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SPEECHES

AND

PUBLISHED RESOLUTIONS

of

LORD RIPON,

Viceroy of India.

From June 1880 to May 1882

Lalubhai Samailas

EDITED BY

RAM CHANDRA PALIT

EDITOR OF THE SPEECHES AND MINUTES OF BABU KRISTO DAS PAL AND OF THE SPEECHES OF BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

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THIS RECORD OF HER

JLLUSTRIOUS HUSBAND'S WORK IN JUDIA

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DEDICATED

WITH SENTIMENTS OF PROFOUND RESPECT

TO HER EXCELLENCY THE

MARCHIONESS OF RIPON,

THE HELPMATE AND COMPANION OF HER HUSBAND IN HIS ARDUOUS LABOURS FOR THE GOOD OF INDIA.

BY HER

MOST HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT SERVANT

THE COMPILER.

V2,L.M842c B2

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PART I. S P E E C H E S.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this publication is to enable the reader to understand the policy of the most popular Indian Viceroy since the time of Lord Canning. To the most cursory observer of contemporary events, it will be apparent that, within the last two or three years, a new epoch has dawned upon Indian history. Hitherto everything has been done for the people by their rulers. The policy of the present Government of India, however, is to encourage the people to think for themselves, to foster among them the spirit of self-help, and, by gradually interesting them in the management of their local concerns, to lead them onwards, so that they may themselves become important factors and useful agents in advancing their own progress. This is indeed a memorable departure in Indian history, and, with a view to understand an epoch so important and which is likely to have a profound influence upon the future history of this country, the Editor has undertaken the duty of publishing the Speeches of the Statesman who has inaugurated and identified himself with the new policy. When Lord Ripon landed in Bombay three years ago, he said that he preferred that the judgment of the people in regard to his administration should be pronounced intelligently and fairly upon his

conduct when they had been able to judge of him by his acts. The time for this final judgment—the impartial verdict of history—has not yet come. But at any rate there is enough in His Excellency's speeches, enough in the Resolutions recorded under his auspices, to indicate the tenor of his policy and the principles of his Government.

When Lord Ripon arrived in this country the complications in Afghanistan had not come to an end. It therefore became the immediate concern of His Excellency to direct his attention to the settlement of Afghan affairs. How he solved this difficult problem, and how great was his success in restoring peace and order, have now become matters of history. The Afghan policy of the Viceroy was in harmony with the lessons of past history, and commended itself to the judgment of all who were capable of taking an impartial view of Afghan affairs.

The question as to whether India was to bear any portion of the cost of the Afghan war had already been settled. Lord Ripon therefore had no opportunity of impressing the Home Government with his views on this subject. What his decision would have been it is not difficult to guess by the light of recent events. For never did a Viceroy protest in stronger language than Lord Ripon, when the English Ministry proposed to His Excellency that India should bear the cost of the contingent sent from this country to take part in the Egyptian campaign. We know not what the ultimate decision of the

Ministry may be; but the Viceroy who so strenuously sought to protect the just interests of India is entitled to the gratitude of our countrymen.

The settlement of the Afghan question was but the prelude to the introduction of important domestic reforms. From the first it was apparent that the Viceroy would pay great attention to the question of Municipal reform. In reply to an address from the Municipality of Dehra Doon, His Lordship declared that he had it in charge from Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress to look to the Municipal institutions of the country, for there the political education of the people begins; and, perhaps, the most prominent feature of the present Government has been the marked attention which has been paid to Municipal administration, and this, not so much with a view to secure the efficiency of Municipal institutions as to promote the political education of the people. It was in October 1881 that the Government of India published its famous Resolution on the further extension of the scheme of decentralization. The term of five years for which the provincial finances had been decentralized was about to expire, and it became necessary for the Government of India to consider what conditions should be laid down in the new scheme of decentralization. What was merely an administrative necessity became the occasion of a great political reform. The letters of the Government of India issued in October 1881 sought to impress upon Local Governments the importance of the extension of Local SelfGovernment. It was justly observed that the extension of Local Self-Government "will relieve the Provincial authorities from some portion of the ever-growing details of the work of administration, will tend to reconcile the public to the burden of local taxation, and will lead to the more extended employment of the Natives of India in the administration of public affairs, while conferring on them higher powers of control over all expenditure on objects of local importance."

The scheme underwent a further extension by the Resolution of the 18th May 1882. To many that Resolution appeared to be far too radical to suit the requirements of this country. Experienced officials, conversant with Indian affairs, shook their heads in anxious doubt, and fears have been expressed that the country is not yet ripe for a reform so thorough, and for concessions so large and comprehensive. Without at all entering into the merits of the controversy which these recent orders have excited. we will undertake to say that the warm support, which the leading features of the Resolution have obtained from the Native Press throughout India and from public meetings held in all parts of the country, testifies, in the most unmistakable manner, to the wisdom of the Statesman who had so clearly appreciated the feelings of the people, and who had with such prudent foresight anticipated popular wishes and aspirations. Whether the experiment is to be successful or not, must depend upon a variety of circumstances-upon the loyalty of the officers of Government, and upon the devotion of the people to the interests which will soon be confided to their care. This, at any rate, is sure that the scheme of Local Self-Government has been enthusiastically welcomed by the educated community of India, and that it has awakened in the mind of the people of this country the most lively gratitude towards the Viceroy and the great and civilized power which he represents.

Not the least important of the many useful measures which we have witnessed within the last two or three years has been the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the question of Education. Of late there has been considerable discussion with reference to the Despatch of 1854. It was asserted with much emphasis that the provisions of that Despatch have not been carried out, at any rate as regards the extension of primary education and of the grant-in-aid system. The question is one of much difficulty, and the Government of India have very wisely, we think, appointed a Commission to enquire into the entire subject. At one time doubts were entertained as to the objects and purposes of this Commission. It was suggested that the labours of the Commission were being undertaken with a view to withdraw funds now employed to maintain Government Colleges, and divert them to promote the education of the masses. fears have been dispelled by the recent utterances of Dr. Hunter, the President of the Commission, and of the Viceroy himself. In education as in all other matters, the

Viceroy remains steadfast in his devotion to the principle which he is so anxious should take root in Indian soil—the principle of self-help. Te enable the reader to understand the policy of the Government of India in this respect, we will quote the following extract from a speech delivered by His Lordship at Lahore:—

"And, gentlemen, I am glad to see some signs at all events that the example set here in the Punjab is likely to be followed in a lesser or greater degree in other parts of India. I have observed with the very greatest pleasure what has taken place recently with respect to the College at Agra. The Government felt themselves unable to maintain that College as a Government Institution, because the cost was altogether out of proportion to the benefit it was conferring on the people; but there has been some misconception in the public mind with respect to the intention of the Government in regard to that matter. We no doubt said that if the arrangements we should prefer could not be made. then we should have to propose a system for the distribution of the endowments of that Institution, upon which we asked the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor of the province; but we distinctly laid it down from the beginning that the arrangement we desired to see adopted and carried out was that the gentlemen of Agra and its neighbourhood should themselves come forward, and take over the College with its endowments and grants-in-aid from Government themselves. That was the primary object, and the first proposal of the Government; and I rejoice to see that that proposal has been accepted by the public spirit of the North-Western Provinces. And, gentlemen, there is yet another reason, which I cannot altogether pass by to-day, why I rejoice so much

to think that this Institution and other similar Institutions should be managed and administered, as far as may be, by the leading men of the population of the districts in which the Institutions are established; and that is, because from such management, and from the practice which it will afford, many lessons may be learnt of self-assistance, and a valuable training in the practical management of their affairs may be given to those who have to do with the conduct of Institutions of this description. That great political object, which the Government of India has in view, of aiding and advancing the political training of the people in the management of their local affairs, may be furthered and assisted."

There have also been many acts of His Excellency the --Viceroy which have been quietly done, which have not · been published in speeches and resolutions, but which have drawn to him silently and in a manner baffling all description the affections of the people over whom he rules. It were hard to over-estimate the thoroughly conscientious and honest character of the administration under which it is our privilege to live. There is no glitter, no parade, but everything is done in a quiet, thorough and honest manner. It is possible that the sense of the benefits we enjoy, of the reforms which have been introduced, and of the policy which has been inaugurated, induces us to use language which has the appearance of exaggeration; but we believe that we do in these remarks but give expression to the universal feeling which prevails throughout the country and among our educated countrymen.

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The enactment of the Vernacular Press Law had excited much dissatisfaction. To the Viceroy was left the settlement of the question as to whether it should be repealed or allowed to remain in force. The local authorities were consulted, the necessary information was collected, and then without any fuss or demonstration the Act was quietly repealed—the liberty of the Vernacular Press was restored, and the people of India were taught the lesson that though one administration may err, the justice of the British nation is triumphant in the end. In the same quiet way, when Sir Richard Garth took leave for three months, a native of India was appointed Chief Justice in his place. It is true that if the claims of Mr. Justice Mitter had been set aside in this case the Government of India would have been open to blame; yet we fear that if Lord Ripon had not been the Viceroy, if Major Baring had not been his Finance Minister, and Mr. Ilbert had not been his Legal Adviser, it is doubtful whether those claims would have been recognised. At any rate that Government is entitled to the gratitude of the people of this country. which for the first time proclaimed to all India that henceforth there shall be nothing to preclude a native of India from filling the highest office in the gift of his Sovereign, provided that he possesses the necessary qualifications. The moral significance of this appointment will not be lost upon the people who have thus been taught to appreciate, as they have never been taught before, the justice and freedom from prejudice of the British Government.

TOMOTIA.

In another respect also Lord Ripon has shown himself the friend of improved administration. Year after year large sums of money are sent to England for the purchase of stores. This heavy drain tells with fatal effect upon the resources of the people and impoverishes the country. Moreover, there is abundance of raw material in India out of which a portion at least of the manufactured goods, now indented for from England, might be made. An impetus to indigenous manufactures if given, while it may be of some service to the Government of India, would open a vast field for the employment of people who now live from hand to mouth, who are sunk in the most abject poverty, and who, when the day of famine comes, are swept away by hundreds and thousands. It is probably with views such as these. that the Government of India have resolved to encourage the purchase of indigenous manufactures in preference to articles from England. It is needless to say that this measure will have the most salutary effect upon the material prosperity of the people of this country.

His Excellency is full of sympathy for the people. It is for the people he would establish primary schools, for them he would encourage indigenous manufactures, and in the interests of the people he has resolved to suspend and even to remit the land revenue demand of the Government on occasions of scarcity. The statesmanlike Resolution he has issued on the subject is worthy of perusal and is a monument of his administration.

This notice may fairly end here, but there is one more

important State paper not incorporated in this work which serves to throw light upon the policy of the administration and which it is our object to explain by the publication of these Speeches. Not long ago, Lord Ripon remarked when addressing the graduates of the Calcutta. University that public opinion in India was soon to become the unresisted and the irresistible master of the Government of this country. It is clear that His Excellency is most anxious to secure the enthronement of popular opinion; and with this view he has recorded a Resolution inviting the opinions of the Local Governments as to how greater publicity might be given to the measures of Government so that the work of legislation may be in harmony with the dictates of popular opinion.

The measures and the acts of His Excellency, and his speeches which explain them will be the best and the most durable monument of his reign. The highest reward of a ruler, next to the approbation of his own conscience, is that which he derives from the contentment and happiness of those over whom he rules. It is this reward which Lord Ripon has already the satisfaction to possess. He has captivated the hearts of the people by his wise and benevolent measures, and long after he has left this country, his name will be a cherished remembrance among those whom he loved so well.

R. C. PALIT.

CALCUTTA,
The 28th December 1882.

In conclusion, I have to thank Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, for kindly placing at my disposal the necessary papers and Resolutions of Government and also Mr. Primrose, Private Secretary to His Excellency, for supplying me with a copy of the Speeches from the Viceroy's own collection.

R. C. PALIT.