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THE HONOURABLE DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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ESSAYS,

SPEECHES, ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS,

(ON INDIAN POLITICS,)

OF THE

HON'BLE DADABHAI NAOROJI,

PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF 1886 (CALCUTTA);

ADDITIONAL MEMBER OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL;

EX-DIWAN OF THE BARODA STATE,

&c. &c. &c.

(WITH LIFE AND PORTRAIT,)

EDITED BY

CHUNILAL LALLUBHAI PAREKH,

VICE-PRESIDENT, ARYA DNYAN VARDHAK SABHA.

I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
 Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life,
 Co-incident, exhibit lucid proof
 That he is honest in the sacred cause.
 To such I render more than mere respect,
 Whose actions say that they respect themselves.

Cowper.

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"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territory by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge. .

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."—Queen's Proclamation, 1858.

*"There is one simple test which we may apply to all Indian questions: let us never forget that IT IS OUR DUTY TO GOVERN INDIA NOT FOR OUR OWN PROFIT AND ADVANTAGE, BUT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA."—
Lord Northbrook, late Viceroy of India.

4093

TO

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.,

LATE OF THE BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

WHO LOVED THE PEOPLE AMONG WHOM HE LIVED FOR 27 YEARS

Who, loving them, worked for them,

Always endeavouring to promote their welfare,

I BEG RESPECTFULLY TO DEDICATE

(With his kind permission)

THIS COLLECTION OF THE ESSAYS, SPEECHES,

ADDRESSES AND WRITINGS

OF

ONE OF INDIA'S MOST DISTINGUISHED AND POPULAR PATRIOTS.

C. L. PAREKH.

MR. DADABHAI'S SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY.

"No man living has done more service to his country than Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay."

"He has sacrificed years of labour and all his private means, acquired by the hardest work, to the service of India."—*Justice*.

"Not only Bombay, but the whole of India, should be proud of a gentleman like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji."—*Hindu Patriot*.

"As an authority on Indian economical questions there is none equal to him in all India. He has devoted over a quarter century of his life to the study of Indian subjects, and by pressing his views upon the Secretary of State and upon influential Englishmen in England, he has turned his knowledge to the best account possible. Old as he is, Mr. Dadabhai is a man of remarkable energy, and his genuine patriotism has won for him the confidence of his countrymen, of the Hindus and Mohamedans, as well as Parsees in every part of the country."—*Hindu*.

"Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is one of the ablest of our countrymen, and possesses an amount of practical knowledge of the condition of our country, which is, we believe, unrivalled. Even the British India Association will not deny the weight of such testimony as he may give."—*Indian Nation*.

"Our respect for Mr. Dadabhai is profound. He is a patriot to the backbone. He is also a man of great abilities, experience and intelligence. He is well versed in economic subjects. If he succeeds in entering Parliament, he will be of invaluable service to us. He is one of the few men in India who are really worthy of the highest honour that this country or England can bestow on him. He is a man of sterling worth and bears an unblemished character."—*Indian Mirror*.

"The highest authority on economical questions, a genuine and earnest patriot and a man of indomitable energy, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is held in the highest esteem by his countrymen."—*Behar Herald*.

"The honourable patriot has worked throughout his life for securing equal justice to European and Native candidates for the Civil Service."—*Mahratta*.

"Mr. Dadabhai is one of our few genuine leaders who are ever ready to sacrifice personal interest for the welfare of the dumb millions of India. . ."—*Native Opinion*.

"Our men must follow such a good example of patriotism and self sacrifice."—*Dnyan Prakash*.

"The well-being of India is dependent on the exertions of such high spirited gentlemen. . ."—*Koh-i-hur*.

"Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is the person who, whether as school-master or professor, merchant or agent, *diwan* or administrator of a State—in all these different stages of his life—has worked with untiring industry and strict honesty for the only aim of his life—viz., to do good to the people, at the sacrifice of his own personal interests. He is the person who has endured poverty for the advancement of others; who has sacrificed his interests for founding large funds for benevolent purposes; who has lived in comparative poverty and humbleness for the sake of enriching large institutions, and who has sacrificed his own emoluments and incomes for the benefit and advancement of others."—*Rast Gofar*.

Bombay has recognized Mr. Dadabhai as one in a million these twenty years past.—*The Gujarati*.

"Undoubtedly Mr. Dadabhai is a leading representative of India."—*Sanjabani*.

4093

PREFACE.

IN placing this book, containing the writings and speeches of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, before the public, I do not think it is necessary for me to say much by way of preface. Mr. Dadabhai is one of our most distinguished public men. Both by Natives and Europeans, his ability and the moderation of his views have been recognized and appreciated. There is perhaps no other native in India who has made statistics his study so well and so carefully, and who has used them to such eminently useful purpose in discussing some of the weightiest problems of Indian finance as Mr. Dadabhai. His language is marked by charming simplicity. There is in his speeches and writings not the slightest attempt at what is termed an embellished style; and hence the greatest merit of them is that when you read them, you not only find it easy to understand what he has written or said, but you feel that you are in the presence of an earnest man, whose sole purpose is to convince you, and who, actuated by that purpose, means what he says and says what he means.

It is often said by those who criticise the intellectual faults of the educated native of India, that in discussing political questions he shows a disposition to deal with vague ideas and general or abstract principles; in other words, the charge is frequently brought against him that with him principles are everything, their application is nothing; that he is wanting in that habit of mind which enables a writer or speaker to deal with all grave problems more from the point of view of a practical politician than a speculative thinker. I do not pretend to judge whether this criticism is borne out by facts. But this I may, I think, venture to say, that Mr. Dadabhai's writings and speeches deal with political

4093

questions in the spirit of a practical statesman. He hates generalisations; for mere abstract principles he seems to have little or no regard. He takes facts and figures, ascertains, as far as possible, that they are correct, and pursues all his enquiries by the light of them. Indeed, the reader will observe from the following pages that, generally speaking, Mr. Dadabhai has dealt with none but subjects involving the consideration of practical problems in his writings and speeches, and that his mode of dealing with those problems resembles that which Mr. John Morley tells us both Cobden and Mr. Bright pursued in the course of their crusade against protection, *i.e.* while, like them, Mr. Dadabhai avoided "the stilted abstractions of rhetoric," he, like them too, has never been "afraid of the vulgarity of details." To those who are unaccustomed to think seriously on what are called questions of practical politics, Mr. Dadabhai's "details" of facts and figures, and of figures more than of facts, may seem to detract from the value of his writings and his speeches. But Mr. Dadabhai's highest merit, I apprehend, is that he ~~has written and spoken~~ not for those who like to be pleased, but for those who are called upon in the present circumstances of this country, to think and to act and by means of their thought and action to promote India's welfare and make the connection between her and England a source of greatness and glory to both. His habit of mind has been essentially that of a practical economist and statistician, and even those who have differed from some of his views have not failed to recognize this specially striking feature in his writings and speeches.

And that, I may be allowed to add, is a feature which ought to enhance the value of the humble attempt I have made to collect Mr. Dadabhai's writings and speeches, and to present them to the public in the present form. The number of those who discuss political questions in India is daily increasing; and in the age of newspapers, congresses, and political discussions, the Indian student of politics,

whether of the present or future generation, cannot do better than take Mr. Dadabhai for his model, and learn to speak and write on political questions in the spirit of practical statesmanship, of which his writings and speeches furnish many examples.

I have only to add that I am extremely obliged to Mr. Dadabhai for having permitted me to bring out this book, and to my friend Mr. Motilal Jamnadas Shroff for useful help throughout its preparation.

512, *Shailh Meman Street,*
Bombay, November 1887.

C. L. PAREKH.

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4093

CONTENTS.

PART I.

| ESSAYS. | Page | Page |
|---|------|--|
| CHAPTER I. | | |
| I.—The European and Asiatic Races | 1 | |
| II.—England's Duties to India . | 26 | |
| III.—Expenses of the Abyssinian War | 51 | |
| IV.—Mysore | 60 | |
| CHAPTER II. | | |
| ESSAYS—(continued). | | |
| V.—Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service | 75 | |
| | | VI.—The Wants and Means of India 97 |
| | | VII.—On the Commerce of India . 112 |
| | | VIII.—Financial Administration of India 137 |
| CHAPTER III. | | |
| ESSAYS—(continued). | | |
| | | IX.—Poverty of India, Part I ... 160 |
| | | Poverty of India, Part II.. 218 |
| | | Reply to Criticisms.. . . 276 |

PART II.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES.

| | | |
|---|-----|---|
| CHAPTER IV. | | IV.—Miscellaneous Speeches and Addresses.— |
| I.—India's Interest in the General Election (1886) ... | 292 | 1. The Indian Civil Service (1) 345 |
| II.—Election Speeches in England | | 2. Extension of Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty ... 354 |
| 1. Town Hall Speech (1) ... | 302 | 3. Retirement of Lord Ripon. 355 |
| 2. Store Street Hall Speech | 310 | 4. The Fawcett Memorial Meeting 357 |
| 3. Old Friends Hall Speech | 311 | 5. Dinner by the Ripon Club.. 360 |
| 4. Phoenix Hall Speech ... | 312 | 6. India and the Opium Question 363 |
| 5. Town Hall Speech (2) ... | 313 | 7. England's best way of retaining India 367 |
| Great Reception Meeting (Bombay)... .. | 316 | 8. The Political Condition of India 369 |
| III.—The National Congresses— | | 9. Dinner by the Northbrook Club, London ... 372 |
| 1. The First Indian National Congress (Bombay, 1885) | 318 | 10. Our Responsibilities in India 373 |
| 2. The Second Indian National Congress (Calcutta, 1886) | 331 | 11. On Political Reform ... 376 |
| | | 12. The Indian Civil Service (2) 378 |

PART III.

WRITINGS.

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| CHAPTER V. | | |
| I.—The Baroda Administration in 1874 (Reply to Parliamentary Blue Books) ... | 382 | |
| II.—Condition of India (Correspondence with the Secretary of State for India). | | |
| 1. Administration Report of the Punjab (1876-77) ... | 414 | |
| | | 2. Memorandum No. 1, Views on Mr. F. C. Danvers' Paper 441 |
| | | 3. Memorandum No. 2, The Moral Poverty of India, and Native Thoughts on the present British Indian Policy 464 |
| | | 4. Memorandum No. 3, Memorandum on Statements in the Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 1880 480 |

| | Page | | Page |
|---------------------------------------|------------|--|------------|
| CHAPTER VI. | | VIII.—Replies to Questions put by | |
| WRITINGS—(continued). | | the Public Service Com- | |
| III.—Admission of Educated Na- | | mission | 534 |
| tives into the Indian Civil | | | |
| Service (a memorandum | | CHAPTER VII. | |
| on) | 490 | WRITINGS—(continued). | |
| IV.—Indian Civil Service ... | 500 | IX.—Sir M. E. Grant Duff's | |
| V.—Indian Exchanges ... | 505 | Views about India (1) ... | 545 |
| VI.—Bi-metallism ... | 517 | " " (2) ... | 567 |
| VII.—The Indian Services ... | 521 | Index | 588 |

4093

INDEX.

| | Page | | Page |
|--|--------------|--|---------------|
| A | | | |
| Abul Fazil, Akbar's Minister ... | 9 | Charter Act (1833) ... | 376, 377, 530 |
| Abyssinian War, Expenses of ... | 51-59 | Chinese War ... | 57 |
| Adoption in India .. | 66 | Chivalry, Hindu Spirit of ... | 16 |
| Agricultural labourer, Indian, con- dition of ... | 558 | Civil Service, limit of age for, 325- 328; examinations for ... | 368 |
| Aitchison, Sir Charles ... | 536 | Civilization, Asiatic and European | 22 |
| Anglicism of natives ... | 88, 89 | Classes, Indian Educated ... | 12, 13 |
| Annexations, Indian ... | 44 | Clark, Sir George, on Hindu mo- rality ... | 9 |
| Arabian Nights, the ... | 5 | Coffee, average price of ... | 220 |
| Arda Viraf, Persian high priest ... | 7 | Coinage of India ... | 242 |
| Argyll, Duke of ... | 245 | Colebrooke ... | 5 |
| Aristocracy, native ... | 39, 203, 537 | Commerce, Indian ... | 30 |
| Army, Native ... | 39 | Contemporary Review, papers in ... | 548-584 |
| Arrian, on the Hindus ... | 9 | Condition of India, Correspondence about ... | 414-490 |
| Aryan race ... | 23 | Cooper's Hill Engineering College, the ... | 259 |
| Asiatics, alleged mental inferiority of ... | 1 | Cotton, prices of ... | 233 |
| Aspirations, native ... | 38 | Council Bills, Indian ... | 115 |
| Assessment, rates of Indian | 146-148 | Cornwallis, Lord (1790) ... | 198 |
| Association, East Indian, 41; Bri- tish Indian ... | 45 | Cranbourne, Lord ... | 59 |
| Australia, imports and exports of ... | 100 | Creditor's Account of India,—in the cause of Humanity, of Civiliza- tion, of Peace and Order, materi- ally and generally ... | 131, 132 |
| Ayrton, Mr ... | 299 | Criticisms on Poverty of India, and reply to ... | 276-290 |
| B | | D | |
| Baring, Sir Evelyn ... | 558, 559 | Danvers, memorandum on papers of Mr. ... | 441-464 |
| Baroda Administration (1874) | 382-413 | Debtor Account of India, in the cause of humanity, of civiliza- tion, Politically, Financially and Materially ... | 132-134 |
| Bazalutjung, treaty with (1779) ... | 52 | Diet, scale of, in India ... | 158, 159 |
| Bentham on falsehood ... | 11 | Denison, Sir W. ... | 82 |
| Bi-metallism, letter to the <i>Times</i> on, (1836) ... | 517-521 | Despotism, policy of land ... | 34, 35 |
| Birdwood, Dr. ... | 468 | Drains from India, two elements of, official opinions on, for Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, N. W. Provinces, Central Provinces, 196-202, 331, 374, 486 | |
| Borrowing for India ... | 125 | Duties, cotton ... | 217 |
| Brahmanical ... | 5 | E | |
| Bright, Mr. John, 292, 293, 314, 315, 525 | | East India Association; letter to members of Parliament, from Council of ... | 532-536 |
| British Indian policy, native thoughts on ... | 465-480 | Education in India, 37, 43, 119, 120, 131, 138 | |
| British manufactures, import of, into India ... | 117 | Educated Classes, Indian .. | 466, 467 |
| British Policy towards India | 550-554 | Educated Natives ... | 37 |
| British Rule in India, 26; results of, 27; character of ... | 549, 550 | Election manifesto for Holborn, 302, 303 | |
| Budget, Indian ... | 104 | | |
| Bullion, import of, into India, 139, 140, 141, 241-245; in India ... | 575, 576 | | |
| C | | | |
| Campbell, Sir George ... | 204 | | |
| Canada, imports and exports of ... | 100 | | |
| Canning, Lord ... | 63 | | |
| Capital in India ... | 138 | | |
| Castea, the Hindu institution of ... | 92 | | |
| Charges in India, 46; in England | 46 | | |
| Character, native, 8; of Indian candidates ... | 48 | | |

| Page | Page |
|---|--|
| Employes, European Government. 50 | Hay, Lord William... 60, 70 |
| Englishmen in India ... 19, 20 | Herodotus on the Persians ... 8, 23 |
| Engineering service, India, non-fulfilment of pledges in 259—269 | Hindus, Gujarati speaking, 24, 25 ; chivalry amongst, 16 ; habits of study, 2 ; morals of, 8 ; polygamy amongst 15 |
| Essays of the Hon'ble Dadaboy Naoroji 1—291 | Hindu Patriot, the 38 |
| Examinations, competitive, 38 ; simultaneous in India, 76, 77, 324, 350, 375, 503, 538, 547 | Holborn, election speeches in, 302—315 |
| Exchanges, letters on Indian 505—517 | Home charges, the Indian... 29, 97 |
| Excise Revenue of India 103 | Home Rule for Ireland ... 305, 314 |
| Expenditure, Indian 107 | Hunter, Sir W. W. 106 |
| Exports to India, 48, 49, 113 ; of British India... .. 566, 567 | |
| Exports and imports of India ... 191 | |
| F | |
| Famine, the Orissa 4 | Income, estimated average, of India, 156, 157, 538 |
| Famine Commission, Indian (1880), Memorandum on statements in report of 480—490 | Ilbert Bill, the 294, 299 |
| Fawcett, Mr. 59 | Imports, Indian ... 48, 49, 114, 116 |
| Fawcett Memorial Fund Meeting, Bombay, Speech at, 1885 ... 357—360 | India, commerce of, 112—136 ; debtor and creditor account of, 131—136 ; England's duties to, 26—50 ; English capital in, 488 ; income of, 481 ; impoverishment of, 138, notes ; moral drain of, 119 ; old invaders of, 472, 473, 485 ; our responsibilities in, 373—375 ; political condition of, 26, 369—372 ; produce of, 102 ; wants and means of 97—111 |
| Fellowships for Natives 89 | Indian Civil Service, 378—381 ; address on, 345—354 ; admission of educated natives into, 75—96 ; competition in England for, 536, in India for, 537—540 ; memorandum on admission of educated natives into (1866), 490—500 ; objections to admission of natives into, 75, 79 ; revised memorandum on (1884) 500—505 |
| Ferguson, Sir James ... 299, 300 | Indian Candidates, character of ... 78 |
| Firdusi 3 | (1) Indian Exchanges, letters to the <i>Times</i> on, 505—509 ; to the <i>Daily News</i> 509—517 |
| Fiction, Sanscrit literature on ... 6 | Indian Government Act (1858) ... 54 |
| Financial administration of India, the elements of, materials, design and execution, details of 137—159 | Indian Legislative Council ... 371 |
| Foreign invaders, Indian 30 | India Office Committee, report on Civil Service examination (1860), 503 ; report 530, 531 |
| Foreign rule in India 98 | India Office Council, the ... 143, 323 |
| Free Trade for India 217 | India and the Opium question 363—366 |
| Frere, Sir Bartle 16, 103 | Indian National Congress, the first, (1885), speeches at, 318—331 ; the second (1886), inaugural address at 331—348 |
| Public Works, scheme of 109 | Indian matters, indifference of British public towards 40 |
| G | |
| General Election, 1886, India's interest in 292, 302 | Indian purse, guardian of ... 54 |
| Ghose, Mr. Lal Mohun 292, 297, 317 | Indian public debt, English guarantee for 108 |
| Gladstone, Mr. 304, 312 | |
| Goldstucker, Dr. T. 6, 11 | |
| Government representative, 42 ; cost of Indian... .. 573—579 | |
| Grants, perpetual 61 | |
| Grant, Sir A. 83 | |
| Grant Duff, Mr., 102, 103, 207, 214, 259 ; Reply to Papers of... 548—584 | |
| Granville, Earl 526 | |
| Gujarati Hindus, mercantile turn of. 87 | |
| H | |
| Hartington, Marquis of ... 294, 295 | |

| | Page |
|--|---------|
| India Reform Society, the ... | 128 |
| Indian Services, the, memorandum on (1880) ... | 521—536 |
| Indigo, average price of (1833-70) | 221 |
| Integrity, Indian commercial... | 9 |
| Irrigation, 126, 132; want of, in India ... | 123 |
| Jones, Sir William ... | 3 |

L

| | |
|---|----------|
| Labourer, condition of Indian ... | 204 |
| Laing, Mr., 107 notes ... | 195 |
| Land Revenue of India ... | 148—150 |
| Land tax of India ... | 102 |
| Language, the Persian, 3; the Sanscrit ... | 5, 6 |
| Lawrence, Lord, 101, 119, 128, 155, 207, 539 | |
| Legislative Councils of India, 141—143, 320—324, 337, 370, 371, 474, 505 | |
| Lethbridge, Sir Roper ... | 299 |
| Linseed, Average price of (1855—70) | 223 |
| Literature, Arabic, 5; Asiatic, 2, 3; Oriental, 4, note 2; Persian, 3—4 notes ... | 2 |
| Local Funds of India ... | 143, 144 |
| Loans for India ... | 126—127 |
| London Indian Society ... | 469 |

M

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Mackintosh, Sir James ... | 522 |
| Maclean, Mr. ... | 195, 271, 283, 299 |
| Madras Presidency, prices in ... | 225 |
| Malcolm, Sir John, 3, 14; on the moral drain of India ... | 213 |
| Mann on truth and falsehood, 10; on truth, 11 and notes ... | 1 |
| Marriage, native early ... | 2 |
| Marriot, Mr Daniel (1836), 201, 202 | |
| Masses, the Indian ... | 28 |
| Massey, Mr ... | 107 |
| Materials for financial administration of India ... | 137—141 |
| Material causes of India's poverty ... | 120 |
| Material remedies of India's poverty ... | 123 |
| Max Müller, Professor ... | 5 |
| Mayo, Lord... ... | 151, 207, 214—217 |
| Macaulay, Mr. (1833), 245, 248; Lord ... | 372, 539 |

| | Page |
|---|----------|
| Medical Service, Indian, non-fulfilment of pledges in ... | 269, 270 |
| Medicine, Hindu ... | 6 |
| Merchants, native ... | 12 |
| Military career for natives... | 38 |
| Military charges of India ... | 101 |
| Mill, John Stuart ... | 104, 211 |
| Mohl, Dr. Julius, 4 foot note ... | 2 |
| Moral courage, native ... | 21 |
| Moral drain of India, 119, 132, 133, 212 | |
| Moral poverty of India ... | 465—480 |
| Moral remedies of India, 15, poverty 122, 123 | |
| Morality, European and Indian, 6 footnote ... | 6 |
| Mormonism ... | 16 |
| Munro, Sir Thomas, 61; on the moral drain of India ... | 212, 213 |
| Mysore, 44, 60—74; treaty with (1799) ... | 52 |

N

| | |
|--|----------|
| Natives, alleged large employment of, 91; alleged unfitnes of, 75, 79, 80; educated, 12; Europeans serving under, 84, 85; integrity and character of, 75, 80; how far unfit as heads of departments, 88; kind treatment of, 43; moral condition of, 26; physical energy of, 83, 84; in possession of power ... | 89 |
| Native officials; alleged want of respect towards ... | 85, 86 |
| Native papers, views from... | 31—34 |
| Nation, assimilation of the Indian . | 37 |
| Nationality, Indian ... | 37 |
| National debt, Indian ... | 98 |
| Native rule compared with British rule... ... | 201 |
| Native states of India, 314, 572, 573, 576 | |
| National Telegraphic Union, Indian | 313 |
| Nash, Lieutenant (1838) ... | 203 |
| Nightingale, Miss Florence, letter from (1886) ... | 309 |
| Nizam, treaty with (1752), 52; treaties with (1798—1800) 66—69 | |
| Norton, Mr. John Bruce ... | 204 |
| Northbrook Club, speech at dinner by ... | 372, 373 |
| Northcote, Sir Stafford, 55—59, 249, 319, 471, 472, note ... | 1, 490 |

O

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Offences in Bombay... ... | 9 |
|---------------------------|---|

| | Page | | Page |
|---|--------------|--|-------------------|
| Opinions, official, on the drain from India | 196—212 | Public Service Commission, 338, 376, 377; replies to questions by, | 534, 547 |
| Opium Trade, Indian | 475, 476 | Public Works of India, 99, 108, 124, 125, 126 | |
| P | | | |
| Panjab, improvement of | 138 | R | |
| Parliament, Indian representatives in | 31 | Races, European and Asiatic | 1—25 |
| Parliamentary Committee for India | 319 | Railways, 132; Indian ... | 455, 458 |
| Parsees, monogamy amongst ... | 13 | Rapesced, average price of (1855-1870) | 224 |
| Pay, leave and pension, Indian, observations on | 541 | Reception Meeting, Bombay (1887), | 316, 318 |
| Pedder, Mr. W. G. | 207 | Remittances to England ... | 115, 565 |
| Perry, Sir Erskine | 9, 321 | Revenue, Indian opium | 30 |
| Persian war | 57 | Revolution in India | 20, 25 |
| Phayre, Colonel, Resident at Baroda | 382—414 | Resources of India, 119; *development of | 39 |
| Phear, Sir John | 292, 297 | Rice, average price of (1855-70) ... | 221 |
| Pledges to India | 553, 554 | Rigveda and Yajurveda on truth ... | 11 |
| Plowden, Mr. | 292, 297 | Ripon, Lord | 311, 354—357, 373 |
| Poets of Persia | 3 | Ripon Club, speech at dinner by | 360—372 |
| Policy of justice and honesty, 35, 36; of the sword | 34, 35 | Robinson, Sir Henry | 15, 58 |
| Political aspirations of India ... | 136 | Roorkee Engineering College | 264—267 |
| Political condition of India | 369—372 | Royal Commission on India | 329, 337 |
| Political drain of India | 133; 134 | Rule, British and Native, comparative merits of | 493 |
| Political reform, Indian | 376, 377 | | |
| Polygamy | 13—15 | S | |
| Poverty of India | 102 | Salaries in India | 150 |
| Poverty of India, Part I., <i>total production of India</i> , Central Provinces, Bengal, N. W. Provinces, Panjab, Madras, Bombay; <i>necessary consumption</i> , cost of living; deficit of imports compared with the exports of India, Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Panjab, N. W. Provinces, Central Provinces; pressure of taxation | 160—217 | Salt Revenue of India | 150 |
| Part II., prices, wages, bullion, moral causes, non-fulfilment of solemn promises, unconvananted service, engineering service, medical service, reply to criticisms, the remedy 218, 291, 341, 342 | | Salt-tax, Indian | 476 |
| Prices, Indian, 44, 118, 478; causes of high prices, coffee, indigo, rice, silk, sugar, linseed, rapeseed, wool, tea; prices in Bombay, Bengal, Madras, N. W. Provinces, Punjab | 218, 238 | Scholarships, Indian Government, 251, 254—257 | |
| Prices and wages, Indian | 139, 140 | Seminaries, English, in India ... | 1 |
| Private enterprise for India ... | 127 | Shahnameh, the | 3 |
| Problems, Indian | 135, 136 | Shore, Mr. Frederick John (1837), 199, 209; Sir John (1787) | 197, 244 |
| Proclamation (1858) | 36, 249, 526 | Silk, average price of (1855-70) ... | 221 |
| Production of India, 105, 120, 137, 374 | | Sims, Colonel D. | 9 |
| | | Sirdars of Baroda | 391—393 |
| | | Slagg, Mr. | 296 |
| | | Smith, Colonel Baird | 206 |
| | | Solemn promises, non-fulfilment of, in India | 245—276 |
| | | Speeches and Addresses of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji | 292—381 |
| | | Speeches, election (1886), in England | 302—315 |
| | | Spiegel on polygamy | 14 |
| | | Stanley, Lord | 36, 525 |
| | | Statutory Civilians, selection of ... | 536 |
| | | Statuta, Parliamentary (1834) ... | 76 |
| | | Students Loan Company | 88 |
| | | Strabo on the Hindus | 9, 15 |

| Page | Page |
|--|---|
| Subordinate service, Indian, com- position, recruitment, &c. of, 545, 546 | United States, imports and exports of 100 |
| Sigar, average price of (1855-1870) 223 | Uttrathfulness, Hindu ... 10 |
| Sword, the policy of the ... 34, 35 | |
| | V |
| T | Vedas, the 5 |
| Taxation in India, 54, 72, 151, 571 ; Indian, 133 ; pressure of, in India, 214-217 ; incidence of, 481, 552, 563 | W |
| Telang, Hon'ble Mr. K. T. ... 320, 322 | Wages in India, Bengal, Bombay, Panjab, Central Provinces, 118, 238-241 |
| Temple, S. R. Richard, 154, 289, 292, 297, 298, 493 | Wallace, Sir R. 82 |
| Territorial charges, Indian 29 | Wants of India 97-103 |
| Trade of British India ... 565-571 | Wants and means of India... 97-111 |
| Travancore, treaty with (1805) .. 63 | Wellesley, Lord 60, 62 |
| Treaty, Mysore, 61 ; Travancore (1795) 71-73 | Wheat, prices of (1844-68) ... 234 |
| Trevelyan, Sir Charles 2 | Wilson, Professor H. H., 6 ; on Hindu habits 10 |
| Truth, Persian habits of 7 | Wingate, Sir George 115 |
| | Women, Persian 15 |
| U | Wool, average price of (1855-70) ... 224 |
| Uncovenanted service, Indian, 95, 504 ; non-fulfilment of pledges in, 257, 258 ; promotion from 540 | Wood, Sir Charles 43 |
| United Kingdom, imports and ex- ports of 99, 100 | Writings of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji 382-584 |
| | Z |
| | Zoroaster |

after the crash in 1720, that in 1830 the wealth of England would surpass all their wildest dreams, . . . that for one man of ten thousand pounds then living there would be five men of fifty thousand pounds, . . . our ancestors would have given as much credit to the prediction as they gave to 'Gulliver's Travels.'"

I claim no prophecy, but the statesmen of 1833 have prophesied, and the Proclamation of 1858 has prophesied. Do what they have said, and their prophecies shall be fulfilled.

Now let us see a few more facts. Because a country increases in population it does not necessarily follow that it must become poorer; nor because a country is densely populated, that therefore it must be poor. Says Macaulay: "England is a hundredfold more wealthy while it is tenfold denser." The following figures speak for themselves:

| Countries. | Inhabitants per sq mile about 1860 | Income per inhabitant (Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1886) |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Belgium... | 487 | £22.1 |
| England .. | 478 (1886) | 41 (1882) |
| Holland ... | 315 | 26 |
| Italy ... | 257 | 12 |
| British India ... | 229 | 2 |
| Germany... | 217 | 18.7 |
| Austria ... | 191 | 16.3 |
| France ... | 184 | 25.7 |
| Switzerland | 184 | 16 |
| Ireland ... | 153 (1886) | 16 (1882) |
| Denmark ... | 132 | 23.2 |
| Scotland ... | 128 (1886) | 32 (1882) |
| Portugal.. | 126 | 13.6 |
| Tunkey ... | 120 (Mulhall) | 4 (Sir E. Baring) |
| Spain ... | 85 | 13.8 |
| Greece ... | 69 | 11.8 |
| Russia in Europe | 41 | 9.9 |
| Sweden ... | 27 } | 16.2 |
| Norway ... | 15 } | |

The densest province of British India is Bengal (443). Thus here are countries denser and thinner than British India, but every one of them has a far better income than British India. Belgium, denser than the densest presidency of British India, is eleven times more wealthy; England, as dense, is twenty times more wealthy. Here are some very thinly populated countries: Mexico, 13 per square mile; Venezuela, 4.7; Chili, 8.8; Peru, 18.6; Argentine Republic, 2.6; Uruguay, 7.8;

and several others. Are they therefore so much richer than England or Belgium? Here is Ireland, at your door. About its people the Duke of Argyll only a few weeks ago (22nd April last), in the House of Lords, said: "Do not tell me that the Irish labourer is incapable of labour, or energy, or exertion. Place him in favourable circumstances and there is no better workman than the Irishman. I have myself employed large gangs of Irishmen, and I never saw any navvies work better; and besides that, they were kind and courteous men." The population of Ireland is less than one-third as dense as that of England; and yet how is it that the income of England is £41 and that of Ireland only £16 per inhabitant, and that the mass of the people do not enjoy the benefit of even that much income, and are admittedly wretchedly poor?

British India's resources are officially admitted to be enormous, and with an industrious and law-abiding people, as Sir George Birdwood testifies, it will be quite able to produce a large income, become as rich as any other country, and easily provide for an increasing population and increasing taxation, if left free scope.

Lastly, a word about the educated classes, upon whose devoted heads Sir Grant Duff has poured down all his vials of wrath. Here are some fine amenities of an English gentleman of high position: "Professional malcontents; busy, pushing talkers; ingeniously wrong; the pert scribblers of the native press; the intriguers; pushing pettifoggers, chatterboxes; disaffected cliques; the *crassa ignorantia*; little coteries of intriguers; silly and dishonest talk of Indian grumblers; politicizing sophists threaten to be a perfect curse to India," &c.

I leave these flowers of rhetoric alone. Not satisfied even with this much, he has forgotten himself altogether, and groundlessly charged the educated classes—"Who do their utmost to excite hostility against the British Government," "who do their utmost to excite factitious disloyalty." I repel this charge with only two short extracts. I need not waste many words.

The following, from the highest authority, is ample, clear, and conclusive. The Government of India, in their despatch of 8th June, 1880, to the Secretary of State for India, bear this emphatic testimony: "To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of British power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion." Secondly, on the auspicious day of the Jubilee demonstration the Viceroy of India, in his Jubilee speech, says: