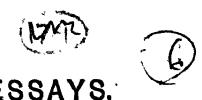
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THE MONOURABLE DADABHAI NAOROJI,



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.

Vombay:

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1887.

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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 impurtially 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 Vicercy of India.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, BART.,

LATE OF THE BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE,

THO 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."

 Hindus.
- "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 ganuine and earnest patriot and a man of indo mitable 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 Goftar.

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

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

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. Dedabhai. 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 and find it associo 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 cays 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

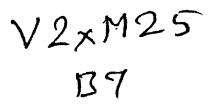
questions in the spirit of a practical statesman. He hates general isations; for mere abstract principles he seems to have little or no regard. He takes facts and figures, ascertains, as far as possible, that they are correct, and pursues all his enquiries by the light of them. Indeed, the reader will 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 snoken not for those who like to be pleased, but for those who are called upon in the present circumstances of his 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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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 1880		(Mull	Income per inhabitant (Mulhall's Dictionary of Statistics, 1886)		
Belgium			487	***	£22·1		
England	•••		478 (1886)	••	41 (1882)		
Holland			315	•••	26		
Italy	•••		2 57		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		
Tuikey	•••	***	120 (Mulhall)	•••	4 (Sir E. Baring)		
Spain			85	***	13.8		
Greece	• • •	•••	69	***	11.8		
Russia in Euro	pe		41		9 9		
Sweden Norway	•••	•+•	27 } 15 }	••	16.2		

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 mysel, 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 exite hostility against the British Government," "who do their utmost to exite 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: