose spoken words are treasured in this volume. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speeches are not mere speeches. They are the fruit and the flower of a soul deeply rooted in a sense of the eternal verities of life, of a character distinguished by simplicity and self-control, of an intellect given to an honest study of facts and an impartial and fair-minded presentation of them. It has been said that it is the character behind that makes a speech weighty or otherwise. No one can read the speeches herein embodied in print without feeling that their "specific



## PREFACE

gravity" is far from inconsiderable. It seems a happy coincidence that at the time when the publishers undertook the publication of his speeches, Mr. Malaviya was summoned by the united suffrages of the Indian people to occupy the exalted position of the presidentship of the non-official parliament of the nation. Again, when bringing out the second edition of his speeches, they have the immense gratification of seeing him occupy an unique position in the country. The nation has shown its trust in the political sagacity and leadership of Mr. Malaviya by electing him to preside over the National Congress for a second time to guide it along right channels and to create harmony and good will between the different sections of Indian political thought so that India may not lose the opportunity of getting her proper place in the coming reconstruction of the world. Thus the publishers are convinced that they are supplying the Indian reading public with a record of activity exercised on behalf of the country, which will serve to infuse moral seriousness, honest study, and strenuous endeavour into the lives, both private and public, of all who seek to take part in India's public life.



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## THE HONOURABLE PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

*One adequate support*

*For the calamities of mortal life  
Exists—one only : an assured belief  
That the procession of our fate howe'er  
Sad or disturbed is ordered by a Being  
Of infinite benevolence and power,  
Whose ever-lasting purposes embrace  
All accidents, converting them to good.*

WORDSWORTH.

The Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, comes of an orthodox and respected family of Brahmans who originally belonged to Malwa. One of his ancestors migrated from Malwa for Allahabad nearly four hundred years ago. The Family has produced renowned Sanskrit scholars and authors for the last several generations. Pandit Braj Nath, the father of the subject of this sketch who passed away only a few years ago at a ripe old age, leaving several sons and daughters, was one of the best scholars of his time. He was a reputed preacher whose popular exposition of the *Srimat Bhagvat* and other *Puranas* was much appreciated by high and low alike. And such princes as the late Maharajah of Durbhanga and the late Maharajah of Benares were among those who paid reverence to him and regarded him as almost a *guru* for his learning and



## THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

piety. He produced several notable devotional works in Sanskrit, some of which have lately been published by his dutiful son. The family was never in affluent circumstances and it was at no small sacrifice that Pandit Braj Nath educated his several children. And it was his good fortune to live to see the fruits of his self-abnegation in the career of at least one of his sons.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is his father's third son. He was born in his ancestral house at Allahabad on the 25th December, 1861, and it was at his forty-eighth year that he assumed the distinguished office of President of India's non-official Parliament. Born and bred up at Allahabad, Pandit Madan Mohan's love of and devotion to his native city has never known any bounds.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya received his education first in two Sanskrit Pathashalas—the Dharma Jnanopadesh Pathashala and next the Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha, and later sent to an English School. He passed his Entrance Examination from the Allahabad *zilla* School and then joined the Muir Central college. As a student he began to take a warm interest in public questions, religion and education being his favourite themes. And to this day the two spheres of national life to which he is most drawn are religion and education. He was among the founders of the Allahabad Literary Institute and of the Hindu Samaj. Pandit Madan Mohan's career as a student was not a particularly brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University (there was then no Allahabad University) in 1879, and F.A. in 1881, and he graduated



## THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

in 1884. It was not till seven years later that he became an LL.B. ; while he discontinued his studies sometime after he had joined the M.A. class without waiting to take the degree.

Not being well to do enough to remain a student after he became a B.A., Pandit Madan Mohan took up the post of an Assistant Master in the Government High School at Allahabad towards the end of 1884. He remained in the position till about the middle of 1887 on a salary of between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75, and it is interesting to recall that among his students was his distinguished townsman Dr. Satish Chandra Banerjee, though for a brief period only. Another noteworthy fact which may be recalled with interest in these days of strict prohibitions and rigid discipline is that his being a Government servant did not stand in the way of his participation in political movements ; why, he spoke at the Congress itself while a Government official, and his *guru*, Pandit Adityaram, always an independent man, was also a delegate to the Calcutta Congress of 1886, though he was at that time Professor in the Muir Central College. Those seem to have been days of mild rule indeed.

Work in connection with the National Congress, of which more presently, brought, Madan Mohan in contact with the late Rajah Rampal Singh of Kala-Kankar, who was proprietor of the paper called the *Hindustan*, and on the Rajah who had always a kindly feeling for the Pandit, offering him the editorship of the paper. Mr. Malaviya relinquished the teachership for the place of editor and joined his new post in the middle of 1887, though



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reluctantly for he really regarded the profession of teacher as a sacred one and he at last gave it up only because he believes that journalism is only another form of educational work. He remained editor of the *Hindustan* for two years and a half, his salary being Rs. 200. He conducted the paper with marked ability and moderation, so much so that an acknowledgment was made of its public usefulness in the Government Administration Report itself. Pandit Madan Mohan's direct connection with journalism did not stop on his giving up the editorship of the *Hindustan*. He became editor of the *Indian Union*, an independent organ of Indian opinion with which the honoured name of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath was associated, and did not a little for that paper in collaboration with the esteemed townsman, Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave. His connection with *Indian Union* was kept up though not exactly as editor, till its incorporation with the *Advocate* of Lucknow. Babu Brahmanda Sinha at present Secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mill of Lucknow, was the editor of the *Indian Union* in its later stages. Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in journalism and faith in the Press as a powerful factor in the formation of public opinion and in influencing the course of administration have not abated in the course of years. Only some years ago he felt so much the evil to the community at large and to the rising generation in particular, of the onrush of ideas paraded as advanced but really suicidal to progress of the country, which a section of the Press has taken to propagate with less wisdom than energy, that he started the weekly Hindi paper the *Abhyudaya* and laboured hard to make it inform-



ing and instructive by himself contributing numerous articles to its columns. The *Abhyudaya* has made an excellent progress since it was started and has done a deal of public service, but its proprietor has been out of pocket to a considerable time on its account. It is intended to extend its usefulness by issuing it twice a week, and it is to be hoped that the biweekly *Abhyudaya* may soon be an accomplished fact. How keenly Pandit Madan Mohan felt the need of an "English Daily" at Allahabad to voice the opinions and ventilate the grievances of the people of the Provinces, and how zealously he worked to bring the *Leader* into existence, are facts too recent and too well-known to need stating at length.

While he was conducting the *Hindustan* he was pressed by men for whom he had the highest regard and who took a warm personal interest in the young man's rise, to qualify himself for the Bar. Among these were Mr. A. O. Hume of whom Pandit Madan Mohan was a great favourite and at whose feet it is his pride to have sat. The late Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, the late Rajah Rampal Singh and Pandit Sunder Lal, who then was a great friend of his. Pandit Madan Mohan himself was reluctant to a degree to become a pleader. The bent of his mind was for public work particularly in the fields of religion and education—and money-making as such had no attraction for him. But he was prevailed upon to overcome his unwillingness to become a lawyer, and he accordingly joined the law classes when he was editing the *Hindustan*. He took his LL B. degree in 1891 and joined the High Court in 1893. Pandit



Ajoodhia Nath once complained to Mr. Hume that since he had taken to the study of law, Pandit Madan Mohan's interest in Congress work rather slackened. "Quite right," said the old man with fatherly solicitude, "he must concentrate all his attention on law." And turning to Pandit Madan Mohan, Mr. Hume spoke somewhat as follows:—"Madan Mohan, God has endowed you with plenty of brains. Slave at the profession for ten years and you are bound to get to the top. Then your public usefulness will increase greatly owing to the position you will attain, and you can do much for the country." This piece of advice was never acted upon. The claims to various public works had always the lion's share of his time and attention, and though he has risen creditably high in the profession and is recognised as a skilled and successful Advocate he has never reached the first two or three places at the bar. This is entirely owing to his neglect of opportunities which came to him unsought. "Malaviya had the ball at his feet," one of the Indian leaders of the local bar said once, "but he refused to kick it."

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

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya joined the Indian National Congress in 1886 when its second session was held at Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai



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



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



1888 still remains perhaps the most interesting yet held. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath had not joined the Reception Committee at first, though Pandit Bishambar Nath did, but after he came in, he contributed very largely to the success of its work as every one remembers with gratitude. The working Secretary was Pandit Madan Mohan, and among other men who laboured must be mentioned Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Charan Das and Babu Charoo Chandra Mitra. Again when the Congress was invited to hold its eighth session at Allahabad, in 1892, the grievous calamity of the death of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath discouraged the people and many suggestions were made that the Joint General Secretary, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, should be informed that the Congress could not be held here ; but there were a few stalwarts, for foremost among them Pandit Madan Mohan who would not listen to counsels of despair. And with Pandit Bishambar Nath, the unfailing old leader and sagacious counsellor at their head, the workers in the cause here held successful session that year at Allahabad. He presided over the United Province's Conference at Lucknow in 1908, and his election as President of the Parent movement itself in the year 1909, came fittingly and in the fulness of time.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya became a member of the Allahabad Municipal Board many years ago, and was its Vice-Chairman on one or two occasions. He was elected a Fellow of the University fifteen years ago and succeeded Pandit Bishambar Nath as a member of the Legislative Council in 1902 when the latter retired owing to increasing age. Ever since he has been a member. In the Council



he has distinguished himself by the display of combined moderation and ability, spirit of independence as well as sense of responsibility. His speeches on the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Bill and the Excise Bill and on the annual financial statements bring into relief the aforesaid qualities in him and mark him out unmistakably from the other members. He has had to work at considerable disadvantage being almost alone to espouse popular opinions, but in the new Council he will have some of his fellow-workers as his colleagues to share his labours—notably the Honourable Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and the Honourable Babu Ganga Prasad Varma. Pandit Madan Mohan gave valuable evidence before the Decentralisation Commission, the most important parts of his statement dealing with the constitution of provincial Governments and financial decentralisation. It is not a matter of surprise that after this career of usefulness for his motherland and with a clear knowledge of the diverse economical problems of India which have all along been engaging his attention, he should have become a member of the Imperial Legislative Council of which he can rightly claim to be a factor in view of his high attainments and extraordinary abilities.

Pandit Madan Mohan took up the question of Court character in the province and worked hard at the matter for rather more than three years. The complaint which he brought out on this subject was exhaustive of its kind and may be said to have gone a long way to bring about the famous resolution of Sir Antony Mac Donnell's Government, which for several years after its issue formed the



subject of so much controversy and gave rise to a feeling of unjust bitterness in the mind of the Mohamedan community. After all it was a very moderate recognition of the claims of the Nagari character on the part of the Government.

Pandit Madan Mohan has evinced the deepest interest in the welfare of the student population and in order to relieve them of hardship in finding suitable quarters at Allahabad whither they come in large numbers from their native places in the mofussil, he initiated in conjunction with the Honourable Pandit Sunder Lal, the movement in honour of Sir Antony MacDonnell which is concretised in the Hindu Boarding House. Pandit Madan Mohan, at the sacrifice of his steadily increasing professional work which he could ill-afford to do, travelled long and far at his own expense to raise funds for the Boarding House and he has the satisfaction of seeing it to-day in a flourishing condition and serving the purpose for which it was intended, very well indeed. The building itself, which was opened by Sir Antony MacDonnell's successor, Sir James La Touche, is one of the few handsome structures of Allahabad. His interest in educational matters led to his appointment as a member of the School Committee of which the late Mr. Roberts was Chairman, and it is known what part he took in the deliberations of the Committee.

We have referred more than once to Pandit Madan Mohan's zeal in religious matters. It is one of the settled convictions of his life that religion is at the foundation of all greatness and goodness, and that without an abiding



religious faith no affair of man can succeed. He believes in ritual and most of the ideas and practices of orthodox Brahmans and hopefully looks forward to a religious revival in the country. He wants religious instruction to be imparted in school and has himself compiled text books which he hopes may be found suitable. He was the originator and the life and soul of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha held at Allahabad in January 1906, and it is no secret what expenditure of time, labour and money was borne by him to make the Sabha a success.

It is the combination of religious faith and zeal for the spread of sound education that will make a man really healthy, wealthy and wise which led him to prepare his comprehensive scheme for the establishment of a Hindu University (Bharatiya Viswa Vidyalya) at Benares. It is not to be expected that there can be unanimity of opinion in regard to a complicated scheme of that description and even among those who are on the whole of his way of thinking there is naturally considerable misgiving about the ultimate success of so costly an undertaking. But Pandit Madan Mohan's faith is large and whoever may doubt and falter, he does not lose heart. Hope eternal burns in him like a sacred pillar of fire. In the language of a friend he is inspired by something of "holy madness" for realization of the University project and it is not impossible that one of these days its beginning at least may become a fact since accomplished gloriously. It is well-known in the circle of his friends that ever since he put forward this scheme "where scientific, technical and industrial educa-



## THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

tion is to be combined, with religious instruction and classical culture," he has been anxious to retire from his profession and dedicate himself to service for its realisation ; so ardently he believes that that will be the greatest means of the improvement of the condition of his country. And it is believed—we may perhaps say feared—his circumstances are such—among those who know that now that his son Pandit Ramakanta Malaviya has joined the High Court he contemplates to retire from his profession.

Pandit Madan Mohan has been an ardent champion of the Swadeshi movement for the last thirty years. So far back as 1881 a Deshi Tijarat company was started at Allahabad to promote the use of indigenous manufacturers, and Pandit Madan Mohan was one of the prominent supporters of the company. And all these three decades he has consistently advocated the use of Swadeshi things wherever they can be had, even if they are coarser and dearer than foreign manufacture citing the example of other countries which have preserved or promoted their industries by a similar policy. Without being a boycotter he has always regarded it as part of his religious duty to purchase country-made goods in preference to foreign ones even at sacrifice because by that means he would probably be the means of finding food for some humble countrymen of his who might otherwise remain hungry. Recently his interest in the industrial movement has increased. He is among those who helped in bringing into existence the Indian Industrial Conference at Benares in 1905, and the United Provinces Industrial Conference and the United Provinces



Industrial Association at Allahabad in 1907, and he has taken an active part in the deliberations of these bodies. His interest in technical education is keen and one of the attractions of his scheme of a University at Benares is that higher technical education is to be a most important feature of the University. He was member of the Naini Tal Industrial Conference held by Sir John Hewett's Government in 1907 ; and he had no small share in starting the Prayag Sugar Company Limited, which is the direct fruit of the First U. P. Industrial Conference.

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

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

said Byron. When plague first broke out in Allahabad the Collector, Mr. Ferard, C.I.E., who has always been a popular officer, asked Pandit Madan Mohan, who was a Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board, to help in taking steps to prevent the disease from spreading. He did so cheerfully. For over a fortnight he personally superintended the disinfection of a dark lane in a *mandi* where it had broken out and where deaths had occurred in almost every house. His example was followed by his fellow-



## THE HON. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Commissioners when the disease spread to other parts of the city. He then initiated the movement the establishment of a health camp in Sohbatia Bakh in which about 1900 families found absolute protection from plague. Mr. Malaviya used to attend the camp both morning and evening in the first year. He also used to go to see the plague hospital and encouraged people to go there. In the following year the health camp became so popular that at one time nearly 3,000 persons were living in perfect safety there.

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



deep debt of gratitude for their great service in the national cause. Recent events have served to bring out to the public view the sterling qualities of the Pandit. The outbreak of the great European war brought in its train difficult and searching problems for India to face, thus affording an opportunity for true statesman-ship to assert itself in this country. A level-headed statesman that the Pandit is, he knows how to co-operate with the Govt. when co-operation was beneficial and how to oppose when the country's interests demanded opposition. As a loyal subject of His Majesty, Mr. Malaviya agreed to the India's contribution of a 100 millions sterling for war. But when it was proposed to saddle India with another 45 millions, he protested against it as being beyond India's capacity to bear, while many of his compatriots silently voted for it. This was a severe test which the Pandit has so manfully stood, showing that he is not of that wavering politicians whose tongues would proclaim of patriotism while their heads would be devising means to please the powers that be. Again in the matter of the Montague-chelmsford reforms which has been thrown in as a veritable apple of discord, though styled a moderate of politicians Mr. Malaviya was not thrown off his balance like some of his moderate brethren who found in them the blessings of the promised land, but he took a correct estimate of their worth and declared that they were not worthy of acceptance unless modified in their most essential details. Though of dubious value, the reform scheme did not fail to create the inevitable split and some of the most prominent congress-



man felt no compunction to desert in the most critical hour the banner under which they had been fighting for over 30 years. But Malaviya's true patriotism held aloft the drooping flag and though in spite of all his efforts he failed to bring back the recalcitrants to the national cause, his domineering personality at the Bombay congress made that special session an unqualified success. At present if there is one man more than another who commands the respect of all the political parties, it is Malaviya and the nation which is still anxious to see all parties united has done the wisest thing in selecting him for the second time as President of the coming congress and we may confidently look to the rallying of the different parties under his sage guidance. We cannot close this brief sketch without expressing our genuine admiration for the masterly special minute that Mr. Malaviya as a member of the Industrial Commission has attached to the Report of the commission. The minute is a valuable document as it traces the history of the Industrial condition of India since its connection with England and puts forth practical suggestions how it could be improved. It seems a good augury for our country that at this psychological moment of its history it has the bold championship of a patriot like Malaviya and it is our sincere prayer that he may be spared for many years to come to further promote the welfare of India which he has at his heart.



## LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS-TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS

IN supporting the following resolution of the second Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1886 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

*That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :—*

(1) *The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats ex-officio in such Councils and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.*

(2) *The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, prima facie capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay, the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the*



## SPEECHES OF PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted, (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

(3) The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4) No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5) All persons resident in India to be eligible for



## LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS—TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS

seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(6) All legislative measures and all financial questions including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with, by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the ex-officio Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question together with copies of any paper requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that in the opinion of the Executive, the public interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7) The Executive Government shall possess the power of over-ruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which in its opinion the



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*public interest would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.*

After the very able and eloquent speeches to which you have already listened, it may seem almost superfluous to add any thing as to the expediency, as to the necessity, of the reform contemplated in the fourth resolution. It seems, however, necessary to show to the Government and to the public at large that it is not only by the people of a certain limited portion of the country that the principle of representative government is understood and approved, but that in every presidency and province, of this vast Indian continent, the



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people equally appreciate it and are equally anxious for its introduction into the administration. Delegates from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Patna, Fyzabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Dacca, have already endorsed this fact. Let me a humble delegate from Allahabad confirm their testimony. (*Cheers*) It is not to the great British Government that we need demonstrate the utility, the expediency, the necessity of this great reform. (*Cheers*). It might have been necessary to support our petition for this boon with such a demonstration were we governed by some despotic monarch, jealous of the duties, but ignorant and careless of the rights of subjects; but it is surely unnecessary to say one word in support of such a cause to the British Government or the British nation—to the descendants of those brave and great men who fought and died to obtain for themselves and preserve intact for their children those very institutions which, taught by their example, we now crave (*cheers*), who spent their whole lives and shed their hearts blood so freely in maintaining and developing this cherished principle. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

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



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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 freeborn 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 freeborn 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



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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



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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



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English mind to say whether we have not a strong ground for complaining against the 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.*)



## EXPANSION OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

In supporting the following resolution of the third Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1887 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

*That this Congress re-affirms the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, and the provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III of the Congress of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.*

Mr. President and Gentlemen, my heart beats high within me as I rise to speak on this great subject. You have listened to the weighty words of Sir T. Madhava Rao and the eloquent appeals of Babu Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Eardley Norton and others, and if after such speakers as these I venture to address you, it is with the hope that you will grant me that indulgence which, being placed in this position, I earnestly crave of you. Gentlemen, after what has been said, it would be difficult to advance further arguments or to bring forward additional reasons as to the expediency and necessity for this great reform. But allow me to



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say this much, that, placed as we are in this country under a foreign Government, however benevolent and generous its motives—the motives of those who take part in the administration—we stand in the greatest need of our own representative in the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, has declared that the most efficient and best form of Government for any country which has made any advance in civilization is a Government, conducted not solely by the few of the many, but to a greater or less extent by the many for themselves—a Government, in fact in which the representatives of the people have some potential-share—and if this be expedient for European countries, where the rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality, and where they are of the same religion, I think it must be conceded that it is even more essential for India, which is inhabited by people whose habits, manners, customs, language race and creed differ from those of their rulers. If we demand for India that there should be representatives of her people in the state councils, we only ask for what, not simply Europe, but America, Australia, and almost the whole civilized world have declared with one unanimous voice to be essential for any Government that is to be suitable to any country, as it is only where the representatives of the people are allowed to take part in that administration that the



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wants and wishes, the aspirations and grievances of the people can be adequately set forth, properly understood or duly provided for. That being so, gentlemen, I think there cannot possibly be two opinions on the point that the reform which we crave for from Government is one so essential for the well-being of this country that it should be conceded to us without the least avoidable delay. This is now the third time that we have thus been meeting at yearly intervals; we have come from every district, from the most distant portions of this Empire, and in many cases at the cost of great personal sacrifice. We have nothing personally to gain, no selfish aim to serve. We come together, chosen by our fellow-countrymen primarily to press upon Government the fact that the country stands badly in need of this reform, and that the entire nation prays for it. But, unhappily, Government has not yet listened, to our people's prayer!

What is it that we see year after year? People assembling from all parts of India,—from the Panjab, Sindh, Assam Madras, Bengal, Bombay, N.W. Provinces, Oudh, the Central Provinces, from every province, from every town—coming together to implore Government humbly to grant this reform, which is after all their birth right as free born British subjects. (*Loud cheers.*) It is no desire or motive of self-ambition that brings these people together at such heavy cost and at such great



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personal inconvenience. There is no taint of self-interest in the matter. No. Their sole idea is that India, their country, of all things stands badly in need of this fundamental reform, and they hope—and God, grant that they may not hope in vain—that their unselfish persistence in asking may secure for their native land this great boon! I cannot possibly believe that there is one single educated Indian, who after studying this question can rest happy in his mind, without trying his very best to secure this reform. (*Applause.*) I cannot possibly believe that any good man who once really understands what this reform truly means for his country and his countrymen, for his kinsman, his children and himself, can remain indifferent to it. And, gentlemen, neither we nor any other intelligent Indians are indifferent to it; and though thus far success has not crowned our efforts, we must only go up to Government again and ask their earliest consideration of our demands or of our prayers (call them which you will) and entreat them again and again to concede to us this reform. Gentlemen, it is nothing very great we are asking them to do. The British Government has already made this concession to so many countries. So many colonies, so many British colonies, enjoy it. Canada, the Cape, the Australian colonies, innumerable smaller places, even the so-called crown colonies, except perhaps Fiji Islands, and some



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purely military pests, all enjoy some measure, and most of them the fullest measure, of Representative Government. Britain has granted or conceded this concession to all these places. (*Applause*). Why should she withhold it from the people of India? (*Hear, hear.*) Does she think that we are less loyal than her subjects in other lands? (*Hear, hear, and applause*). Australia would break with her tomorrow if she ventured to prevent Australia from taxing British goods, while we, in all good temper, accept an odious income tax, vilely administered, and imposed not to meet the expenses of our own Government, but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Burma or menace Russia. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Does she think we are not prepared for the privilege? I think this very Congress is proof positive of our ripeness for the task and of the intelligence and knowledge which would be brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation if only the Government were kind enough to accede to our wishes. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I am sorry that looking to the announcement our worthy President has made, I cannot venture to take up much more of your time, but if you will permit it I will go on for a few minutes more. (*Voices, "Go on"*) I thank you, Gentlemen, for this indulgence. This question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is one in regard to which too much can hardly be said. Something was said in



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speeches in Parliament about the Budget being introduced there at an earlier date, but what effective criticism can we hope for there if we do not supply the materials by our criticisms when the Budget is introduced here? But how can we outside criticise a thing of details when those details are skilfully veiled from us? It is only when we have our own representatives inside the Government, who can get at those essential details, that we shall ever be able to control, or at any rate effectively protest against, financial mismanagement. The Indian Councils Act was passed when the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. According to the provisions of that Act the expenditure of this country should be checked and controlled by the Secretary of State assisted by a Council. But how has this been carried out? We see that provision was made for the Budget being presented to Parliament with the object of securing some check. But we also know that no less a personage than Professor Fawcett, of lamented memory, speaking in Brighton in 1872, was compelled to confess that "the most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangling over the purchase of a picture, a road through a Park, excited more interest than the welfare of 180,000,000, of our Indian fellow-subjects." (*Loud applause*). And as it was then, so it is now. It is not only Professor Fawcett, moreover, who has



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protested against this monstrous injustice. Year after year some honest independent politician has raised his voice against a state of things which if it means our misery means also England's shame. Even this last session, Mr. Bradlaugh rose to protest against the practice of bringing this subject (*the Indian Budget*) forward at so late a period of the session. Last year the Budget was considered on June 21st and the year before on August 6th.

It was not right to leave to the last moment of the session the only opportunity that was afforded to Parliament of considering the wishes and the grievances of the 200,000,000 of people whom we rule. That any Parliamentary control should be exercised over the affairs of India was impossible when the Indian Budget figured upon paper as the eighth order upon one of the last days of an expiring Session (*Applause*). Following him Mr. Reid said:—"How could Parliament do anything when these matters were only brought to its cognizance on one of the very last days of a weary session when only fifteen or sixteen gentlemen had sufficient energy left to watch the proceedings. The debate was almost reduced to a farce. The discussion was begun at about a quarter past six o'clock and in four or five hours from that time they would have settled the affairs of 200,000,000 of their fellow-subjects and sanctioned the expenditure of



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between seventy and eighty millions of money. Surely it would be better to delegate these duties than to continue doing that which was a mere mockery. Would it not be possible to appoint a Committee to overlook the affairs of India, in order that the people of that country might know that their interest were being cared for adequately by the Imperial Parliament?" (Loud applause).

Then, again, Sir John Gorst, in connection with this matter said: "The regret which the Honourable member expressed with regard to the late period of the session at which the affairs of India had come up for discussion was shared by the Government with those who sat on the opposite side of the House. He believed every one would be glad, if it were possible, to bring the affairs of India under consideration of the House at a time when more members were present and when greater interest would be taken in the matter. Although many promises to introduce Indian financial statements earlier in the session had been made, no Government had ever succeeded in fulfilling those promises, and ever since he had a seat in the House the Indian Budget had been one of the incidents of the Sessions that had immediately preceded the prorogation" (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, you see that Parliament will not or cannot give that consideration even to our Budget, even to the expenditure of eighty millions of money



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wrung out of the country, and none know better than you do with what hardships to the people, that we have a right to expect from them that commonsense and justice demand and if this be the case with the Budget, what chance have the rest of our affairs of getting a hearing of any kind? I say, none, and therefore we ask Parliament to allow us to look after our own affairs. We say if you cannot or will not do your duty by us, at least put us, in a position to do some portion of our duties to ourselves. We say, we entreat you in all fairness to allow us some control over our Budget, to put us in a position to say something through our representatives about it when it is brought into the council-(applause)—to give us some voice here in the management of our domestic affairs. But it would seem as if our entreaties were vain. They will not do their duty by the country themselves and they will not allow us to do it. (Applause). Can anything be more cruel, or more unjust, of the English nation which professes to love freedom and justice and boasts itself the founder of constitutional and free Government? Gentlemen, after this, I think nothing need be said by England about justice and freedom if this concession is not granted to us. Gentlemen, I must express my regret that the rapidly passing minutes debar me from speaking on this subject more fully, as I should wish, to do, though I know it does not require much further



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illustration after the speeches you have heard. Allow me now to say in conclusion that we should continue to press this righteous demand on the Government, and if all else fail simply ask them to act according to their own Christian principles which tell them to do unto others as they would be done by. (Applause. Would the English nation like to have their affairs treated in this way; would they tolerate it for one instant? Would they even dare to treat us in this way, did they not know that we are the most patient and law-abiding people on the face of the earth? Only twenty-nine members present out of six hundred and seventy five or some thing like that, when the welfare of two hundred and fifty million souls is to be discussed, and when a sum of seventy or eighty millions is to be disposed of. Loud applause.) How would they like their own affairs to be treated in that way? Would they, I repeat, stand it for one week? Would they dare thus to deal with only five millions of Irishmen? Gentlemen, I must leave them to reply, and that reply, if truthful, must be their own condemnation. No, gentlemen, let them allow us a gradually increasing liberty to look after and manage our own business, and they will find that we shall forget any temporary injustice that their negligence has caused us, and always, remember *per contra* all the good they have done us, and be grateful to them for all this and not least grateful for that concession we are now urging. (Applause).



## REFORM OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

In supporting the following resolution of the sixth Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1890 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

*That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled, "An Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861" approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law ; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation thereto in due course.*

I am happy to find that we are to-day discussing the leading features of the scheme for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. You know since we met last, our position has somewhat improved in this matter, and the difference between us and Government is not now quite so great as it was a year ago. The four principal points which the Congress has been urging on the Government in



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relation to the reform of the Councils have been, 1st, that the number of members on the Council should be increased ; 2ndly, that the privilege of electing at least half of these members should be given to the people ; 3rdly, that the Budget should be laid every year before the Council ; 4thly, that the members should have the right to interpellate the executive on questions of public concern. Of these, gentlemen, His Excellency the Viceroy assured us in his speech on the occasion of the last discussion of the Budget in his Council, that Her Majesty's Government had decided to grant us three, *viz.*, the enlargement of the Council ; the presentation to them of the Budget every year, whether there be any new tax to be imposed or not ; and the right to interpellate the Government in regard to any branch of the administration. Of course there are some limitations to be put upon the exercise of this latter right ; but His Excellency's words made it perfectly clear that the right itself will be conceded.

The only vital point of difference between us and Government now, therefore, is with regard to the manner of appointing members to the Council. The Government wish to nominate all the members, and we ask for the privilege of electing half of them. How evidently simple and just our prayer how utterly in-defensible the unwillingness of Government to grant it. (*Cheers.*) You know, gentlemen, that in the



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reformed Councils the Government will be exactly what they now are—the final arbiter of all questions that may be brought before the Council. Even in cases where the majority of the members are opposed to any measure and vote against it, the Government will still possess the power to veto their decision, and carry things entirely according to their own will and pleasure. In other words, they will occupy the position of a judge in deciding all questions affecting our purses, our character, in fact our whole well being. The sole privilege which we are praying for is to be allowed to choose our own Counsels to represent our case and condition fully before them. And the Government seem unwilling to allow us even that! (*Shame.*) They will appoint Counsels of their own choice to plead our cause. Now, gentlemen, we thank them for this overflow of kindness towards us (*laughter*), but we feel, and we have good reasons to feel, that we should be much better off if they allowed us to exercise our own discretion in the choice of the Counsels, who are to plead our cause, defend our rights, and protect our interests. (*Cheers.*) The Legislative Council is the great tribunal before which measures of the greatest possible moment, affecting not only ourselves, but even our posterity, are continually coming up for decision, and justice requires that before the Council passes its final judgment upon them, we should be allowed to



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have our say with regard to them, through our chosen and accredited representatives. We do feel, gentlemen and feel strongly that we should no longer be debarred from exercising this simple and rightful privilege. The privilege of selecting one's own Counsel is not denied even to the most abandoned of criminals under the British rule. Why, then, should it be denied to the loyal and intelligent subjects of Her Gracious Majesty? When a jury is being empanelled, the judge asks the person whose fate is to be decided by that jury, to say if he has any objection to any person composing it, and in case he has any such objection that person is removed from the panel. But the Government of India and our Secretary of State—if the reports published in the newspapers represent their views faithfully—seem unwilling to allow the vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country any voice whatever in the appointment of persons who decide questions which concern not merely any one man or any set of men amongst them, but the entire nation of them and their posterity. Could there be anything more in conflict with reason and justice? (*Loud cheers.*)

If, gentlemen, the choice of Government in the selection of non-official members had, even generally, been exercised in a manner tending to promote the interests of the people we might not have been so anxious to burden ourselves with the responsi-



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bility of electing our representatives ourselves. But, unhappily, as you know, in a large majority of cases, their choice has been exercised in favour of persons who have proved to be the least qualified or willing to advocate the interests, and plead fearlessly for the rights, of the people, nay, not unfrequently, in favour of persons whose presence in the Council has helped to contribute to the miseries of the people. We would much rather that there were no non-official members at all on the Councils than that there should be members who are not in the least in touch with the people (*hear, hear*) and who being ignorant of their true conditions and requirements, betray a cruel want of sympathy with them, in heedlessly supporting measures which tend to increase suffering and discontent among them.

I will recall to your mind only two instances to illustrate what I have said. A couple of years ago, you remember, the Government was driven by reason of its excessive and, as we think, wasteful military expenditure to find some fresh means of increasing its revenue, and it resolved upon drawing the required money from the poor, the class least able to offer any resistance or protest. (*Shame.*) The question came up before the Legislative Council and unofficial honourable members, the so-called representatives of our people, so far from protesting against the proposal, gave their ready consent to it. Some of these gentlemen



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even went the length of declaring that the enhancement of the duty on salt would not inflict any hardship on the poorer classes of the people. (*Shame.*) Now, gentlemen, these big honourable gentlemen, enjoying private incomes and drawing huge salaries, may find it hard to believe that the addition of a few annas every year to the burdens of the poor, can cause any serious hardship to them. But those who know in what abject misery and pinching poverty our poorer classes generally exist, know how painfully the slightest increase in their burdens presses upon them. But these honourable members were pleased to say "the people will not feel the increase in the tax." (*Shame.*)

I will remind you of only one more case. You remember a few months ago the Government again found itself badly in want of money. Those who regulate their income by their expenditure, and not their expenditure by their income, must frequently find themselves in that unhappy position. It became necessary to raise more revenue, and after misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund, and mulcting the Provincial Governments (thereby starving education and arresting progress in all directions), Government then resolved again on squeezing something more out of the poor. It resolved to re-impose the Patwari Cess on the ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Now you may know that when



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the Government of our good Lord Ripon had (*cheers*) by a cessation of war and warlike operations (*hear hear*;) effected a saving in the public expenditure, and desired to give relief to those who most needed it, they found after inquiry that the ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh stood most especially in need of some relief, and they remitted the Patwari Cess to the extent of 20 lakhs. But the Government of Lord Lansdowne has this year reimposed that same cess upon them! See, I beseech you, gentlemen, what gross injustice has been perpetrated in the reimposition of this Patwari Cess? The Patwari Cess was remitted seven years ago, but the poor ryots have had to pay it, it seems all the same, year after year. (*Shame.*) It was said that the cess had been amalgamated with other taxes and could be separated from them. If the money had had to go to the coffers of the Government, such a plea would never have been listened to for a moment. (*Hear, hear.*) But it was the poor ryot who was concerned, the plea was allowed to hold good, the Talukdars and Zemindars were thus allowed to enjoy the entire benefit of the measure which the Government of Lord Ripon had passed in the interests of the ryots; and it is now on this very plea that the remission of the Cess did not benefit the ryot, that the Patwari Cess has been reimposed, not on the Zemindars



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but on the poor ryot, whereby he is now compelled to pay the Cess, twice over for no other fault of his than that he is poor and helpless. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Shame shame."*)

The Hon'ble Mr. Quinton who represented the Government of Sir Auckland Colvin at the Viceroy's Council, said in his speech on the subject that the consent of the Talukdars of Oudh had been obtained to the measure. Fancy, gentlemen, the justice of adding to the burthens of the ryot on the strength of the consent of the Zemindar! But that was not all. There were other honorable members present in the Council, who said that the re-imposition of the cess would not add much more than about 12 annas a year to the load of taxation on the ryot, any they said it was so slight a sum that the ryot would not feel the pressure at all. Well, gentlemen, it is sinful to desire unhappiness to any one. But when I hear these honorable members assert with cruel levity of heart that the addition of a few annas a year to the burthens of the insufficiently fed and clothed poor, whether it be in the shape of the Salt Tax or the Patwari Cess will not increase their wretchedness and misery. I feel tempted to exclaim with old Lear :

"Take physic pomp,  
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel  
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them  
And show the heavens more just."



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If these gentlemen had to live, even for a day or two on that coarse unpalatable diet which is the best our poor, often starving, can command in the brightest times, and if they had to brave the cold of our up-country winters without all those warm and soft clothings they themselves luxuriate in, they would understand what hardship the enhancement of the Salt Tax and the re-imposition of the Patwari Cess entails upon the people. (*Prolonged cheers.*) There are hundreds of thousands of ryots at this moment in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh who cannot buy sufficient cloth to cover even the upper half of their bodies properly, to protect themselves and their children from the piercing chill and cold of our northern winter nights; and remember, you gentlemen of the south, that the times are far more relentlessly severe with us there than with you here. (*Hear, hear.*) These miserable people cover themselves, their wives and children, when the season becomes very severe, with grass at night and when the intensity of the cold drives away sleep, they warm themselves by burning some of the very grass. And even that is now and then taken away from them for feeding the cattle of officials on tour. (*Shame.*) Such is the condition of the people to whom the honorable members of the Viceroy's Council said that an increase of 12 annas a year in their burthens would not mean any serious hardship! Do you



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think, gentlemen, such members would be appointed to the Council if the people were allowed any voice in their selection? (*No no never!*) And even if they were by some mistake, once appointed, would they not be scornfully rejected at the next election? (*Yes yes.*) But such men are appointed at present, to the great disgust of the people and the people are forced to submit to their legislatorship. (*Prolonged cheering*).

I fear, gentlemen, I have taken up too much of your time, and I won't detain you any longer. I hope I have made it clear why we pray the Government to allow the people the privilege of electing at least half of the members of the Council men whom the people esteem and confide in by reason of their loving sympathy with them in all their sorrows and joys. And I earnestly hope the Government will no longer delay granting us this simple rightful privilege, which while conducing greatly to our happiness, will not fail to add to the strength and glory of British rule in India. Gentlemen, I heartily support this resolution. (*Cheers*):



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IN moving the following resolution of the tenth Indian National Congress held at Madras in 1894, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said :

(a) *That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good government of that Province and having regard to the fact that a Legislative Council has been created for the N. W. Provinces, requests that no time should be lost in creating such a Council for the Punjab.*

(b) *That this Congress, in concurrence with the preceding Congress, is of opinion that the rules now in force under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 are materially defective and prays that His Excellency the Viceroy in Council will be pleased to have fresh rules framed in a liberal spirit with a view to a better working of the Act and suited to the conditions and requirements of each Province.*

[Now, gentlemen, this question concerns the Legislative Councils, which are practically the bodies which decide what taxation shall be imposed upon



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the people and how the revenues raised shall be spent, and in fact all questions which affect the weal and woe of the two hundred and odd millions of this country in the most important respect. You remember, gentlemen, that for years past the Congress laboured to bring about the reform of the Legislative Councils, We laboured earnestly to bring about a reform of these Councils by having an increase in the number of members who form those Councils, and by having a right of discussing the Budget, &c. Our request was conceded, but in a very partial and limited manner. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed, by which the number of our members was partially increased and certain powers were conferred upon us. We might then have hoped that the Councils as now constituted, or rather reformed, would be something better than the Councils which existed before these reformed Councils. But, gentlemen, I will invite your attention only to some points, to some facts, which have happened within the last 12 months, and ask you to say whether you consider that with all the reform that has been brought to you in these Councils, the Legislative Councils of India, including that of the Governor-General in Council, are anything but shams, so far as the real and true interest of the people of India are concerned. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, You will remember the debate on the Indian



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Tariff Bill, you will remember the debate on the Indian Councils Bill ; you will remember how while there was a strong desire on the part of the members of the Councils, including, so far as one could see. His Excellency the Viceroy himself, to levy, to re-impose the cotton duties, the Council felt their hands fully restrained by a dictum of the Secretary of State for India ; you will remember the piteous wailings of some of the members of the Council, the piteous tones in which some of the official members of the Councils tried to excuse their conduct by saying that they were bound, being official members to vote in obedience to the orders of the Secretary of State for India. (*Shame, Shame.*) Gentlemen, if there is one characteristic of Englishmen which distinguishes them above all other people, which entitles them to the respect of nations more than anything else, it is their sense of duty. (*Cheers.*) We thought we were under the impression that an Englishman taking up any position of responsibility would lay aside all other considerations except those which should govern his conduct in relation to those for the betterment of whose condition and for the protection of whose interests he was appointed. But, gentlemen, here we have a sad confession of the weakness—shall I say something worse? No, gentlemen, I will only say weakness, or let me say the powerlessness—of the official members, as confessed



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by themselves so far as the protecting of the interests of India is concerned. | When the question of re-imposing the cotton duties comes up again, the permission which the Secretary of State has granted is accompanied by the mandate that this duty so urgently needed by the distressed condition of Indian finance cannot be | re-imposed unless a countervailing excise duty is imposed upon Indian manufactures. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, what does it show? It fully demonstrates this said fact, that the Government of India is powerless to protect the interests of Indians. Unfortunately, they are | not equally powerless when doing mischief to the people of India. (*Cheers.*) You will remember, gentlemen, how the Exchange Compensation Allowance was granted. At that time the government of India and the Secretary of State agreed together that Exchange Compensation | should be allowed, and it was allowed. Therefore as matters stand now, you find that the Government of India, as at present constituted, is powerless for the good of the Indians in all matters affecting the finances of India, and | is potent for mischief in relation to matters affecting those interest. (*Cheers*)

Gentlemen, I have not referred to this without an object: I only wish to point out to you the extreme necessity of having a further reform of these | Councils,