CHAPTER II

The Genesis and Growth of the Representative Assembly

The rendition was effected on the 25th March, 1881. Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar-X was formally installed on the throne and invested with full ruling powers by the proclamation of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council. Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar filled this exalted position with dignity, honour and political sagacity.

From the time Sri Chamaraja Wadiyar was recognized as the ruler of Mysore, efforts were being made by the British Government with unwearied solicitude to give the young Prince the advantage of an education suitable to his rank and position and calculated to prepare him for the duties of State Administration. He was taken on extensive tours through the province and made to acquaint himself of the country over which he was to preside. The system and the principles of administration of the province and matters connected therewith were often explained to him as also the leading facts of constitutional history and the fundamental principles of political economy. Thus the young Prince was given suitable education and training to accept the responsibilities as a ruler of the state. The proclamation issued on
the death of Krishnaraja Wadiyar, had said that "When His Highness attain to the period of majority, that is the age of eighteen years, and if His Highness shall, then, be found qualified for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position, the government of his country will be entrusted to him subject to such conditions as may be determined at that time". The British Government after faithfully discharging its self-imposed task of giving such an education as qualified him for the discharge of the duties of his exalted position proclaimed at the rendition, "Now, therefore, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in council announces to the chiefs and people of Mysore by command of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India that His Highness Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur is placed in possession of the territories of Mysore and invested with the administration of the Mysore State and declares further that the administration of the aforesaid territories by the British Government has on this day ceased and determined." By this proclamation the Mysore administration, once again came under native rule.

2. Ibid p.234.
The Peshawar of 1881 synchronised with the liberals coming to power in England. Gladstone a great liberal, who believed in a government based on the good will and consent of the ruled, was at the helm of affairs in England. In India Lord Lytton was succeeded by Lord Ripon as Governor General and Ripon was a great enthusiast in giving effect to the liberal tradition of Gladstone. Ripon's Viceroyship opened a new phase in the Indian administration. He gave encouragement for constitutional reforms, repealed the vernacular Press Act of 1872, fostered the freedom of expression. He was instrumental in introducing the elective system in the District Boards and Municipalities giving more popular control. He endeavoured to remove racial inequality in the administration of justice through the famous Ilbert Bill. The political and national consciousness of Indians enkindled during his regime largely contributed for organising the Indian National Congress in 1885. Ripon publicly echoed that "the time was fast approaching when even in India popular power could become an irresistible force, and Government would have to be guided by popular views."

In this back drop of the liberal principles of the West, Rangacharlu became the first Dewan of Mysore.
at the Pendidion. On 25th March 1801 a durbar was held at the Palace in Mysore to invest Sri Chama-rajendra Wadiyar with full ruling powers over the territories of Mysore. On the same day, a proclamation was issued appointing Sri C.V. Pangacharlu as the Dewan of State. The proclamation stated "For the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories under our command and control, we have resolved to appoint a Dewan. And we are placing trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgement of Chettipunniam Veeravalli Pangacharlu, C.I.E., do hereby appoint the said Pangacharlu to be our Dewan for the conduct of the executive administration of the said territories." The Maharaja also constituted a Council to be styled "The Council of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore" consisting of the Dewan as the Ex-Officio President and of two or more members to be appointed specially from time to time.

The Council was entrusted with the duty of submitting for the consideration of the Maharaja its opinion on all questions relating to legislation.

and taxation and on all other important measures connected with administration. In this Council Pangacharlu, the Dewan, was the ex-officio member and Purna Krishna Rao and Attupakan Fatna Sabhaphathy Muddaliar were the other members. The term of office of the other members of the council was fixed at 3 years or during the Maharaja's pleasure. Sri Purna Krishna Rao and Fatna Sabhaphathy Muddaliar had retired from service at the time of their appointment to the Council. Their inclusion in the Council was at the desire of Pangacharlu to have the non-official element in the Council. Pangacharlu as Dewan had to guide the affairs of the State with great skill and far-sight. "Patriotic to the core, sensitive to the aspirations of the people, responsive to the new spirit of the times, he knew how vital the success of the new administration was, not only for the future of the State but also for instilling a new sense of confidence in his own country fellow-men in the ability of Indians to manage their own affairs." 4

When Pangacharlu assumed office, the State was in great economic distress and financial difficulty. The State had not yet recovered from the effects of the

4. N.C. Chandrasekhara - Dewan Pangacharlu, p.94.
great famine. It was burdened with a debt of 80 lakhs of rupees. No new taxes could be levied owing to improverished state of the country. The revenues of the State had been reduced considerably. The State had to pay rupees four lakhs to the Government of India as interest per year on the 80 lakhs borrowed for famine relief. During the last days of the Commission, Fangacharlu had taken steps to effect economy of expenditure. As Dewan, he continued the work. More than all these, he wanted to infuse confidence in the heart of the people who were oppressed by the devastating famine. The New Government earnestly wanted to provide itself with a means to gauge popular opinion on the measures of the Government from time to time.

Sir James Gordon, the last Chief Commissioner of Mysore suggested in a minute dated 10th February 1879, to the Government of India the advisability of forming a deliberative (body) assembly. The scheme was a very modest one. He proposed the Executive Council of His Highness the Maharaja may, with advantage, be supplemented by a deliberative Assembly composed of eminent retired officials, representatives of great local families and representatives of various sections and interests of the people before whom the proposed
legislation, important measures of administrative reforms and budget appropriation of public money might be placed for discussion and opinion. This council might well consist of, say, ten members, one of each of seven districts and three additional."

Though the measure was very modest and it did not find favour with Lord Lytton, the then Governor General, who remarked "That it had usually been found that deliberative Assemblies with no specific legislative, financial or executive authority possessing only the power of recording opinions which need not be accepted, tended either to fall out of repute or to develop into greater activity and influence than might have been originally contemplated."

This proposal was rejected on the ground that "It was premature to introduce in the beginning an institution which has not yet been tried in British India, and which is not known to have succeeded elsewhere under the circumstances analogue to those of Mysore." The conservative Prime Minister Disraeli with Lord Granbrock as Secretary of State for India never approved any progressive and enlightened policy towards India. On the other hand, whenever liberals

6. Speeches and papers of Indian question, p.31.
were in power, India enjoyed peace and good Government. "The foundations of Local Government were laid, District and Local Bodies were created. Members of these bodies were elected and were entrusted with the management of Local Bodies and Municipalities, whenever the Tories had been in power for a long time, India had drifted into a foolish and unjust annexation into sinful and disastrous wars."  

Encouraged by James Gordon's earlier suggestion and benefited by his views as first Resident after rendition, Deen Pangacharla took the unprecedented courageous step of establishing the Assembly of representative Ryots and Merchants, the first of its kind in the entire country.

Taking advantage of the Dasara session, when a large number of people could congregate in the Capital, Sri Pangacharla thought of bringing together a number of representative Ryots and Merchants from every taluk in the province. He summoned a meeting of principal Ryots and Merchants from all parts of the State on 27th March, 1861 for the purpose of discussing and exchanging views on public matters and a decision was taken to bring into existence the New popular institution. The deliberations of this meeting were placed 7. Selections from Parliamentary Blue Book, Part-IV, p.142.
before the Maharaja with a proposal for the creation of a representative body. The Maharaja not only commended the proposal but felt that if the Assembly comes into existence it would facilitate to bring the rulers and the ruled together into close touch and that permanence and stability would be given to the administration. Thus the deliberations of March, 1881, meeting resulted in the issue of a proclamation dated 25th August, 1881, in which the nature and the constitution of the Assembly was stated as follows:

"His Highness the Maharaja is desirous that the views and objects which his Government has in view in the measures adopted for the administration of the province should be better known and appreciated by the people for whose benefit they are intended, and he is of the opinion that a beginning towards the attainment of this objective may be made by an annual meeting of the representative land holders and merchants from all parts of the province, before whom Dewan will place the results of the past year administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried in the coming year. Such an arrangement by bringing the people into immediate communication with the Government would serve to remove from their minds any mis-
-apprehension in regard to the views and actions of the Government and would convince them that the interest of the Government are identical with those of the people. This annual meeting will be conveniently held at Mysore immediately after the close of the Dasara festival which occasion will offer an additional inducement to those invited to attend the meeting."

The proclamation was received with genuine pleasure and Dewan had no difficulty in assembling the representatives of the people and the first meeting of the Assembly was held on 7th October, 1881, under the presidentship of Dewan Tangacharlu.

The official name of the Assembly in the beginning was 'The Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants from all the Taluks of the province of Mysore.' The meeting was attended by 144 members. Two cultivating land holders from each taluk and three to four leading merchants from each district were invited. The first meeting was attended by 144 members although the attendance had been declared voluntary by the Government Order. Tangacharlu, addressing the first meeting, explained the object aimed at by the Dewan's address to Representative Assembly, 7-10-1881, Vol. I, p. 1.
bringing the Assembly into existence in the following terms. "We are not here to-day by the Command of His Highness the Maharaja and it is His Highness wish that I should place before you a report of the administration of the past year and an outline of the measures proposed to be carried into effect in the coming year. His Highness hopes that by this arrangement the action of the Government will be brought into greater harmony with the wishes and the interests of the people. His Highness Government will be glad to receive any observations and suggestions which you may wish to make in the public interest and I need not assure you that they will meet with every consideration. I have only to express my hope that appreciating the spirit in which these arrangements have been initiated, your observations may be directed to matters of real public interest."

Thus the functions of the Assembly were declared to be hearing from the Dewan the results of the past year's administration and a programme of what is intended to be carried out in the ensuing year and to make observations and suggestions and to voice grievances and bring to the notice of the Government the needs of 9. Dewan's Address to Representative Assembly, on 7-10-1881, Pub.Govt. Press, 1914, Vol.I.
the people and to watch and criticise the working of
the Government.

The notification for establishing a Representative
body in Mysore State marked an important event in the
constitutional history of Mysore because the Maharaja
and His Dewan began to take their subjects into
their counsel for the first time. The proclamation
issued by the Maharaja after his assumption of the
Government simply set forth that the former rights
and privileges of the people would not be interfered
with unless it was according to sanctioned procedure.
The sanctioned procedure meant according to the
Instrument of Transfer that no change of any impor-
tance would be introduced without the approval of paramount
power and nowhere was mention made of the advisibility
or expediency of obtaining the wishes of the people
as regards the measures of Government. Thus the
notification of 1881 viewed in this light should be
regarded as an important State document in which for
the first time the right of the people to give their
advice in matters that concern the general welfare is
acknowledged. The notification distinctly laid down
the terms on which the Maharaja wanted to stand with
his subjects as regards State matters. "The Government
of the Maharaja conceded that all measures of the administration were for the benefit of the people and that therefore it was desirable that they should correctly understand all the wishes and actions of the Government and that this, of course, was not possible unless representative land holders and merchants were brought face to face with the Central head of the Government and all matters of importance discussed openly and without reserve. The Assembly was established to serve as a safety valve against the danger inherent in the administration forcing measures on the people which ran contrary to their wishes which had been amply demonstrated when popular discontent against the reign of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III which had resulted in insurrection in 1831. Rangacharlu, being a veteran Civil Servant knew the inherent danger in Bureaucracy, and was anxious to avoid such a catastrophe befalling the State again by associating the people with the Government.

The Assembly was considered a unique one and no precedent existed as to how it would function. The notification merely stated that the Assembly would consist of such of those subjects of High Highness...
as either by their property or rank were of some consequence in their respective taluks and who cared to put themselves to the inconvenience and trouble of a journey to the capital. However as the experience showed that there was very little ground for such misgivings. In the first year of the Assembly there were 144 representatives present, and in subsequent years the number of members has been an average of about 200. Gradually the number of members attending the Assembly grew. In 1881 the Assembly began with 144 members; in 1883 it was 154; in 1884 the number rose to 182; in 1885 to 196. In 1886 District and Local Fund Boards were established and were allowed to send representatives. This brought the strength of the Assembly to 279. The Assembly began its career as a nominated body comprising of the Representative land holders and Merchants from all parts of the Province. These persons were nominated by the Government or the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioners who selected in their discretion one or two of the leading and influential land holders from each Taluk within their jurisdiction and three or four merchants from each district. The inauguration of the Assembly was hailed throughout India as a very progressive and beneficial
measure. The experience of the Assembly to the members was a strange pleasure. The genuine interest of Sri Pangacharlu in the Assembly encouraged the members to speak out their difficulties and grievances, if they had any. It must be said to the credit of Dewan Pangacharlu that he was basically a democrat and instinctively identified himself with the people. In establishing the Representative Assembly he was acting upon his cherished convictions. He believed that he had created an institution around which the tendrils of the aspirations and hopes of the people would grow. The consciousness of their own identity would be nurtured in them. Instead of being divided, weak and oppressed, the sense of community interest fostered by a popular assembly would transform them into a united, strong and enlightened people. Unfortunately this distinguished Statesman did not live long enough to see that the people began to realise their responsibilities and privileges. He died on 20th January 1863, and was succeeded by Sir K.Seshadri Iyer whose Dewanship lasted from 1863 to 1901 which period practically covers the growth of the Assembly as a true representative body elected by the people.
the people themselves.

As the number of members grew, the interest became wider and it became necessary to frame rules for the smooth conduct of business. The composition of the Assembly underwent modification from time to time on progressive and highly satisfactory lines.

To secure the views of the more advanced section of every community, important associations having more than one hundred members were granted the privilege of deputing one of their members as their delegate. In all, the total number of members was expected not to exceed 285. As the members increased, the Assembly rose in importance. In the year 1887, for the first time rules were promulgated relating to the constitution of the Assembly and the conduct of the business. It was specified that the property qualification was the criterion for membership because "Property carried with it great responsibilities and always made the owner more sober in his views more practicable and just in his suggestion." Thus it came to be considered that in an agricultural country like Burma the landholder should hold the first place and it was accordingly provided that each of the

12. H. Shama Poo - Ten Years of Native Rule, p. 140.
sixty six taluks should send five of its largest
land holders. Further to give representation to all
classes and localities, the Local Boards and Munici­
palities in the State were given the right of
nominating members on their own behalf. The number
of members from each district was fixed and the names
of the members were published in the Official Gazette.
The property qualification varied from the annual
payment of a land revenue of Rs.50/- to 500/- according
to agricultural conditions of each taluk. This
intended to secure in the Assembly as full a represen­
tation as possible of every interest in the province
and thereby to procure the most complete information
regarding the wants and wishes of every class of
persons.

As to the conduct of business, it was ruled that
the representatives of each district were to meet at
Mysore to settle among themselves a list of subjects
which were intended to be discussed in the Assembly
and also to nominate persons to speak on the subjects
chosen. The list of subjects together with the names
of persons to speak in the Assembly was sent to the
Chief Secretary to the Government at least three days
before the meeting of the Assembly. The rules of 1887 did not secure the general approbation of the members of the Assembly. To meet the objections and also satisfy the members, the Dewan took out the selection of the members from the hands of the Taluk Amildars and made it incumbent upon the Deputy Commissioner of the districts to personally look to the selection of the members. Even this arrangement did not satisfy the members. The main objection to the Dewan's scheme was that the largest land holders were, as a matter of course invited to the Assembly which of course did not secure men possessed of high local influence devoted to public good, and independent of character as the method of selection was merely a mechanical one. The Local Boards, Municipalities and public associations were deputing their own representatives and these members were expected to represent the intelligence of the country. But over those Local and Municipal Boards comprised of members who were either all large land holders or were not far removed from them and the number of public associations with over hundred members were hardly in existence. However, Dewan, recognising the merit in these objections, pleaded before the members to
give a fair trial before introducing any further modification to these rules.

Encouraged by the success of the Assembly and to improve the composition of the assembly, the Government took further step towards securing a fuller and a more satisfactory representation of every important interest in the country. The moderation, intelligence and the practical good sense which have characterised your discussion in the past years, the material help you have given the Government in the discussion of important questions and the sustained interest you have evinced in the public affairs have convinced High Highness the Maharaja that the time has now come when the wealthier and more enlightened classes may, with safety be left to themselves to choose the members for this Assembly. To give effect to these objectives, a set of draft rules to regulate the future Constitution of the Assembly were prepared and placed before the Assembly. Under these rules the property qualification for membership in the Assembly was so fixed as to embrace the largest land holders, and the leading merchants and traders, and that high education has been recognised as a

qualification by itself. This extended the electoral right to a large section of the people.

A land tax of Rs. 100 to 300 a year or a municipal rate of Mohatarfa of Rs. 13 to 24 or ownership of one or more Inam villages with a bari of Rs. 500/- was a qualification both for voting and membership. A high education degree of an Indian University was made a qualification by itself for voter to exercise his privilege of election. All persons qualified by property or education were invited to meet at the headquarters of their respective taluks in the first week of Ashada (July) on a fixed day of which previous notice of not less than one month was given. At such meeting they nominated from among themselves members for the Representative Assembly to meet at Mysore during the ensuing Dasara (from among themselves 2, 3 or 4 persons according to a fixed scale, as members of the assembly for their respective taluks or for the city of Bangalore or Mysore as the case may be). In addition to these members, the various Local Fund Boards, Municipalities and Public Associations were to depute members to the assembly from among their respective bodies and making the maximum number of members of the Assembly about 351. The break
up of the membership from different Constituencies was:

a) Elected members of the Cities of Bengalore and Mysore.
   - 8
b) Elected members from 66 taluks.
   - 212
c) Members deputed by 8 Municipalities at District Headquarters.
   - 16
d) Members deputed by Local Fund Boards.
   - 18
e) Members deputed by 89 other Municipalities.
   - 89
f) Members deputed by Associations representing public interests.
   - 8

Total: 351

This arrangement was intended to ensure representation to all interests in the State. This body was to command the consideration and respect which were usually accorded to the elected representatives of the people. It was true the composition did not ensure a full popular representation as the elections were limited and not proportionate to the population. But step taken to enlarge the Electorate was certainly a commendable one.

Under these rules the grounds of disqualification were also defined. No person who has not completed 18 years of age or who is of unsound mind or who has been convicted of a criminal offence indicating a bad or immoral character shall be eligible to be returned.

as a member of the assembly. Government servants were disqualified on the ground that the object of the assembly was to elicit non-official public opinion. Under these rules representatives from urban areas were elected indirectly by various local bodies in the State.

The introduction of elective principle was highly appreciated by the people and members spoke enthusiastically in the Assembly. "Among the Western nations people had to struggle for upwards of a thousand years to obtain such a right. The speedy recognition of our political rights is due to the introduction of English rule and education and the conviction thus imbued by His Highness Government that your people's interest are identical with your own." 15 In the very first meeting Sri Tangali Seshappa and Janab Syed Amir Ali Sahib expressed on behalf of the assembled representatives their deep sense of obligation conferred on them and their high appreciation of the interest evinced by His Highness's Government in the welfare of the people and for the high privilege now for the first time, in the history of the country conferred on them, of annually assembling to hear and

15 F.A.F., 1890, App.'A', p. 121.
discuss the report on the affairs of the administration and all matters relating to the welfare of the people.

During the course of these years members of the Assembly learnt the qualities of moderation, patience and perseverance. They always spoke with personal knowledge of facts and exercised their right of judgement with a sense of responsibility. Their practical wisdom was admired. Men in every respect qualified to speak on their behalf were elected to the assembly. The Dewan complimented the electorate for its well considered choice in exercising this right observed 'That men representing the Capital, the industry and the intellect of the country should have already taken so much interest in the working of the scheme augurs well for the future of the institution.' Even the Viceroy had expressed appreciation for the institution established in Mysore. When Lord Dufferin visited Mysore in 1886, His Excellency complimented the Maharaja for having started the Representative Assembly, the first of its kind in India, said in a reply to an address presented to him "Gentlemen, allow me to thank you for the friendly welcome with which you have greeted me. I am glad to

16. Dewan's Address to Representative Assembly, 1891, p.4.
see you around me and am pleased to think that the Maharaja should have called to his council men of such intelligence, influence and authority. I am sure both His Highness and the State will derive great benefit from your assistance. 17

Still better appreciation was borne out by Lord Lansa Downe when, as a Viceroy, His excellency said, "The enquiries which I have made from those who are best able to judge have satisfied me that the proceedings of the Assembly have served a most useful purpose and brought His Highness into touch with all classes of the Community. I have heard with much pleasure that your discussions have been conducted in a thoroughly practical spirit, and that on the one hand the members have not hesitated to bring forward grievances where they existed, while on the other the Denah has dealt in the frankest possible manner with the suggestions which have been made. 18 The establishment of Representative Assembly in Mysore was hailed as a very progressive and beneficial measure. The nationalist Weekly from Bombay, The Maharatta went so far as to say that 'The British Government might do well to take a lesson from the enlightened Maharaja. 17, Denan's Address to Representative Assembly, 1887, p. 72.

18. Constitutional reforms in Mysore, Ch II, p. 18.
of Mysore. 19.

In the first ten years, the proceedings and the business of the Assembly have been much as to convince the most hostile critics of the capabilities of the representatives to take part in public affairs. The members of the assembly have all along pressed their claims for a better standing than that of more petitioning and for more substantial privileges than those of being invited to Basera Durbar.

The progress of the Assembly was as much due to the earnest importunity of members as to the sympathetic desire of the Government to improve it. The representatives have not scrupled to give fearless expression to their views whenever the occasion demanded it. Whatever they have said, they have said generally for the public good. The Government have quite understood this spirit of the representatives and, on no occasion, has the cordiality of relations subsisting between them been disturbed.

The members raised in 1883 the question of famine debt of nearly a crore of Rupees due to the British Government and demanded the information concerning the 19. Ibid., p. 19.
arrangement made for its liquidation. The members wanted to know whether the Government had any idea of fresh taxation in the shape of a general land custom or general house tax. They were satisfied only when they were assured by the Dewan that a way had been devised to reduce the famine loan without imposing any new tax, on the people, and that the Government of India had very considerably consented to receive the loan in annual instalment of four lakhs.\textsuperscript{20}

In the same year members impressed on the Government requesting that the proceedings of the Government in all the departments should be in Kanarese also. The Government considered this request as a reasonable one. After calling the representatives to counsel the State, it was both right as well as, expedient that their desire to keep themselves informed of the doings of the Government should be satisfied. Accordingly it was ruled that all proceedings of general interest and circulars in the nature of revenue rulings should be published for their information.

In the year 1884 the members demanded that the revenue code might be referred to them for their opinion before it was passed into law. The members of the

\textsuperscript{20} R.A. Proceedings - 1883, p.4.
Assembly suggested that a meeting for the nomination of the members should be held one month before the Dasara, that the names of the representatives chosen together with the subjects to be discussed should be published in the Mysore Gazette. They sought permission for access to any government records that they needed for information before they attended the Assembly. The members suggested that the standing committee to be nominated to attend to all subjects and constitution of such committee must comprise of one Officer and one representative of each district to expedite subjects without further postponement. The members, to acquaint themselves with the orders issued by the Government, wanted that all circulars issued by the Government should, as a rule, be previously discussed at the Dasara session of the Assembly. Although, in the existing state of things all the three suggestions made by the members were found not feasible in practice, the members succeeded in obtaining a promise from Dewan that the Orders of each year or any Orders of Government might be freely discussed during the Dasara session and that the Government would gladly receive their opinions and adopt any reasonable amendment or modifications.
The members from Kodur district proposed that a proposition recommended by a majority of the representatives should be at once passed. The spirit behind this theory was appreciated by the Dewan. The members stoutly protested against the Arms Act particularly members from Malnad. In Malnad region the depredation of animals were very great and caused much hardship in the harvest season. In the season when the arms were most needed, the arms had to be surrendered to the police in Taluk Kacheri till the renewal of licence which involved considerable delay. The members made many suggestions to tone down the rigour of the Act. One such suggestion was that licence need not be renewed and that only fee must be collected annually and the renewal can be only once in ten years.

The other subject on which the members engaged the attention of the Government were the prohibition of cow slaughter, starting of the industries, improvement of primary education, introduction of technical education, encouragement of female education, institution of vernacular education and the amelioration of the conditions of wondering tribes like Lambanies, Korachers and others. By these endeavours the representatives were credited with earnest work and
the eucounda showered on the Representative Assembly were fully merited that they were far, very far, from part taking of the nature of mere idle compliments.

The introduction of the principle of election was greatly appreciated by the people of Myco. The Assembly elected under the rules of 1891 was brought into effect and on 15th October 1891 Dewan Seshadri Iyer communicated to the representatives the gratification of the Maharaja for the exercise of voting privilege with so much judgment and sense of responsibility for sending to the assembly men in every way qualified to speak on their behalf and that men representing the capital, the industry and the intellect of the country should be so early taken so much interest in the scheme augured well for the future of the institution.

The Electoral Reforms of 1891 improved the constitution of the Assembly. In the place of nominated members elected representatives of the people sat in the assembly. But this reform did not ensure full popular representation as the franchise was very limited and was not in proportion to the total population. As Dewan himself admitted 'That the constitution now given does not ensure what can be regarded as a full
popular representation. This can only be effected by making the number of electors fairly proportionate to the total population. But there are numerous practical difficulties in the way of such reforms which we are perforce compelled to leave for the future contending ourselves for the present with the cautious but highly desirable step we have now taken.21

But, shortly after three years, in 1893 further reforms were demanded by the members of the Assembly. Various suggestions were put forward to improve the working of the Representative Assembly. Mr. Venkatakrishnaiah from Mysore proposed for the enlargement of the Maharaja's Executive Council so as to contain as many non-officials as there were official members and that these non-official members must be elected by the Representative Assembly and His Highness the Maharaja to preside over the Council just as Governors and Governor General presided at the meetings of their respective Councils, thereby it would promote public interest and the importance of the Council enhanced. He made another suggestion to reduce the Bahatarfa qualification so as to enable a large number of persons to take interest in public affairs and

members of the Assembly must be elected six months before the Dasara meeting which would enable them to ascertain the wants and wishes of their constituencies. In the absence of a Legislative Council, the members wanted all the rules and regulations must be referred for discussion in the Assembly, and further he suggested that to prevent inconvenience in attendance and disappointment a programme of the proceedings of the Assembly should be drawn up and one day be allotted to each district for the local subjects belonging to that district. In his view, "the prohibition imposed on Government servants from voting for or being elected as members of the Assembly besides inflicting a disability on an important section of the community had the effect of considerably reducing the number of competent voters in some local associations. Even if the Government servants were not allowed to be elected they should at least be allowed to vote in the election of members." 22

During the Dasara meeting of the Assembly in 1893 a promise was made by the Dewan to investigate the question of amendment required in the Constitution of the Assembly with a view to effect a more equitable

distribution of seats among the various classes represented therein and to make it a more efficient exponent of the actual will of the general population of the country. It was found that under the existing system, the urban areas were more represented than the rural population. One hundred and three Municipal towns with a population of less than a ninth of the entire population of the State were allowed to return through their respective Municipal Boards, as many as 115 members which approximated to nearly one-third of the total strength of the Assembly. Many of the Municipalities were not in a position either as trading centres or by the largeness of their population, to claim an urban character. As many as seventy eight minor Municipal Boards did not have good number of population. Most of the voters in these areas had the unfair advantage of dual voting i.e., exercising the right of vote both in Municipal Board representation and talukwise representation.

The rural areas which comprised of the bulk of the population and property of the province was intended to be placed upon an enlarged and more satisfactory basis. In 1881 the class of taluk representatives who formed the most important section of the Assembly
was entirely drawn from cultivating land holders but
the representation was subsequently extended so as to
include the industries of the rural parts as well
and the qualifications for the franchise and for
membership was laid down in regulation 1 of 1891.
It was felt that while the property qualification for
membership should not be lowered, the electoral bodies
should be enlarged so as to comprise a larger portion
of the agricultural property of the State. Thus it
was found desirable to bring a change so as to give
forty seats in the assembly for the urban population
of about three lakhs thirty thousand population
congregated in the twenty five towns and the rural
parts which comprised of the bulk of the population
and property of the State to be placed upon an
enlarged and more satisfactory basis.

The rule prohibiting a government servant from
voting for, or being elected as a member of the
Assembly was to be applied to Municipal and Local
Boards and associations which deputed members to the
Assembly.

Based on these propositions further reforms
were introduced in 1894. After due deliberations
the Government in a notification dated 10th June, 1894, issued rules regarding the constitution and conduct of the business of the Mysore Representative Assembly.23

The number of electors were enlarged by reducing the property qualification by 50%. Every person who paid on his own account annually, Government land revenue or Mahatanfa tax of not less than the amount specified in the schedule of the respective taluk, was qualified to elect members of the assembly. Persons who owned one or more inam villages with a total Deriz of Rs.250/- per annum and ordinarily residing in that taluk was made eligible to vote.

Every Graduate of any Indian University whose ordinary place of residence was in that taluk was enfranchised.

Persons qualified as above were invited once in three years to meet at the headquarters of their respective taluks in the month of Ashada (June-July) or on a specified day, of which previous notice of not less than one month was given, elected members for the taluk to attend the Representative Assembly at Mysore during the ensuing Dasara.

As regards qualifications of the members of Representative Assembly, every person who paid on his own account annually government land revenue or Municipal Corporation tax of not less than the amount specified in the schedule for the taluk or municipality or the owner of one or more entire Inam villages with a total annual Beriz of Rs. 500/- and who ordinarily resided in the taluk were eligible to be elected as members. The total number of members elected for a taluk was also prescribed under a schedule.

In addition to members elected from taluks, each Local Fund Board deputed two of its members to the Assembly. The Municipal Boards of the towns with more than 5000 population deputed members ranging from one to four members as prescribed in the schedule. Further, special representation given to the cities of Bangalore and Mysore was discontinued.

Associations representing approved public interest were eligible to depute members provided that these associations contained at least one hundred members who were not Government servants and that seventy five of such members were present at the meeting held for the purpose of nominating members. The persons deputed...
The regulations of 1894 prescribed certain disqualification for the membership. No person who had not completed 16 years of age, no person who was of unsound mind or had been convicted of a criminal offence indicating a bad or immoral character and no dismissed government official was eligible to be returned as a member of the Assembly. As the object of the Assembly was to elicit non-official public opinion, no Government servant should vote for or be returned as a member of the Assembly, but Shomubog, Patel or other hereditary officers were excluded from the category of 'Government servants' for the purpose of elections.

The elected members from each taluk met and prepared a memorandum describing seriatim their representation and suggestions on the subjects which they desired to bring forward for the discussion at the next meeting of the Assembly at Nynore. Such
memorandum was sent by them direct to the Deputy Commissioner of their district so as to reach him not later than the end of the month Shravan(July-August) preceding the meeting of the Assembly.

The members deputed by the Municipalities and Local Boards and Associations forwarded to the Deputy Commissioner similar memoranda of the subjects which were expected to be brought forward for discussion at the next meeting of the assembly at Mysore, together with a list of members deputed to the Assembly.

The memoranda submitted by the members were carefully compiled by the Deputy Commissioner's office and forwarded to the Chief Secretary with Deputy Commissioner's remarks on each proposition so as to reach the Secretariat not later than the middle of the month of Shravanada. The members of each district held a formal meeting at Mysore before the 10th of Sudda of Agnecia and it decided at that meeting the subjects to be brought forward at the Assembly. Any subject not mentioned in the memoranda submitted, a supplement of such additional subjects should be sent to the Chief Secretary before the evening of 11th Sudda of Agnecia. Ordinarily the assembly commenced its meeting at Mysore on the 13th of Sudda of Agnecia.
and if that day is Sunday, then, on the following Monday.

Under the rules of 1894 the voting right was extended to 7192 persons. Out of them 4771 became eligible to vote only, and 3061 were eligible to vote as well as to be elected to the assembly and out of them two were graduates who were from Chicago.

Occupationwise, the break up of the voters was—690 were merchants, one was a jeweller, 32 were money lenders, 6356 were land holders, and remaining 112 belonged to other occupations. A major change in the distribution of seats was forty and were allotted in the assembly for the urban population of nearly 32 lakhs congregated in the 25 towns and the rural parts which comprised of the bulk of the population and property of the state was given an enlarged and more satisfactory number of representation.

Under these rules the maximum number of seats and their distribution constituencywise were as follows:

1. Elected members for 66 taluks as per schedule. ..213
2. Members deputed by 8 municipalities at District Headquarters. .. 23
3. Members deputed by 17 other Municipalities each with a population of more than 5000 and more

4. Members deputed by the 9 Local Fund Boards.

5. Members deputed by Associations representing public interests.

Total: 277

Under the new rules the system of annual election was replaced by one of triennial election which the members of the assembly had been urging the Government for affording the members an opportunity for continuous action from year to year which would not only enhance the interest of the members in subjects brought forward by them and would add largely to further practical usefulness of the Assembly. Thus the term of office of the members returned from Taluk Electorate was fixed at three years, but the duration of those deputed by the Municipalities and Public Associations was retained as usual, one year, and this continued till 1920.

Immediately after the notification of the new regulations the preparation for the elections were made and the Assembly was reconstituted. The total number elected to the new Assembly was 277. Of these, four represented nine Constituencies so as to make the actual number 271. Of these members 7 were

 Europeans, 15 were Mahomedans, 249 were Hindus, and 22. R.A. Proceedings - Oct. 1894, p-191.
occupationwise - 38 were Merchants, 5 Sevakars, 198 were land holders, and thirty belonged to other occupations. The new Assembly met at Noon on 12th October, 1894 under the presidency of Dewan Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. T.R.A. Thamboo Chettiar and F. Chanteel Ros Penthulu, members of the Executive Council, and the Judges of the Chief Court and other principle Officers of the State were present. The Dewan's address was heard with keen interest and particularly the allusion to the Infant Marriage Prohibition Regulation were received with manifestations of cordial approval. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Graham Anderson, deputed member of the South Mysore European Planters Association spoke in appreciation of the administration of the Government. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Ananda Alwar representing Chandy taluk read an address in Sanskrit and Khadijazulla Khan, member representing Bangalore City municipality read an address in Hindusthani. The Assembly session continued upto 18th October, discussing the subjects ranging from planters problems, Gold mining to local matters like grain storage for famine relief.

At the closing of the year 1894, Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar was on North India tour along with the members
of Royal family. While he was at Calcutta he died of Diphtheria on 28th December 1694, when he was in his prime of life. On 29th the Viceroy Lord Elgin recognised the eldest son, Prince Krishna Raja Wadiyar as successor to the throne of Mysore, and till the form of administration was settled under Article 3 of Instrument of Transfer, Dewan SezindrI Iyer was asked to carry on the administration with advice of the British Resident and with the consultation of the Maharani. Since Young Prince Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar was only ten years old Maharani Keapuranjeemananni Avaru was appointed as Regent to carry on the administration during the minority of her son. Maharani rose to the occasion and filled the gap caused by the untimely demise of her illustrious husband. To assist her in the administration of the State an Executive council of three whole time members comprising of T.R.A. Thamboo Chettiar, P.N. Krishna Murthi, who was the Judge of the Chief Court and Abdul Rahman who was Deputy Commissioner, was formed under the Chairmanship of Dewan P. SezindrI Iyer. From this time onwards Dewan in Council became the nucleus of the Executive which effectively functioned in the administrative matters. The Government of India recognised the need for a strong Council for the efficient administration. The rules of business
of the reconstituted council were accordingly revised. Dewan in Council distributed the work of the Government by departments between himself and the three councillors. The members in-charge of a department was competent to dispose of all ordinary work of that department and to issue orders in the name of the Government. Only doubtful and delicate matters were referred to the Dewan and it was within the powers of the Dewan to determine whether final orders could be issued or not without reference to the Council as a whole. Dewan could refer any matter to the Council at any time. The decision of the Dewan in Council were carried into effect. But whenever there was difference of opinion between the Dewan and the majority of the Council members, Dewan would refer the matter to the Regent for her orders. All those matters which were marked for the Government of India had to be referred to the Resident. Dewan had the power to call for any matter which was entrusted to a member of the Council for reconsideration of the Council.

In 1895 on the eve of the commencement of the Assembly proceedings, H. MacKworth Young the British Resident at Mysore on the desire of Her Highness the Maharani regent unveiled the Statue of Sir James Gordon.
The Statue was seen and approved by the late Maharaja as a suitable memorial to his friend and tutor Sir James Gordon. He was appointed by the G.G. Lord Lawrence to be his Private Secretary. When the Maharaja was still young during the Commissioner Rule, Viceroy deputed his trusted friend Gordon to be the Guardian of the Young Maharaja. It was in that capacity that Sir James Gordon endeared himself to the Late Maharaja. Gordon, as tutor, had tremendous influence on the Maharaja to mould his personality. He was a Judicial Commissioner and then Chief Commissioner of Mysore. In that capacity he was also guardian of the Young Prince prior to rendition. After Rendition Gordon became the Resident and performed his duties as Counsellor, Friend and adviser to the Maharaja. It was he who suggested for the establishment of a deliberative body and by his encouragement the Maharaja was able to bring into existence the Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants. Even today the area around the District Offices and the University in Mysore is called Gordon Park.
During the Assembly session of 1895, the members proposed the erection of suitable memorial to the late Maharaja Chamarajendra Wadiyar for perpetuating his memory. Accordingly a beautiful equestrian marble statue was prepared for unveiling in the capital of the State. In 1901, when Lord Curzon, Viceroy visited Mysore to witness the magnificent sight at Jog Falls, he drove up to Mysore and unveiled the statue. The park around the statue at Mysore was named after Lord Curzon to commemorate his visit to Mysore. During the same session the members suggested to frame rules for filling up temporary vacancies in the assembly.

Mr. A. Ramann of Mysore proposed two meeting of the assembly every year instead of only one. He further demanded for the constitution of a standing committee of the Representative Assembly to facilitate members who have scattered throughout the State to be in touch with day to day developments.

Mr. Venkata Krishniah wanted the Government to concede to the members of the assembly the right of interpellation, that is, the right to ask the Government for information in regard to the matters of public interest and to the action and policy of the Government.

in such matters. On this issue the Government agreed to afford every reasonable opportunity to make themselves acquainted with matters of public interest.26

Mr. H. I. Narasimha Iyengar representing the Mysore Municipal Board wanted the existing name "Assembly of Representative Ryots and Merchants from all the taluks of the State of Mysore", to be changed into 'Representative Assembly of Mysore' as suitable name. At that stage it was considered by the Government inexpedient as such a change might be misunderstood as meaning an alteration of the original constitution and functions of the Assembly.27

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the Assembly when the triennial term of the Assembly was coming to close in 1896, Mr. Range Iyengar of Hegadadevanakote pointed out that among the members elected, there were several who absented themselves from the meetings of the assembly and that the rules in force did not provide a remedy for the evil. He urged that due notice should be taken of such absentees, as it was highly necessary that the electors should always have the benefit of the services of their members.28

27. Ibid - 1895, Sub>No.2(c), p-35
In the elections held in 1897 to the Assembly, two hundred seventy five members were returned to the house. Among them five were Europeans, eighteen were Mahomedans and two hundred fifty two were Hindus. Occupationwise - 30 were merchants, 2 were Bankers, 214 were land lords and 29 belonged to the other professions. 29

The members coming from far off places to attend the Representative Assembly sessions pleaded for the removal of inconveniences felt by them owing to lack of suitable accommodation and suggested that Manjara Bahadur Choultry and other similar buildings being made available to the members during the session. Some members wanted the Government to direct the Deputy Commissioners to furnish members with such references as they may apply for. Important legislative measures discussed at this session were the amendment of Infant marriage Prevention Regulation which sought to cover the marriages performed outside the State by the natives of any State. The protection of wild animals from indiscriminate destruction, rules relating to the property of minors, introduction of Gambling Act and Act for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

The members expressed their anxiety over the sad incident of the year, the Palace fire. It occurred
Immediately after the festivities connected with the marriage of the first Princess Jeyalakshmi. In this fire one-fifth of the old Palace was completely destroyed including the seajje or front portion, and the three storeys rising above it to the gold Kalasa, the Sanskrit Library, the Armoury, the Music room, the Balkana and the wood work was destroyed, leaving the walls, roof, stone and iron frame-work, standing. Eight persons lost their lives. Her Highness Maharani Regent while deeply regretting the death of these persons, awarded their families liberal money and pensions. To investigate the cause of the outbreak of the fire and the circumstances attending it, a Committee consisting of Mr.P.R.Krishna Murthy, a member of the Council, Colonel Bowen, Chief Engineer, Mr.Frazer, Tutor and Governor to His Highness the Maharaja and Mr.Dalvyo Devaraj Urs, was appointed. The Committee made a careful enquiry and arrived at the conclusion that the marriage pendal was accidentally caught fire from above by the negligence of a maid servant. Immediately a suitable design for the reconstruction of the portion of the Palace destroyed, was prepared by a well-known architect, Mr.Henry Irwin, Consultant Architect to the Government of Madras. This design while following the outline of the old building was in many ways an improvement over it and
In the construction it was intended to provide for immunity from future accident of similar kind.

In the year 1897, the annual meeting of the Assembly had to be suspended for the first time since its inception, owing to the prevalence of the plague in certain parts of the State. In the absence of the meeting of the Assembly, Deputy Commissioners of the districts were directed to hold meetings of the local members of the Assembly at various district headquarters on the first of December 1896. At these meetings a copy of Dewan's address was to be read and the subjects brought forward by the members were to be discussed and a report of the proceedings had to be submitted for orders of the Government. But unfortunately the plague had spread in several parts of the State and it became undesirable to hold any large gatherings of the people at district headquarters, or to interfere in any way with urgent and important work devolving on District Officers in connection with the operation against the plague. Thus the Government dispensed with even local meetings and preferred to communicate members of the Assembly a short account of the administration during the year 1897-98. The Government geared up all its machinery to combat the dreadful
disease and arm itself with extensive powers, passed the Epidemic Diseases Regulations. Under this regulation, rules were made from time to time to meet the special exigencies of the situation and directed various precautionary measures such as establishment of railway and frontier stations and out-posts, examination of passengers by railway and road, the detention, observation, or escorting such persons as arrived from infected areas or suspected of carrying infection, the establishment of temporary plague hospitals and segregation and health camps at centres most likely to become infected. For the prompt and effective administration of these measures, a special Officer under the designation Plague Commissioner was appointed. In spite of these precautions the dreadful disease had succeeded in finding its way into Bangalore and thence to other parts of the State. It was estimated that there were 14,331 attacks and 12,773 deaths from the plague in all parts of the State. Out of these, Bangalore alone had 9,345 attacks and 2,665 deaths and the Mysore City had 2,667 attacks and 2,171 deaths. To ensure against future occurrence, a large number of houses condemned as unfit for habitation were demolished, in Bangalore City. Two large new extensions covering

31 An account of the Administration of the Mysore State during 1897-98, p.239.
an area of 1000 acres and capable of providing accommodation for fifty thousand persons were laid out in Bangalore City. This was to ensure public health, sanitation and cleanliness.

The various useful measures introduced during the regency of Maharani Kanemanjaresmulni were the establishment of a department of Geology with Robert Bruce Hoots, Retired Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India in charge of it, and mining regulations were passed and rules were framed on the lines of those in force in England. Gold mining industry was expanded and the royalty during the regency amounted to ninety one lakhs of rupees. In 1898-99 an agriculture department was established in order to improve the method of cultivation. The name of the Maharani's Girls School was altered to that of Maharani's College in 1901.

A liberal grants and a large extent of land were offered for the location of The Indian Institute of Science proposed to be established by J.J.Tata in Bangalore city. Another interesting event of this period was the constitution of a special tribunal to settle the claims of Brijlal Dac for money due to him from Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar III. When the tribunal awarded a sum of rupees 5,67,336/- there were no legal
heirs to the deceased creditor. The Maharani Regent decided to allot the amount for charitable purposes under the name of Damodara Das charities, and the entire amount was invested in the Government, 3rd securities and the four-fifth of the income from the investment was to be devoted to the grant of scholarships for the studies and researches of an advanced Scientific and Technical character. The remaining one-fifth of the annual income was allotted for granting scholarships to the members of Gujarathi community to which Damodar Das belonged.

Members of the Assembly endeavoured from time to time to obtain the system of judging strength of opinion in particular by counting of votes. This matter was discussed at length at various stages. Dowen considered it unnecessary as the assembly had no voice in the disposal of the questions which might be represented by it. The request was repeated in the subsequent years in regard to legislative measures. Sri M. Srikantiya wanted for eliciting the opinions of the R.A. members draft regulations should be placed before the Assembly for discussion or there should be a Legislative Council as in Travancore.

Non-official opinion should be taken in all cases.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32} R.A. Proceedings, 1901, Sub-No. 65, pp. 50.
In the meanwhile the young Prince Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV was given appropriate education and good administrative training so as to enable him to assume the responsibilities of administering the State. Colonel S.H.Frazer who was appointed as tutor and guardian to the young Maharaja made sustained effort to equip the Prince for the duties of his exalted office. In addition to study of history, jurisprudence, administration, theory and practice of Government, extensive tours in every part of the State were conducted to gain first hand knowledge of the men and affairs of the State which he was to govern. During this training he visited taluk and other offices to examine the accounts and papers of the village officials and even acquainted with the practical working of the machinery of administration at the districts. To make himself familiar with the legal procedure he attended the law courts and sat upon the Bench with the presiding Judges and Magistrates. Occasionally, he attended the meetings of the State Council and followed the discussions with intelligent appreciation.33

Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV attained the age of eighteen years in the year 1902 and was considered both by his education and administrative training.

competent to assume the responsibilities of ruling the State. On 8th August, 1902, Prince Krishnaraja Wadiyar was installed by the Viceroy, Lord Curzon with full powers to rule over the State. Addressing the gathering at the installation ceremony Lord Curzon stated "Rulers are not made virtuous by installation homilies but by the instincts of their nature, by a diligent training and by a willingness to profit by the wisdom and experience of others. A young man of eighteen who becomes a ruler not only enjoys one of the noblest opportunities, but also bears one of the greatest responsibilities in the world. Upon you to a large extent will depend the happiness and comfort of several millions of your fellow creatures, who already look up to you with reverence, who if you rule well, regard you with devotion, but if you rule badly with indifference and despair. You are put in this place not for your own sake; to think that is the greatest of all human errors, but for theirs. If you act conscientiously and dutifully, you may leave a name that will leave for generations in the memory of your people. If you throw away your charges and become a sluggard or worse, your name will be written in water and your memory will pass like a puff of smoke from the minds of the men."
Therefore, I beg of you at this turning point in your life to remember these things. Put your heart into your work. Be just, be courageous. Be merciful to the lowly. Be considerate to all. Work as though you are going to live not for fifty years but for five; for duty, believe me, cannot afford to loiter and there ought to be no blank spaces in a Ruler's diary.