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A SKETCH OF  
His Life and Career



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## BADRUDDIN TYABJI.

### BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION.

**R.** Tyabji was born on the 8th October, 1844. His father was a wealthy Arab merchant settled in Bombay. Tyabji Bhai Miyan Sahib, who dealt extensively with foreign countries, was a very enlightened Muhammadan and resolved to send all his sons to England for education. The subject of our sketch was the youngest, the two others being Shujauddin and Camruddin. Shujauddin took charge of his father's business. Camruddin, at the end of his training in England, was enrolled as a Solicitor of the Bombay High Court and became successful in his line. Like his brothers, Badruddin learned Urdu and Persian at Dada Makhra's Madrassa and subsequently joined the Elphinstone Institution. After a few years there he had to be sent to France for treatment of the

eye. On being cured he went to London and joined the Newbury High Park College in his 16th year. He matriculated at London University and entered upon higher studies, but these were interrupted by ill-health, in consequence of which he returned to India for a time. Even after recovery, he was pronounced unequal to the strain of University studies, so that, in the end, he became a law student at the Middle Temple and in April, 1867, was called to the Bar.

#### AT THE BAR.

In November of the same year he set up practice at the Bombay High Court, being the first native barrister of the place as his brother had been the first native solicitor. His initial difficulties must have been great, but they yielded to his ability and industry, backed as these were by the powerful help of his brother. Fluency of speech, choice though somewhat diffuse diction, lucidity of exposition, skill in cross-examining, above all, a perfectly dignified and earnest bearing are qualities which would have ensured success in any case; but when

they were combinèd, as in Mr. Badruddin's case, with high character, sweet manners, and single-minded application, they soon raised him to the front rank in his profession. Two anecdotes deserve to be remembered. A criminal case before Mr. Justice Westropp had ended, thanks to Mr. Tyabji's defence, in acquittal; but the *Bombay Gazette* characterised it in its legal columns as rigmarole and nonsensical. Next day as soon as Court began the Judge said to Mr. Tyabji :

Mr. Tyabji, I am glad to see you here, and also the reporter of the *Bombay Gazette*, as I wish to make some observations upon the report of the case which was concluded yesterday. The paper represents you to have made 'a rigmarole and a nonsensical speech' in defence of your client. As these remarks are not only unfair but likely to do harm to a young barrister, I deem it my duty to observe that, in my opinion, there is not the slightest foundation for those remarks. I consider the case was most ably conducted by you, and that the acquittal of the prisoner was mainly due to the ability and skill with which you addressed the jury.

The other anecdote illustrates the strength of the man, the quality that has been generally acknowledged as characteristic of him both as

barrister and as judge. We take it from an appreciation that appeared in the *Bengalee*.

It is some years since he appeared as counsel for an accused person in a criminal appeal before a Division Bench consisting of Mr. Justice Parsons and Mr. Justice Ranade. The case had excited some sensation at the time and it was during the hot days of May that the two judges sat to hear the appeal. Mr. Tyabji began his argument with some prefatory remarks giving a general view of the case, and that occupied about half an hour. He then commenced reading the evidence. He had not gone on for more than ten minutes when Mr. Justice Parsons, who always liked a short argument, said:—'We have read the evidence, Mr. Tyabji.' Mr. Tyabji met the remark with a cool 'Yes' and went on reading the deposition all the same. Mr. Justice Parsons:—'What is the use of reading the depositions and wasting the time of the Court when we have read them all? Better confine yourself to such comments as you may have to make on the evidence'. Mr. Tyabji: 'I dare say, my Lord, your Lordships have read the evidence but you have read it in your own way. I am here to make your Lordships read the evidence in my way and it is only then that you can follow my comments.' And Mr. Tyabji had it his own way. For two days he kept the Court occupied hearing his arguments, with the result that at last he secured an acquittal for his client, and the remark went round the Bar that Mr. Tyabji had given a good lesson on patience to the Bench.

## PUBLIC WORK.

For ten years and more he allowed nothing to distract him from the pursuit of law, putting away the frequent solicitations of Messrs. Mehta, Telang, and Ranade with "That sort of thing is not in my line." It was in 1879 that he definitely joined that illustrious band of patriots which was Bombay's unique boast. To that band he remained attached to the end. His maiden speech was against the abolition of import duties on cotton goods and brought him great applause. From this time he was in great request at every public meeting, and from the numerous speeches that he made, we may select for special mention those on the Indian Civil Service question, the Ilbert Bill and Lord Ripon. The Local Self-Government measure of Lord Ripon was to be carried into effect in Bombay in 1882, and Sir James Fergusson, the then Governor, nominated Mr. Tyabji to the Legislative Council. His work in connection with the Municipal and Local Board Bills was highly commended at

the time and the Governor paid him the compliment of saying that he would have been listened to with rapt attention even in the House of Commons. Close reasoning, clear statement, and studied moderation, then as ever, distinguished his speeches. He shares with such men as Messrs. Hume, Bonnerjee, Naoroji, and others the rare privilege of having assisted at the birth of the Indian National Congress which met for the first time at Bombay in December, 1885. Calcutta had its turn in 1886, and when next year Madras had to welcome the delegates, the unanimous choice of the country for the place of President fell on Mr. Badruddin Tyabji.

#### CONGRESS PRESIDENT, 1887.

Never was choice better justified. Three speeches stand out in the memory as giving that Session of the I. N. C. its peculiar glory. Rajah Sir T. Madhava Rao's address of welcome was couched in diction which suggested the cunning of the Taj Mahal chisellers, and which an Anglo-Indian journal, broad-minded and generous in those happy days, declared was



“such as few persons in the continent of Europe ever speak.” For pure dash and brilliancy nothing in the whole range of Congress oratory can equal the short speech by which Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee carried the Arms Act Resolution in the teeth of the opposition of such leaders as Messrs. Hume and Chanda-varkar. Inferior to neither in weight or impressiveness, but superior to both in dignity and grace of delivery, was Mr. Tyabji’s Presidential Address. The present writer still cherishes as one of his most precious intellectual possessions the memory of the scene where as a mere stripling, he stood behind a vast crowd, drinking in with rapture every word as it reached him, clear and apt, none so apt, he thought, and catching now and then a glimpse of the handsome countenance which beamed with earnestness, good humour, and perfect self-possession. He began by saying that he had accepted the office of President in spite of ill-health, not so much because it was the highest honour that the people could confer on an Indian, as because he was anxious to demonstrate

in his capacity as a representative of the Anjuman-i-Islam, of Bombay, that there was nothing in the aims and methods of the Indian National Congress which could justify his co-religionists in keeping aloof from it. He then went on to impress on his audience the need for moderation, caution, and forbearance,—a need always present, but at that time of the infancy of the Congress most imperative.

Though I maintain that the educated natives as a class are loyal to the backbone, I must admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, or cautious, in the language they employ. I admit that some of them sometimes afford openings for hostile criticism; and I myself have observed in some native newspapers and in speeches, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead one to conclusions which are not intended. They have not wholly realised the distinction between "license" and "liberty" and have not wholly grasped the fact that "freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges." I trust that not only in the debates of this Congress, but on all occasions, my countrymen will bear in mind, and impress on all, that in order to enjoy the rights of public discussion, liberty of speech, and liberty of the press, we must so conduct ourselves as to demonstrate by our conduct, moderation and justness of criticism, that we

fully deserve the great blessings which an enlightened Government can confer on its subjects.

Now, it has been sometimes urged that Europeans do not fully sympathise with the just aspirations of the natives of India. In the first place, this is not universally true, for I have the good fortune to know many Europeans, than whom no truer and firmer friends of India breathe on the face of the earth. And, in the second place, we must be prepared to make considerable allowances for them, for their position here is surrounded by *difficult questions*, not only of a political, but of a social character, which tend to keep the two communities asunder, in spite of the best efforts of the leaders of the Europeans, no less than the leaders of the natives... ..

Be moderate in your demands, just in your criticism, correct in your facts, and logical in your conclusions, and I feel assured that any proposals we may make will be received with that *benign consideration* which is characteristic of a strong and enlightened Government.

#### HIGH COURT JUDGE.

In 1895, he accepted a place on the High Court Bench,—a promotion which, on a former occasion, ill-health had compelled him to decline. As Judge he maintained his reputation for strength, judicial temper, and unfailing courtesy to the Bar. He cared more for equity and substantial justice than for legal abstrac-

tions so dear to the heart of those lawyers who are ambitious to be known as jurists. Once, indeed, he is said to have declared : "These law reports are becoming a cumbrous affair, and I sometimes wish we could manage to get on without them."

#### WOMEN'S EDUCATION AND FREEDOM.

Perhaps, Mr. Tyabji's most solid work was done in connection with the Anjuman-i-Islam, of which he was at first Secretary and for some years before his death President. He held advanced views in regard to the condition of the women of his community and strove hard to weaken the power of the zenana system. Unlike many reformers who show their vehemence only in the denunciation of others, Mr. Tyabji, cautious as he was by nature, acted on his convictions in his own family circle. His daughters have come out of the purdah and received their education in England. Indeed, the Muhammadans of Bombay owe much of their present prestige and enlightenment as a community to his watchful and unremitting labours on their behalf.

## PRESIDENT OF THE M. A. O. E. CONFERENCE.

When he presided in 1903 over the Mubarnmadan Educational Conference held at Bombay, he made a powerful plea for the abandonment of the purdah system and for a liberal education for the women of his community. But the part of his address that will be most remembered by his countrymen is the one in which he declared his adhesion to the principles of the Indian National Congress,— a declaration which derives additional force from the circumstance that among his hearers on the occasion was the Governor of Bombay. One cannot help contrasting with it the miserable tone of apology that other Congressmen assume both when they are in the running for Government favours and long after they have secured them.

Gentlemen, you are no doubt aware that, although the Conference has been in existence for several years past, I have not hitherto been able to take an active part in its deliberations. No doubt, there have been many reasons for this, to which it is unnecessary to refer. But there is one in regard to which I must say a few words. You are no doubt aware that I have always

been a supporter of the Indian National Congress. In my younger and freer days, when I was not trammelled with the responsibilities imposed by my present office, and when I was, therefore, able to take a more active part in public life, and especially in the politics of the Empire, I deemed it my duty to support the Congress, and, as you may perhaps know, I had the honour of presiding at the Congress held in Madras some years ago. On that occasion I described my election as the highest honour that could be paid to any Indian gentleman by his fellow-subjects of the Empire. Being of that opinion at that time and being still of that opinion now, you will readily understand that it was not possible for me to take any part in connection with any institution which had or could be supposed to have the slightest trace of being hostile or antagonistic to the Congress.

This must be hard food to swallow for those who are endeavouring now to represent the recent Muhammadan deputation to the Viceroy as being anti-Congress and anti-Hindu, and *on that account* entitled to the sympathy and countenance of Government.

#### LAST DAYS IN ENGLAND.

In the beginning of this year he went to England for a cure of his eyesight which had begun to give serious trouble. He progressed remarkably well and felt strong enough to

make long motor tours. He was even present at two great meetings and spoke with his usual candour and vigour. His theme at a meeting of the East India Association in March was moderation and courtesy in politics and progress and enlightenment at home.

Although I have oftentimes in former days criticised the acts of Government, I would ask my young friends to remember whether they have not very much to be grateful for, although they have no doubt also many causes to complain; but, in looking at the acts of Government, it does not do either for young India, or, for the matter of that, middle-aged India, or old India, always to fix its eyes upon the faults of the Government, and entirely to forget those blessings which we enjoy under theegis of the British Government. I have generally found that, when any matter of public interest is brought forward before the authorities, if the memorials are couched in decent and respectful and proper language, they have always been listened to, and I have never yet had any cause of complaint with reference to the reception of any of these memorials and addresses that have been sent up from responsible parties; but when people, instead of pressing their requests in proper language, use language which goes beyond the bounds of mere decency, I think one cannot be surprised if oftentimes the replies which they get from responsible authorities are couched in language which,

perhaps, is not so pleasant to listen to. But, then, Governments, after all, are the same as private individuals. If a request is addressed to a private individual in a manner that appeals to him properly, I think we must all admit that there is much more chance of its being listened to and possibly assented to. If the request is addressed in another set of words, that request may be refused, and I have, therefore, always, whenever I have had anything to do with public work in India, impressed on my countrymen the desirability of keeping within temperate, moderate language, and of addressing the Government in those tones which we ourselves like to be addressed in. I feel perfectly certain, for example, that when the proceedings of the Congress are carried on on these lines, they are listened to with greater consideration than if they were carried on on different lines.

Now, as regards the attitude of Government towards the Congress. Although we have been reminded that this is an occasion on which political views may be discussed, it must be borne in mind that in the position which I occupy at present, I am not at liberty to discuss any political questions of a controversial character, but I believe that Government perfectly understand and recognise that the Congress is not a seditious body. I believe they recognise that the Congress does consist of a large body of people speaking with authority upon the question, and although they do not like their acts to be criticised openly in the way that sometimes they have been, I believe that the resolutions of the Congress are really considered by Government in a sympathetic



spirit; and as far as they think any effect can be given to them, I believe that they are desirous of giving effect to them and to the desires of the nation as expressed through the Congress. But after all—speaking for my own countrymen—I think we have to address ourselves more to the question of education and to the question of social reform. I am afraid that young India has fixed its attention too exclusively upon politics, and too little upon education and upon social reform. I am one of those who think that our improvement and progress lies not in our efforts simply in one direction, but in various directions, and that we ought to move side by side for the purpose of improving our social status and our educational status quite as much as our political status. It is no use labouring together for a representative Government of a very advanced type if the majority of our own countrymen are still steeped in ignorance, and experience shows that the majority of the Indian subjects have not appreciated the advantages of that higher education upon which, I think, the fate of our nation really rests. Look at the Mussalmans. I have often in my judicial capacity had to deal with wills made and executed by my own people, and I have found that a very wealthy individual who dies, if he has no near relations, his one idea is to devote his fortune to some old-fashioned charity—such as the feeding of fakirs, the building of old-fashioned tanks, or making pilgrimages to Mecca, or reading so many hundreds of times the pages of the Koran, or things of that kind—very excellent things in themselves, but which, unfortunately, do

not advance the fortunes of the nation. Now, if when young India becomes old and is about to make its will, it will only remember, instead of leaving their fortunes to these old-fashioned charities, to devote their fortunes to the advance of education, I think we should have very much less cause of complaint against Government, because probably we should be able to do that ourselves which we now ask Government to do. As regards the employment of the people in Government service, I think it a perfectly legitimate aspiration on the part of the natives of India to be employed in larger and larger numbers in the higher degrees of the public service. Natives of India possess very high natural qualifications for employment in many branches—such as the judicial, the public works, the railways, the telegraphs—and I, for one, am unable to see why much larger numbers of the natives of the country should not be employed in these departments not only without prejudice, but with great advantage to the Empire.

In July he attended a dinner of the Aligarh College Association, and expressed his deep sympathy with the movement. He was in favour of Aligarh becoming a university, and appealed to his brethren for active help.

It has been well remarked by Sir Thomas that one college, however good and important, cannot possibly be sufficient for the requirements of fifty or sixty million Mahomedans in India. We must have these institutions

all over India, and it has always seemed to me of the greatest possible importance that the educational institutions we have in other parts of the country—some of them fulfilling the humbler mission of imparting primary education, and others teaching up to the high school standard, should be raised to or supplemented by collegiate institutions. The wall-wishers of our community present to-night as guests will be pleased to hear that efforts in this direction are being made (and not without success) in other parts of India. If, as I hope, Aligarh developes into a university, it will become the centre of attraction educationally for all Mahomedans, not only from the various Mahomedan schools and colleges of India, but also, it may be, from other parts of the Mahomedan world. And it certainly is a very pleasant symptom that we have so recently seen, in connexion with the Royal visit, such large contributions made for the endowment of chairs at Aligarh, the donations including a lakh of rupees from a private Mahomedan gentleman in Bombay, and a large contribution from that very enlightened, most intellectual, and public-spirited nobleman, the Aga Khan, who, I may point out, is much more directly connected with Bombay than with Upper India. Having received so much help from Western India, our brethren in the North may permit me the friendly criticism that they seem to have greatly neglected the cause of female education. This is a reproach to men of their enlightenment, and I have noticed with the greatest pleasure that recently efforts have been made to remedy that state of things. This is a reform

in respect to which my Mussalman friends in the North may not despise to take a leaf out of the book of their Bombay co-religionists. I need only add that I hope the college will develop into a real centre of Moslem education and enlightenment not merely for the North-West, but for all India. There is not a Mussalman in India, certainly not in Bombay, who does not wish all prosperity and success to Aligarh.

These were fated to be his last public utterances. To all appearance, he was in excellent health and being amongst his own children, enjoyed a degree of peaceful and contented joy that, perhaps, only an Indian parent can appreciate. But unsuspected, save by a doctor who kept his own counsel, an insidious affection of the heart was sapping his vitality and carried him away on the 19th August without pain. Among public men, he will be long remembered not merely for his sagacity and eloquence, but for his absolute fearlessness and fidelity to the popular cause.

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## SPEECH ON

### THE NATIVE JURISDICTION BILL.

*The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Budruddin Tyabji on Saturday 28th April, 1883, at a Public Meeting held in Bombay for the purpose of considering the Ilbert Bill, for amending the Code of Criminal Procedure:—*

Now, gentlemen, what are the proposals of the Government of India that have given rise to all this heated discussion, to all this violent agitation? They are simply to invest a very small and select number out of the ablest, the most experienced, and the most distinguished of our native magistrates and judges with an infinitesimal jurisdiction over European British subjects. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the proposals are in themselves so small, and but for the principle involved so utterly insignificant, that it would, indeed, have required the power of prophecy to have foretold the storm that has burst over Calcutta, and overwhelmed the European community there, in a whirlwind of passion, prejudice, excitement, and even frenzy. But, gentlemen, however much we may regret this ebullition of feeling, however much we may consider it un-

justifiable, it yet behoves us, I think, in a case of this kind, where the interests or privileges, real or imaginary, of the European community are concerned, to inquire carefully into their allegations, and to see if there is really any foundation for the alarm which they profess to feel. Now, gentlemen, what are the grounds on which this violent opposition to the Bill is sought to be justified? First, it is alleged that the native magistrates and judges are likely to be swayed by their race-prejudices in the decision of cases against Europeans. But, gentlemen, is it true in the first place, that we natives of India have any such prejudices? Is it true that we entertain any hostile feelings towards the European community? Gentlemen, I beg to give that statement the most emphatic contradiction. I have known Englishmen who entertain the strongest prejudices against the natives of India, who look upon them as an inferior order of beings—(ironical cheers)—who refuse to associate with them on anything like terms of equality, but I have not come across a single native of India who entertains similar feelings towards the European community. (Loud cheers.) But, gentlemen, even assuming for a moment the existence

of these race-prejudices, what reason is there for supposing that our native judges and magistrates are more likely to be swayed by them than their European colleagues? Do not Hindu, Mussulman, and Parsee judges and magistrates every day dispose of cases in which the parties appearing before them belong to races, creeds and nationalities entirely different from their own? (Hear, hear.) Then what ground is there for believing that these judges and magistrates who hold the scales of justice with perfect impartiality in the case of all other communities, should lose their balance of mind in the case of Europeans only? Gentlemen, I am convinced that this difficulty about the race-prejudices, so far as we are concerned, has no existence save in the imagination of opponents of this Bill—and I am inclined to think that in advancing this argument they have unconsciously let the cat out of the bag, they have, in fact, been judging by their own standards? (Hear, hear, and applause.) But, gentlemen, it is further alleged that a great deal of perjury prevails in India, that false charges are often brought against innocent parties, and that the absence of counsel and of public criticism would make it impossible for the native judges and magistrates to dispense

impartial justice to Europeans. But surely, gentlemen, these difficulties have been vastly exaggerated. India cannot boast the monopoly of perjury. The famous claimant Tichborne was not a native of India. (Loud applause.) But so far as these difficulties do really exist, they exist in all cases. (Hear, hear.) They are more or less inherent in the administration of justice. They are not peculiar to cases where Europeans only are concerned. They are not confined to native magistrates only. A European magistrate has to contend with these difficulties no less than his native colleagues. He cannot get rid of them by the mere superiority of his race. The only means which will enable him to cope with them, are not the place of his birth or the colour of his skin, but precisely those qualifications which will be found in the native magistrates and judges to whom this Bill will apply, viz., great natural abilities, high legal attainments, and a ripe judicial experience. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, if our native magistrates and judges possess enough of these qualifications to overcome these difficulties in the thousands of cases that come before them, where other communities are concerned, why are we to assume that they



would fail to do so only when Europeans are brought before them? (Hear, hear.) Surely, gentlemen, it is but reasonable to suppose that our native magistrates and judges, considering the peculiar position of the European community in India, would use more care and caution in dealing with Englishmen than even with their own countrymen. But, gentlemen, it is further alleged that our native magistrates and judges are not sufficiently acquainted with the habits and customs of the European community, especially the lower orders. If this is a sound argument, every European judge in India ought to be at once deprived of his jurisdiction over the natives of this country? For what can be clearer than that even the highest of our judicial officers, even the judges of the High Court, know but little of the masses of the native community. (Hear, hear.) If our native Covenanted Civil Servants who have spent years in England, who freely mix with the best classes of the European community in India, are incompetent to try European offenders, by reason of their imperfect knowledge of the habits of accused, it follows that European judges fresh from England and knowing not a word of the Indian language, must be still

more unfit to try the natives of this country. (Applause.) This is surely a *reductio ad absurdum*. The truth, gentlemen, is that, although a special knowledge of ways of the accused is not without its use, what is really essential in the administration of criminal justice is, a sound knowledge of the law and a thorough acquaintance with the world combined with the ability to appreciate evidence. It seems to me, therefore, gentlemen, that unless the Government is prepared to admit that the whole administration of justice in India is utterly rotten to the core, that our magistrates and judges, both European and natives, ordinarily dispense, not justice but injustice, or in the alternative, that the present exceptional and anomalous machinery of the law is provided and kept up, not so much for securing impartial justice, as for screening European offenders, unless one or the other of these preposterous conclusions is admitted it will be impossible for His Excellency the Viceroy to attach the smallest weight to arguments founded purely on these considerations. (Applause.) But, gentlemen, it is further argued that it is a highly cherished privilege of the European community, and that it ought not to be taken away, because it causes no

injustice to the natives of this country. But, gentlemen, what can be greater injustice than to compell an unhappy complainant who may have a grievance against an Englishman, to undertake a long and tedious journey, at great cost and inconvenience to himself and his witnesses in search of a European magistrate, because forsooth the native magistrate near at hand is incompetent to dispose of the charge, by reason of his race. Further, gentlemen, what can be greater injustice to the whole Indian community than to declare even the ablest of our native magistrates and judges, no matter what their qualifications may be, as an inferior order of men, incapable of rising to that height of judicial excellence which is supposed to be necessary to try cases against Europeans & Gentleman, I venture to think that the present state of the law is not only unjust, but it is insulting to us. (Cheers.) It is insulting to us, first because it brands even the ablest, the highest, and the most distinguished of our judicial officers with a galling and a perpetual mark of inferiority. (Renewed cheers.) It is insulting to us because it draws an invidious distinction between the European and the native members of the same Covenanted Civil Service. It is insult-

ing to us because it exalts the European British subjects into such superior beings as to declare that even the highest of our judicial officers shall be incapable of imprisoning him a single day or fining him a single rupee; and it is insulting to us because it degrades our own countrymen to such a depth to declare in the very next breath that the same incompetent and unfit magistrates and judges, who are incapable of trying even the most trivial case of assault against an Englishman, are yet fit and competent to try millions of our own countrymen for the gravest charges and even to condemn them to death! (Loud and prolonged cheers.) Gentlemen, the height of absurdity could go no further, and yet forsooth these are the arguments ostensibly put forward for the purpose of defeating this just, generous, and above all, extremely moderate and cautious measure. But, gentlemen, I believe that the real opposition to this Bill is founded, not upon any sincere apprehensions as to miscarriage of justice, not upon any belief in these flimsy arguments, the hollowness of which I have had no difficulty in exposing, and which are not likely to deceive any candid politician, much less the sagacious statesman into whose hands the

destinies of this great Empire have been committed, but upon a dislike, more or less conscious, more or less intense, of the whole of Lord Ripon's Administration. (Hear, and applause.) Gentlemen, there is a large section of the Anglo-Indian community which cannot fully reconcile itself to that fundamental principle which has been so often declared and repeated over and over again by successive Viceroys, Ministers, Secretaries of State, Parliaments, and even by Her Gracious Majesty herself,—that principle, the recognition of which forms the keynote to the whole of Lord Ripon's policy, that principle on which are based all our political rights, just hopes and legitimate aspirations; that principle, namely, which declares that the natives of India are entitled to a just share in the administration of their own country, and that a mere difference in race, colour or creed shall be no just ground for distinction in political treatment. (Cheers.) Gentleman, there is no principle better grounded in moral justice or political wisdom. Other Viceroys there have been who have accepted and recognised this principle in words, but Lord Ripon—(cheers)—is the only one who has had the courage, the sagacity, the generosity, the prudence and the firmness to give

effect to it in deeds. (Applause.) Gentlemen, they must, indeed, be shortsighted politicians who cannot see the justice and wisdom and the perfect safety of this principle. Lord Ripon's policy, founded on a just and generous treatment of the natives of this country, so far from losing England's hold upon India, will rivet it and chain the affection of the people to the throne. (Cheers.) Gentleman, I have great faith in the justice and the firmness of the Government of India, but I have still greater faith in the noble instincts and the love of fair play which characterise the British Parliament and the British public; but, gentlemen, if the introduction of this Bill was, in the first instance, wise and politic—as I think it undoubtedly was—the passing of it now has become a matter of absolute political necessity. (Applause.) The withdrawal of the Bill under the present circumstances could be looked upon as nothing less than the surrender of right and reason to passion and prejudice—as the triumph of turbulent agitation, however wrong, over calm and respectful representations, however just and well founded. (Applause.) Gentlemen, the moral effect of such a proceeding upon our vast and varied populations cannot fail to be

disastrous in the least degree. But if, on the other hand, this Bill, even with the modification mentioned by my friend the Sheriff, becomes law now—when it may be accepted as a simple act of justice no less voluntary than graceful and not merely as a concession—as ten years hence extorted by irresistible popular agitation it will be—so far from shifting or weakening the foundations of the British Empire in India consolidate and strengthen them. (Cheers.) Let Lord Ripon's generous and enlightened policy be continued, and India, instead of remaining as at present a source of weakness to England, will become a tower of strength; the British Power, instead, of resting upon the bayonets of the soldiers or the craven fears of a conquered and abject population, will rest upon the far more honorable—and the only, and I venture to think true—firm and endearing foundation, viz., the affections and the gratitude of a happy, prosperous, and contented people. (Loud Applause.)

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# INDIAN TALES.

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