

Dadabhai Naoroji

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A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND LIFE-WORK.



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The present system of government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. On the other hand, a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India.—From "*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.*"

My last prayer and exhortation to the Congress and to all my countrymen is—Go on united and earnest, in concord and harmony, with moderation, with loyalty to the British rule and patriotism towards our country, and success is sure to attend our efforts for our just demands, and the day I hope is not distant when the world will see the noblest spectacle of a great nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow-citizenship and of justice to the vast mass of humanity of this great and ancient land of India with benefits and blessings to the human race. *From the Lahore Congress Address.*

Message to the Bengalees.

The responsibility and the opportunity that has now fallen to your lot, to the lot of Bengal, is to show that Indians have a backbone—the staying-power to the last. If we can once establish this reputation, half our fight for self-government will be fought and won. I congratulate you on the opportunity Bengal has acquired to retrieve the Indian character for manliness, vigour, staying-power and, above all, readiness for any sacrifice. I don't care—I am prepared for ultimate failure—Bengal may remain partitioned—the boycott may at last end—but it will be a great gain if we can once establish the character for organised union and self-sacrifice. But I am not despondent * * * * *

* * * * * If we are determined on any one thing some result is sure to ensue towards forward progress. I look ahead to the future. Such struggles will have great influence on future progress. I wish you every success in this struggle. You are a large and homogeneous body and can do things with unity. You can take all Bengal industries in your hands, jute, coal and others. One more important result I am looking forward to is the rousing up of the masses, and the present is just the kind of struggle which can accomplish this object. If the people are once roused, they will always be ready to follow their leaders. I hope you will carry the legal fight to the end.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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INTRODUCTORY.

AMONG the eminent men whom India has produced in recent times, there is none who is more esteemed and admired than Dadabhai Naoroji. In September last his eighty-first birthday was celebrated with much enthusiasm all over the country of his birth—an honour generally done only to kings and emperors. Probably very few of the present generation have seen Mr. Naoroji, and yet his name is one to conjure with throughout the length and breadth of this country. In the words of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, “Mr. Naoroji has attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy, and which in its character is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher

plane." The life of such a man, "one of the most perfect examples of the highest type of patriotism that any country has ever produced," is, therefore, full of lessons to all Indians who take a real interest in the progress and development of their motherland.

EARLY LIFE.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born in the city of Bombay on the 4th of September 1825 in a Parsi priestly family. He lost his father when only four years old, but his mother made up for this and brought him up with great care. Helped by her brother, she gave him the best education then available in Bombay. He became a scholar of the Elphinstone Institution (now the Elphinstone College) and had a brilliant academic career, carrying off most of the prizes and exhibitions awarded to the best students. By 1845 his studies were finished. Sir Erskine Perry, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, and President of the Board of Education, was so much struck by the young man's intelligence, capacity and knowledge, that he proposed to send him to England to qualify

himself for the Bar, and offered to pay half the expenses if the members of Dadabhai's community would find the other half; but the proposal fell through as the Parsi elders feared that Dadabhai might become a convert to Christianity in England—two or three conversions of Parsis having taken place a little earlier causing the greatest consternation in the Zoroastrian community, which in matters religious is as orthodox as the Jewish. Dadabhai narrowly missed entering the Bombay Government service as a clerk in the Secretariat, but secured the post of Native Head Assistant at the Elphinstone Institution. In 1850 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the same institution, and later on to act as Professor. In this latter post he was confirmed in 1854. This was a great honor to him as he was the first Indian to be appointed a professor in the country. Dadabhai fully justified his appointment but did not hold it long. He resigned it in 1856, and proceeded to England to manage the business of the great Parsi

firm of Cama & Co., then newly started in London, of which he was a partner.

SERVICES TO BOMBAY.

Dadabhai's life between 1845, when he finished his studies, and 1855, when he left for England, was an eventful one and not less active and unselfish than it has since been. His activities covered a very wide range. With the help of Principal Patton, he organised the Students' Literary and Scientific Society which still exists. A journal, known as the *Students' Literary Miscellany*, was started in connection with the Society and Dadabhai was one of the most diligent contributors to it. He started branches of the Society under the name of the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali for discussions in the Guzerati and Marathi languages, and delivered lectures himself under the auspices of the Guzerati Dnyan Prasarak Mandali. To Dadabhai Bombay owed her first girls' schools which were opened amidst much opposition. At one of the meetings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, a stirring paper on the advantages

of female education was read by a gentleman named Behramji Ghandi; and Professor Patton, who presided, urged upon the members the duty of their taking active steps in the matter. Led by Dadabhai, a number of the members opened classes in various parts of Bombay, and taught them themselves during their spare hours. These classes subsequently developed into the Students' Literary and Scientific Society's Marathi and Parsi Girls' Schools. The Marathi Schools still exist under the auspices of the Society, but the Parsi Schools were taken up by the Zarthasti Girls' School Association, one of which was later on endowed by the late Mr. S. S. Bengali, a coadjutor of Dadabhai in all his efforts at social reform among the Parsis. Dadabhai was thus one of the pioneers of female education in Bombay. He also took an active part in establishing the Bombay Association, the Framji Cowasji Institute, the Irani Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Marriage Association, and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1851 he started the *Rast Goftar* (Truth-

teller) as a Guzerati weekly and the organ of the advanced and progressive views held by himself and other young men at the time, and edited it himself for two years with such able colleagues as Messrs. Naoroji Furdonji, Jehanghir Burjorji Wacha and S. S. Bengali. This period of his life was thus full of activity and Mr. Naoroji may, as he said recently, well look back upon it "with pride and pleasure; with the satisfaction of a duty performed" that he owed to the people.

INDIANS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. Naoroji's political activity began soon after he set foot on English soil and has continued unabated to this day. Almost the first subject that attracted his attention was the employment of natives of India in the Indian Civil Service. In 1855 the old system of nominations to this Service was abolished, and the present one of recruitment by open competition was adopted instead. Among the candidates who offered themselves at the first competition was an Indian, the very first, Mr. R. H. Wadia, the

scion of a distinguished Parsi family of master-builders. The Civil Service Commissioners objected to admitting Wadia, on a technical ground as to limit of age—a point altogether doubtful. This led to a long correspondence between them and the rejected candidate. Mr. Naoroji was in London at the time, and coming to know of this, at once took up Wadia's cause and fought, with the support of Mr. John Bright, for the relaxation of the age-rule in his case. He did not, however, succeed, but this led him to take up the larger question of the desirability of holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service. He opened correspondence on the subject with the Council of India and secured the sympathy of as many as four of its members. One of them minuted to the effect that our rulers were giving promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. But the majority were against him. Mr. Naoroji, however, did not give up the fight. With his characteristic perseverance he kept on agitating on the matter, until, in 1893, the

House of Commons, by a majority, declared itself in favour of simultaneous examinations.

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

Shortly after going to England in 1855, he found that there was much ignorance in that country regarding India, its people and its government; and it struck him that it would be of great advantage to India, if the English people were educated as to their responsibilities as rulers of India. For this purpose he started, with the co-operation of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, the London Indian Society which, in spite of a chequered career, continues to exist to this day and has recently been pretty active. Later, Mr. Naoroji started a larger Association, known as the East India Association, which was to admit not only Indians, but all who were interested in the welfare of India. He collected donations and endowments for the purpose from some of the Indian Princes and Chiefs and thus placed that organisation on a sound financial footing. Amongst these donors were the Gaekwar, the Holkar, Scindia, the Rao of Cutch, and several others. In the

early years of its existence this Association did much useful work in the direction of disseminating sound and healthy views on Indian questions, and the volumes of its journal of that period contain much valuable material on Indian politics and economics. Many a retired Governor, say men like Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Bartle Frere, and other equally broad-minded and sympathetic Anglo-Indian officials used to read papers and carry on discussions. Both Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and Mr. (now Sir) P. M. Mehta read useful papers, the former on Hindu Law, and the latter on Education. Mr. Dadabhai read many. The late Mr. Robert Knight read a most exhaustive paper on Indian finances and other reforms. There were also papers on Self-Government, in which the well-known eminent Counsel of Bombay, the late Mr. Anstey, took an active part. Mr. Naoroji travelled about the country addressing meetings on Indian questions, wrote to newspapers and other periodicals on them, encouraged many to read papers before learned societies with a view to

correct popular European fallacies regarding India, and corresponded with the Secretary of State for India.

FAILURE OF HIS FIRM IN LONDON.

In 1866 Mr. Naoroji, who had started a firm of his own in 1862 and separated from the firm of the Camas, failed in attempting to befriend a Hindu gentleman and save him from bankruptcy. But the reputation that Naoroji had acquired for honesty and integrity in business stood him in good stead; so that when he placed his affairs unreservedly before his creditors, they sympathised with him and showed him much consideration. The Governor of the Bank of England—one of the creditors—wrote to him personally and complimented him on his remarkable honesty. With the help of loans from some friends and through the kindness of his creditors, he managed to escape from his financial difficulties and returned to Bombay in 1869.

BACK TO BOMBAY.

His services to the cause of India, during his stay in England, were so highly valued that, on his

return, a grand demonstration was promoted in his honor by the citizens of Bombay, at the instance of Mr. (now Sir) P. M. Mehta, and at a large and representative meeting of all classes, an address and a handsome purse were presented to him, and his portrait was taken. Mr. Naoroji did not utilize any of this money for his private purposes, but spent it all on useful public objects. The Portrait Fund was kept apart earning interest till, in December 1900, the portrait was prepared and unveiled in the Franjji Cowasji Institute under the presidency of the late Mr. Ranade who made a most eloquent and instructive speech which has a melancholy association about it—it being his last public speech a few days before his sudden and premature death.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE FAWCETT COMMITTEE.

Mr. Naoroji soon after returned to England to give evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Finance, known as the Fawcett Committee. The most important point which Mr. Naoroji sought to establish before the Committee was the great poverty of India and the

very high incidence of taxation in the country. This subject may be said to be the special study of Mr. Naoroji, and to this day he continues to write and speak on it. When in his evidence before the Committee he stated that the average income per head in British India was only Rs. 20, he provoked only a smile and brought on himself the wrath of many Anglo-Indian officials. A bitter controversy followed, but Mr. Naoroji courageously continued the agitation. In 1873 he issued, in pamphlet form, his facts and figures on the subject, calling it the "Poverty of India," and seven years later he revised the brochure and amplified it, calling it the "Condition of India." Several years after he had the satisfaction to find his views practically accepted by the Government of India's Finance Minister, Sir E. Baring, now Lord Cromer, who declared, as a result of official investigation, that the average income per head in British India was only Rs. 27 per annum. Mr. Naoroji also drew the attention of the Fawcett Committee to several defects in British Indian administration, among which were its extravagant cost,

the enormous annual drain of India's wealth towards England, and the inequitable treatment of the natives of the country in regard to the higher offices in the administration.

DEWANSHIP OF BARODA.

Mr. Naoroji returned to India in 1874, having been appointed Dewan of the Baroda State, which was then in a chaotic state owing to the maladministration of its ruler—Mulhar Rao Gaekwar. Mr. Naoroji had no easy task before him. He had a real Augean stable to clean, and in this difficult work he was hampered not a little by the unsympathetic attitude of the British Resident, Col. Phayre, and the intrigues of the corrupt State officials who till then had had their way. But with his usual persistence, Mr. Naoroji worked steadily on with the staff of many educated and able men he requisitioned from Bombay, and though he was Dewan for less than 2 years, he succeeded in completely reforming the administration, and in putting down corruption which had been rampant in the administration of civil and criminal justice. As to his

quarrels with Col. Phayre, Mr. Dadabhai had the satisfaction to see his conduct successfully vindicated by Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State.

ACTIVITIES IN BOMBAY.

After resigning his office as Dewan of Baroda, Mr. Naoroji returned to Bombay, and stayed there for some years serving, meanwhile, his native city as a member of the Municipal Corporation. Being depressed by the repressive and reactionary administration of Lord Lytton, he had for a time kept a retired life. With a change in the viceroyalty he returned to public life. He entered the Corporation again and continued to be in it till 1885, during which period he rendered valuable service which that body recognised in the form of a resolution on its records. In the latter year he was invited by Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay, to accept a seat on the Bombay Legislative Council. He did not, however, remain long on the Council, as early in 1886 he left for England with the idea of getting into the British Parliament and fighting the cause

of his native country there. But before his departure he took part in the inauguration of the Indian National Congress which held its first sitting in Bombay in December 1885.

ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

When Mr. Naoroji went to England in 1886, that country was amidst the throes of a General Election, and though Mr. Naoroji succeeded in getting himself accepted as the Liberal candidate by the electors of Holborn, he failed to win the seat, as the principal issue fought out was the question of granting Home Rule to Ireland, and on this public opinion was against Mr. Gladstone who proposed to grant the concession. Mr. Naoroji, however, managed to poll 1,950 votes against his opponent's 3,651, a very creditable thing when it is remembered that Mr. Naoroji was at the double disadvantage of being a 'black man' and a Liberal. In spite of his defeat, Mr. Naoroji continued to stay in England, giving his attention to the interests of India, and redoubling his efforts to persuade a metropolitan constituency to return him to Parliament at the next election.

Towards the close of the year, however, Mr. Naoroji returned to India to preside over the second sitting of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. In January 1887, he gave very valuable evidence before the Public Service Commission (itself only the result of his own active agitation), and shortly after left for England, to renew his efforts to get into the British Parliament. After five years' hard work he succeeded, being returned by the electors of Central Finsbury as a Liberal member at the General Election held in 1892. All India congratulated him on this unique honour and there can be no doubt that Mr. Naoroji's success paved the way for the return, a few years later, by a London constituency, of another Parsi as its Parliamentary representative.

MAIDEN SPEECH.

On the 9th August 1892, Mr. Naoroji made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, during the debate on the address to the Queen, which produced a favourable impression. We make no apology for reproducing it in full below :—

It may be considered rather rash and unwise on my part to stand before this House so immediately after my admission here ; and my only excuse is that I am under a certain necessity to do so. My election for an English constituency is a unique event. For the first time during more than a century of settled British rule, an Indian is admitted into the House as a member for an English constituency. That, as I have said, is a unique event in the history of India, and, I may also venture to say, in the history of the British Empire. I desire to say a few words in analysis of this great and wonderful phenomenon. The spirit of the British rule, the instinct of British justice and generosity, from the very commencement, when they seriously took the matter of Indian policy into their hands, about the beginning of this century, decided that India was to be governed on the lines of British freedom and justice. Steps were taken without any hesitation to introduce Western education, civilisation, and political institutions in that country ; and the result was that, aided by a noble and grand language in which the youth of that country began to be educated, a great movement of political life—I may say new life—was infused into that country which had been decaying for centuries. The British rulers of the country endowed it with all their own most important privileges. A few days ago, Sir, you demanded from the Throne the privileges which belong to the people, including freedom of speech, for which they fought and shed their blood. That freedom of speech you have given to us, and it enables Indians to stand before you and represent in clear and

open language any desire they have felt. By conferring those privileges you have prepared for this final result of an Indian standing before you in this House, becoming a member of the great Imperial Parliament of the British Empire, and being able to express his views openly and fearlessly before you. The glory and credit of this great event—by which India is thrilled from one end to the other—of the new life, the joy, the ecstasy of India at the present moment, are all your own; it is the spirit of British institutions and the love of justice and freedom in British instincts which has produced this extraordinary result, and I stand here in the name of India to thank the British people that they have made it all possible for an Indian to occupy this position, and to speak freely in the English language of any grievance which India may be suffering under, with the conviction that though he stands alone, with only one vote, whenever he is able to bring forward any aspiration, and is supported by just and proper reasons, he will find a large number of other members from both sides of the House ready to support him and give him the justice he asks. This is the conviction which permeates the whole thinking and educated classes of India. It is that conviction that enables us to work on, day after day, without dismay for the removal of a grievance. The question now being discussed before the House will come up from time to time in practical shape, and I shall then be able to express my humble views upon them as a representative of the English constituency of Central Finsbury. I do not intend to enter into them now. Central

Finsbury has earned the everlasting gratitude of the millions of India, and has made itself famous in the history of the British Empire, by electing an Indian to represent it. Its name will never be forgotten by India. This event has strengthened the British power and the loyalty and attachment of India to it ten times more than the sending out of one hundred thousand or two hundred thousand European soldiers would have done. The moral force to which the right honourable gentleman, the member for Midlothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), referred is the golden link by which India is held by the British power. So long as India is satisfied with the justice and honour of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last, and I have not the least doubt that, though our progress may be slow and we may at times meet with disappointments, if we persevere, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get. I thank you, Sir, for allowing me to say these few words and the House for so indulgently listening to me, and I hope that the connection between England and India—which forms five-sixths of the British Empire—may continue long with benefit to both countries. There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, and I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered, and, if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction.

SERVICES IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Naoroji's first effort as Member of Parliament was to interest British members in Indian affairs, and, with the aid of Sir William

Wedderburn and the late Mr. W. S. Caine, he succeeded in organising the Indian Parliamentary Committee which for many years rendered very valuable and substantial service to this country. In the year following his election, he got Mr. Herbert Paul to move the famous resolution about holding simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service, and though it was opposed by the Government, it was passed by a majority of the House. The credit for this success was mostly due to Mr. Naoroji.

PRESIDENT OF THE LAHORE CONGRESS.

Towards the close of the year Mr. Naoroji came out to India to preside over the ninth session of the Congress held at Lahore. His journey from Bombay to Lahore was a regular triumphal progress, a right royal welcome being accorded to him at every station the train stopped at. On his return journey the citizens of Allahabad presented him with an address of welcome. At Lahore the enthusiasm of the Punjabees was at white heat. They would not allow the horses to draw Mr. Naoroji's carriage.

but had it dragged to the President's camp by bands of earnest young men. Accounts of these incidents, wired from India, filled the columns of the British newspapers, and that great friend of India—the late Sir William Hunter—summed up his views on the situation in one of his notable articles in the *Times* on “Indian Affairs,” in the following brilliant passage :—

“The enthusiasm with which the President of this year's Congress has been received in India was very striking. Mr. Naoroji is not only the first Indian gentleman who has ever been elected to Parliament ; he is also an example of an early career of high promise being overshadowed by long frustrations in middle life and realized after unwearied perseverance in advanced age. The brilliant young student and Professor of Elphinstone College who left Bombay to seek his fortunes in England in 1855, was received back last month bowed with the weight of 62 years and of a great family sorrow. He had a welcome on landing such as has only on one occasion been rivalled even by a vice-regal ovation. His reception at Lahore has, perhaps, not been surpassed since the days of Ranjit Singh. It is for him and his colleagues to direct wisely the new influence which the Congress party has acquired in the House of Commons and the Indian Legislative Councils.

The 'sorrow' referred to was the death of his only son.

EVIDENCE BEFORE THE WELBY COMMISSION.

The most substantial result of Mr. Naoroji's short Parliamentary career was the appointment of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896, of which Mr. Naoroji himself was member. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. W. S. Caine were two of his colleagues. Mr. Naoroji himself gave evidence as a witness before this very Commission in 1897, generally known as the Welby Commission, from its being presided over by Lord Welby, and submitted a number of statements which showed his thorough grasp and wide knowledge of the complicated problems of Indian finance and politics. The following is a summary prepared by himself of his contentions in his evidence before the Commission :—

I have handed in to the Commission six printed statements. These statements contain the facts, figures and authorities upon which I rely, and I am prepared to be cross-examined upon them.

The headings under which my evidence falls are—
(a) The Administration of Expenditure. (b) The

Apportionment of Charge. (c) Practical Remedies. Upon each of these headings I am prepared to state categorically my most important contentions on behalf of India.

I consider that the Act of 1833, confirmed by the pledges contained in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, conferred upon Indians a right to their full claim and share of public employment and emoluments and voice in their own expenditure, in order to secure their happiness and prosperity, and good government and attachment to British rule, and the prosperity of the British people themselves.

I maintain that the administration of Indian expenditure is not conducted according to the principles thus laid down, and that the non-fulfilment of these pledges has produced poverty and degradation; the inherent and essential defect of British administration being the financial, political and intellectual drain, which is inseparable from a remote foreign dominion exercised in disregard of the sound principles above stated.

In my six statements I set forth the facts of India's poverty, as shown by the comparative production and consumption of each province, by calculating the average production of India per head; by analysing the trade returns; and by reference to the small amount of revenue obtained after exhausting all sources of taxation.

I maintain that the impoverishment and degradation of British India has been caused by the compulsory employment of costly foreign official agencies and foreign capital (represented by the public debt, political and commercial) beyond the means of the taxpayer, resulting in a drain from British India, financial, political

and intellectual—aggravated by heavy Imperial war expenditure beyond the frontier—and that indirectly the foreign dominion has caused a further drain by creating a practical monopoly in favour of foreign private capital, which reaps the advantage of British India's material resources.

My propositions are :—

That it is the desire of the British people that British rule should be one of justice and righteousness for the benefit of both India and Britain, and not for the benefit of Britain only to the detriment of India, and that the financial relations in apportionment of charge should be as those between two partners and not as those between master and slave.

That upon this equitable basis the apportionment of expenditure in which Britain and India are jointly interested should be according to extent of the interest and according to capacity to pay.

That the creation and maintenance of British Imperial supremacy in India is a British interest of the first magnitude; yet, with a few exceptions, India has been unjustly charged with the whole cost of creating and maintaining the British Imperial supremacy without Britain paying any portion, and without India being allowed to share in the advantages connected with that supremacy.

That law and order are beneficial to India, but they are also a British interest, as a condition essential to the very existence and prosperity of British rule.

That, assuming, as it is said, that India should bear all those charges for internal and external protec-

tion which she would have to bear if British rule did not exist, she should not bear the special cost of European agency so far as used solely to maintain British supremacy. And, moreover, that if British rule did not exist every one employed will be an Indian and not an European.

That as a practical arrangement Britain should pay for all British employed in Britain, that India should pay for all Indians employed in India, and that, as regards British employed in India, and Indians employed in Britain, there should be an equitable apportionment according to respective benefit and capacity to pay. To put it still more moderately, the payments to Europeans in both countries may be divided half-and-half between Britain and India.

That in the Army, Navy and Civil Service, public employment, with its advantages and emoluments should be proportioned to the charge; and in considering this point it should be borne in mind that in India Government employment monopolises in great part the sphere of private enterprise and the open professions as practised in Britain.

That the wars carried on beyond the Indian frontier of 1858 are, as stated by Lord Salisbury, "an indivisible part of a great Imperial question," and that, therefore, the cost should primarily be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, India contributing a fair share on account of, and in proportion to, indirect and incidental benefits accruing to her, and direct share in the services.

That from April, 1882, to March, 1891, nearly Rs. 129 millions were spent from Indian revenues beyond the

western and north-western frontiers of India, for avowedly Imperial purposes, and that a fair share of this amount should be refunded from the Imperial Exchequer, and similarly for the cost of the Burmese War.

Since putting in my statements I have obtained further figures showing the amounts spent from Indian revenues upon military operations beyond the frontiers of India. Colonel H. B. Hanna, in his book No. 3, "Backwards or Forwards," gives at page 40 a table, and makes the total about Rs. 7,14,500,000, out of which the British Exchequer paid about £ 5,000,000 towards the expenses of the Afghan War. Besides this amount, he points out several omissions. I may put in this table, with his remarks thereon, in Chap. III.

The principle I approve is that which was declared by the Duke of Devonshire, who said: "If the country is to be better governed that can only be done by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the Service"; and, as pointed out by Sir W. W. Hunter, "If we are to govern the people of India efficiently and cheaply, we must govern them by means of themselves, and pay for the administration at the market rates of native labour." An administration conducted on these principles will stop the material, political and intellectual drain from India.

In the case of the Mysore State this method was adopted by Lords Salisbury and Iddesleigh, "as a guarantee for the good government of the people, and for the security of British rights and interests." This experiment, though disapproved by the Anglo-Indian authorities, was loyally and effectively carried out by them, and proved a

brilliant success, resulting in a contented people, a full treasury, moral and material progress, and attachment to British supremacy. It is a brilliant episode in British Indian History.

Similarly, British India will be prosperous and contented if the same principles are followed, local administration being entrusted to competent native officials, under European control, co-operating with representative assemblies.

I gladly recognise the benefits of British rule, especially as regards law and order, education, and freedom of the Press and public meeting ; but I believe that British power and influence are much weakened by the refusal to administer expenditure in a way so as to give the people justice, and a voice in their own affairs, by the consequent "extreme poverty" of the masses, and by the non-fulfilment of the solemn pledges, given by Parliament and the Crown, of equal opportunity in the public service to all subjects of Her Majesty ; and I sincerely desire to see British rule strengthened on the lines most beneficial to the people, both of India and of Britain.

I desire to put in my correspondence with the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Civil Service Commissioners. In this I claim that neither the War Office nor the Admiralty had any authority or power to exclude Indians from the commissioned ranks.

FAILURE TO GET INTO PARLIAMENT.

In 1895 the Liberals had to resign and the General Election which followed placed their

opponents in power. Mr. Naoroji failed to get into Parliament owing to the unpopularity of the party with whom he had identified himself. Mr. Naoroji, however, was by no means depressed by his defeat, as will be seen from the message he sent to his countrymen through the columns of the *India* newspaper. We print the message in full below :—

I have had nearly half a century of varied public and private life—political, social, educational, commercial, administrative, etc.—and I have had, like every human effort, my successes and failures. But I have, I may say, never been either unduly elated by any success, or depressed by any failure. In such a general wreck of the Liberal party, I have suffered as one of them. But the only policy upon which I have acted through life—the policy of “Go on, with patience and perseverance,” whether successful or unsuccessful in any good cause—is the one upon which I shall act now as ever before. As long as I have the health and opportunity of serving my country, I shall continue to do so. This is the last work of my life, and I intend to go on with it. I mean, therefore, to try to get into the House of Commons again, as it is there that the battles of the grievances and necessary reforms of India, and the stability of the British Empire have to be fought. The good of India is the good of the British Empire. The Indian question is of far wider importance than merely the interests of India.

It is the question of the very existence, stability and continuance of the British Empire. As my views on this great subject have been made public at various times, and will have to be expressed yet many a time more on suitable occasions, I need not repeat them here, beyond saying that vast and powerful forces are working and growing in India. If the statesmen of the day do not direct them to the promotion of the interests of the Empire, producing satisfaction and prosperity among the people, they cannot and should not expect that these forces will not go against the British rule, and end in some disaster. My humble efforts have always been, and will continue to be, directed to avert this calamity as far as an individual's efforts can go. My countrymen in India need not be in any way discouraged by my defeat. The interest in Indian affairs has been gradually but surely (though slowly) increasing among the British people, and I shall always cherish the hope that the British people will some time see that their true interest consists in promoting the interests, contentment and prosperity of India, and not in persisting in the unnatural present policy which is gradually leading to the discontentment and continuous poverty of India.

His defeat was regarded in India as almost a national calamity, and even such a journal as the *Times of India*, wrote as follows about it :—

We cannot regard without respect the widespread disappointment which Dadabhai's defeat has caused amongst his friends in this country. He was the exponent of opinions with which we are seldom in accord, for he

looked at the British administration of India from a standpoint at which no one who dispassionately considered the requirements and the capabilities of the country could place himself. But we do not think that he ever seemed to his most resolute opponents as other than a straightforward, sincere, and disinterested champion of the views he had adopted.

Since he left India in 1887, Mr. Naoroji has been staying in England, having practically made that country his 'home,' and has been in his usual persistent way working for the country of his birth. In 1896 he opened correspondence with the War Office and the Admiralty regarding the exclusion of natives of India from examinations for admission to the Army and the Navy, and though he did not succeed in getting either of these bodies to remove the exclusion, he was able to show that the rules on which it was based were contrary to the Queen's Proclamations of 1858 and 1887. In 1897 he gave evidence, as already stated, before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure.

STATEMENTS TO THE CURRENCY COMMITTEE.

In 1898 he prepared and submitted two instructive statements to the Indian Currency

Committee, which sat under the presidency of Sir Henry Fowler, to consider the question of the then proposed gold currency for India. The views set forth in these statements are summarised in the following extract from a letter of Mr. Naoroji published in the *London Times* of June 3, 1898 :—

1. Fall or rise in exchange does not in itself (other circumstances being the same) matter in true international trade, which adjusts itself automatically to the requirements of exchange. I would illustrate this. I desire, for instance, to lay out £1,000 for sending a quantity of piece-goods to India. I calculate the price of the manufacturer, exchange, whatever it may be, 1s., 2s., or 3s. per rupee, freight, insurance, commission, etc., and see whether the price in India would pay me a fair profit. If I think it would I enter into the transaction, sell my bill to an East India bank, and take the usual commercial chances of supply, demand, etc., when the goods arrive in India. I give this illustration in its simplest form of the general character of commercial transactions between this country and India. There are variations of the method of these transactions, but into them I do not enter at present, to avoid confusion. The main principle is the same.

2. Closing the mints or introducing a gold standard does not and cannot save a single farthing to the Indian taxpayers in their remittances for "home charges" to this country. The reason is simple. Suppose we take,

roundly, £20,000,000 sterling in gold to be the amount of the "home charges." The Indian taxpayers have to send as much produce to this country as is necessary to buy £20,000,000 sterling, not an ounce less, no matter whatever may be the rupee, or whatever the standard—gold or silver—in India, England must receive £20,000,000 in gold or produce worth £20,000,000 in gold.

3. Closing of the mints and thereby raising the true rupee worth, at present about 11*d.* in gold, to a false rupee to be worth about 16*d.* in gold, is a covert exaction of 45 per cent. more taxation (besides producing other effects which I do not mention) from the Indian taxpayers. The reason is again simple. Suppose a ryot has to pay Rs. 10 for land-tax. This rupee means a fixed quantity of silver stamped with the mint stamp, and is truly worth at present only about 11*d.* of gold. By closing the mints this rupee is forced up to the worth of 16*d.* of gold, and the ryot is compelled to find this high-priced false rupee of 16*d.* of gold; or, in other words, to sell 45 per cent. more of his produce to get this false rupee, the Government thus getting 45 per cent. more taxation than it is entitled to, even according to its own "despotic" legislation.

4. The introduction of a gold standard, while it will not save a single farthing or a single ounce of produce to the Indian taxpayer in his payment of "home charges," as explained above, will simply add more to his already existing grievous burdens (and injure him in other ways which I avoid mentioning here), to the extent of the heavy cost of the alteration.

I have thus put forth four simple clear propositions. It is necessary for your other correspondents to consider whether these propositions are true or not. If once these fundamental issues or premises are settled, further discussion will have a sound basis to go upon. At present the whole controversy is based upon the assumption that closing of mints or introduction of a gold standard will produce to the Indian taxpayers an enormous saving in their remittances for "home charges." This, I say, is a mere fiction of the imagination and an unfortunate delusion.

I avoid also entering on the question of the remedy. It is useless to talk about the remedy before making a true diagnosis of the real character of the disease.

AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOCIAL
DEMOCRATS AT AMSTERDAM.

In 1905 Mr. Naoroji attended the International Congress of Social Democrats held at Amsterdam as the representative of India. At this Congress Mr. Naoroji spoke on the resolution condemning the present system of British Government in India and produced a remarkable impression. In the words of one who was there, Mr. Naoroji "notwithstanding his 80 years, displayed throughout the Congress a vigour of mind and body which men 30 years his junior might have er-

ved. . . . His voice rang clear and resonant from one end of the hall to the other. Never was there the slightest hesitation or weakness from first to last, as he laid the case for India calmly, moderately, with relentless logic."

PUBLICATION OF HIS BOOK.

In 1902 Mr. Naoroji published his famous book with the significant title of *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*. The book consists of a selection from his papers, speeches, contributions to periodicals, statements before Commissions and Committees, correspondence with official bodies on Indian questions. It may, perhaps, be regretted that Mr. Naoroji did not adopt the better method of revising these and stating his case in a compact essay with the necessary evidence and authorities. In its present form the book is much too expansive to be read through, except by a few, but, perhaps, Mr. Naoroji's advancing age was prohibitory against undertaking that laborious task. Anyhow, the book is a solid contribution to the literature on Indian questions

and is a storehouse of information on Indian economics. Throughout its pages one finds Mr. Naoroji persistently making out that the great and gradually increasing poverty of India is due to the enormous annual drain of 30 millions sterling (more or less in the form of exports of produce) from the country *without a pie of return*, that the present system of British administration involves, and that this can be remedied only by the substitution of Indians for the very large and extremely costly staff of Europeans now employed in the country, and by the exploitation of the country's resources by sons of the soil alone.

THE BURDEN OF THE BOOK.

The following statement made by him some years ago to the representative of a Paris journal, who interviewed him, may be regarded as summarising the political views contained in this book :—

The relations between England and India latterly have been most unhappy, and most disastrous, particularly with regard to India's economic and material condition. On one side, one of the important advantages conferred on India by England is English education ; the Indians

are profoundly grateful to England for this fact—but in spite of other concessions of less importance the disadvantages greatly surpass the benefits conferred. At the very outset of the association of England with India, corruption and oppression were the principal characteristics, and the rule of the system which was adopted. When little by little this cynical corruption ceased, the system, nevertheless, was such that a considerable part of the public wealth of India was transferred from India to England. This calamity has not ceased to manifest itself to this day. What at first was only a tribute of one or two millions has become in the course of the last 150 years an annual drain of 30 million pounds sterling, that is to say, a sum which no other country in the world could pay without being utterly impoverished and completely ruined. The evils from which the Indians suffer are made up of the following elements. To begin with, England by pure despotism, carries off annually two hundred millions of rupees for payment under the head of salaries for Government officials, so that the wealth produced by the work of the people, so far from supplying their own needs, becomes the prey of men who are, so far as they are concerned, mere foreigners. Besides the loss of the wealth of their country, the people are, in addition, excluded from public office in their own native land. All the important positions are, so to speak, inaccessible to them. Thus the Indians, as a result of this rapacious system, suffer the two-fold loss of wealth and of work. This system may be regarded as an incessant and unceasingly

growing waste, due to foreign invasion. At this very time there are thousands who have been sent to India to get wealth from it, and all these people will return to their homes with what they take from the country. This increasing invasion of India by the English has had for its result the increasing impoverishment of the mass of the Indian people. Consequently, millions of men perish by famine and epidemic disease, and a still larger number are insufficiently fed by reason of their poverty. Famines in India are not due to scarcity of food; they are due to lack of money, so little have the wretched Indians to live upon. The British system of administration further aggravates this disastrous result. The wealth drained from India returns to India in the form of British capital; but a much larger sum is taken away than that which comes back. This so-called British capital exploits afresh the mineral and vegetable resources of India, gold, coal, iron, and other products; so that by this means, under the form of profits, still more wealth is taken from the country. Altogether, if one includes the two hundred million rupees which the British Government begins by taking for the salaries and pensions of English Government officials as well as the profits from the exploitation of gold, coal, and iron, the total sum carried away by England from India amounts every year to thirty millions, a wastage so large and so ruinous that India finds herself reduced to the most extreme misery. All the former invasions taken together have not produced havoc comparable to that which the English subject us to in two or three

years. In addition to this unmerciful drain which it inflicts on India, the British Government has further dealt with her in a humiliating manner. England has not wholly fulfilled one of her promises, nor one of her solemn proclamations by which she undertook to treat the Indians as British subjects without knowing difference of race or of colour. To-day after the most formal undertakings, England has not granted to the Indian the elementary right known to all English citizens of taxation by consent and of controlling expenditure. It is a system of pure despotism where taxation, like expenditure, is wholly at the discretion of our masters. The people are treated as slaves and what is worse is that our masters are not of our country, the damage is all the greater because when plunder is taken by men of the same country, the wealth remains, at any rate in the country, and whatever may be the character of such a Government, the people profit by it at least to a certain extent. The most disastrous feature of British rule in India is that all that is wrested from India is definitely lost to its inhabitants, and consequently, the ills that England imposes on India are of the gravest possible kind. Macaulay was right when he said: 'The heaviest yoke is that of the stranger.' English statesmen themselves have often declared that this evil system produces terrible consequences for England herself. The English system so much praised, and (they say) so successful, is really, therefore, a system of bleeding, and also a system of political insincerity, as Lord Salisbury himself has confessed.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS BRITISH RULE.

The following extracts from the introduction to Mr. Dadabhai's famous book deserve particular notice :—

“ The title of the book is **POVERTY AND UN-BRITISH RULE IN INDIA**, *i.e.*, the present system of government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un-British and suicidal to Britain. On the other hand, a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India. ”

“ True British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonorable un-British system of government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent unconceivable at present, if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the ‘ faithful and conscientious fulfilment ’ of all their great and solemn promises and pledges. ”


“ Mr. John Bright has truly said : ‘ The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India. There are but two modes of gaining anything by our connexion with India. The one is by plundering the people of India and the other by trading with them. I prefer to do it by trading with them. But in order that England may become rich by trading with India, India itself must become rich. Cannot British authorities see their way to such intelligent selfishness ? ”

CONCLUSION.

Of Mr. Naoroji's activity since 1901 little more need be said than that as in all the years before he has been indefatigably and uninterruptedly working for his country's cause, addressing meetings and writing to periodicals on Indian questions. Though he has just entered on his 82nd year, he is as active and fresh as ever. We need not refer to his keen disappointment at the defeat he sustained at the last General Election to re-enter the House of Commons and serve his country once more. India owes a great deal to him already, and if

for nothing else, she ought to be grateful to him for his persistent efforts to persuade the people of England and even optimistic Viceroys and Secretaries of State to admit the great poverty of India. These efforts are beginning slowly to bear fruit, and we have no doubt that, when the India of the future is completely moulded and shaped, Mr. Naoroji's share in the work will be found to have been quite invaluable. His work has throughout been unselfish, incessant, and unostentatious. The mainspring of all his labours has been his great faith in British justice, and though now and again he has been found fault with for the vehemence of his language, there is not the faintest trace of *lesé majesté* in his writings or speeches. On the other hand, as the late Mr. Justice Ranade said, the basis on which Mr. Naoroji has always laboured is "that the people of this country should come to regard the existence and continuance of British dominion in this part of Asia to be an unquestionable fact." Mr. Naoroji is, as Mr. Gokhale described him in public recently, "one of the greatest men in

the world " or, as an old Bombay journalist of experience and knowledge said, " one in a million, " and if he has sometimes used bitter language, it is because the situation required it. With " its sweet purity, its simplicity, its gentle forbearance, its noble self-denial, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims, " Mr. Naoroji's life is one which every Indian might well try to follow. It has been a life of strenuous energy, sacrifice for the motherland for over fifty years and " if only our young men will realize this in their lives, even partially, however dark the outlook at times may appear, the future is bound to be full of hope."



APPENDIX.—A.

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

A CHAPTER OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

One of the first fancies which took possession of my mind as a little child—a fancy which has remained in my memory—was that, as my father was dead, the moon, like other friends, was in sympathy with me. And whether I went to the front or the back of the house the moon always seemed to go with me. I liked sympathy then and I like it now.

Another incident of my childhood I give upon my mother's authority, and not from personal recollection. According to my mother, whenever any boy used bad language to me, I used to reply : " Your bad words will remain in your mouth."

As a boy I took a great interest in, and was considered pretty smart at, Indian cricket. In the pursuit of that active and absorbing game we boys did not in the least seem to mind the hot sun, and during the half hour for lunch at midday we used to play regularly on the Esplanade.

Being quick at the multiplication table and at mental arithmetic, and being also little of size and fair of colour I was a regular " exhibition boy " at my indigenous or native school. On special occasions all the boys of the school used to be lined up in the open by the side of the road, and there, surrounded by crowds of people, I, along with other little boys, was smartly exercised in mental gymnastics amid the loud " wa-was " (bravos) of the admiring audience.

Owing to the fairness of my complexion, and I think I may say the prettiness of my little limbs, I was also always an object of show at weddings, processions, etc., generally appearing as an English general or admiral, or in some gorgeous Indian Royal or Court dress of brocade. Fond parents and friends of the child thus exhibited used to say of him : " Oh, he is my dear ' Jonglo ' (Englishman)." Little did I dream then that I should spend much of my manhood and older life in the country of the " Jonglas " and don their dress in reality. I was particularly reminded of these days of processions and my childish joy in the different dresses I wore, especially the English Court dress, when, in Court dress, I formed one of the deputation from the Committee of the Imperial Institute who received the late Queen Victoria on the occasion of the opening of that building. I well remember how the thought passed through my mind, " Here I am a real courtier now."

One of the delights of my boyhood was to read the "Shahnamah" (the Persian epic) in Gujarati to Parsi audiences. I need hardly say that these readings had much to do with the formation of my character.

* * * * *

How things, little in themselves, lead to important results ! In the early twenties of the last century there was formed at Bombay a society called " Native Education Society," which established a school in two branches, English and vernacular. The "Metaji" (master) of my indigenus school did not know very much about the experiment of the " Native Education Society." But it was enough for him that it was conducted under Government auspices, so he sent his son to the school and persuaded my mother to send me also, and this was the foundation of my whole life's career. The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth.

The awakening of the soul came to me when I was about fifteen. I remember as if it were only yesterday, how at a certain spot on a certain road I made a vow never to use low language. From that time forward as my education advanced other resolutions to do this and not to do that followed, and I think I may say that I faithfully adhered to them.

As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house, and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink-shop never saw my face again.

When I entered the school there were two European masters, one for the literary, the other for the arithmetical department. Some difference of opinion having arisen between them, they divided the school into two parts, each taking the whole education of his own division. One of the two was a strict disciplinarian, the other anything but that. My lot fell with the latter. Practically, we were allowed to do as we liked but I was not disposed to be idle. I must be active in some way or other. There was no enforcement of lessons, so I looked about for an occupation. I had a retentive memory, could repeat any story I heard both in spirit and in letter, and I was full of stories. So most of my school hours were passed in "spinning yarns" to an admiring circle of school-fellows. So lax was discipline that often we would coolly march out of school and spend the whole day in games. In this way something like a year of regular study was lost to me. Yet I cannot say that even that truant year did not do me some good. My story-telling powers and skill at games made me a leader among the boys, and I acquired the self-confidence and reliance which comes with such a position.

I remember at one of the school examinations, a fellow-pupil, having learned the "ready-reckoner" by heart, carried off the prize I had expected. But at the distribution of prizes, when questions outside the book were asked, he faltered and broke down. I seized the opportunity, rushed out of the ranks, and answered.

There and then an English gentleman among the company gave me a prize, and Mrs. Poston, the lady traveller, who was also present, has made a special note of the incident in her book, "Western India." Here I may say good-bye to the events of my boyhood.

After passing through the vernacular and English schools I entered the Elphinstone College. Again the stars were favourable. As in the schools, there were no fees. On the contrary, admittance to the college was to be obtained only by scholarships, one of which I was fortunate enough to gain.

Among the books I read about this period that formed the various aspects of my character and influenced my subsequent life was, besides Firdose's "Shahnamah," a Gujarati book, "The Duties of Zoroastrians." Pure thought, pure word, pure deed was the lesson. But the literature I had most to do with, and most enjoyed, was, of course, English. Watt's "Improvement of the Mind" settled my style and mode of thought—never two words when one was enough, clearness of thought and diction. So I bade farewell to the fine and flowery.

As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school books came from a well-to-do class-mate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape there came my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted.

When I was just at the top of the college, Sir Erskine Perry, then the President of the Board of Education, having formed a kind and favourable opinion of me, proposed to send me to England to study law with a view to being called to the Bar. Sir Erskine himself offered

to defray half the expenses if the elders of my community would provide the other half. Through some misunderstanding—I fancy the elders were afraid lest the missionaries in England might convert me to Christianity!—the proposal was not carried through. Years later, in the course of a conversation I had with Sir Erskine at the India Office, when he had become a Member of the Council, he said that it was as well his proposal had not been accepted, as he was sure that my life, as it was, had made more for public usefulness than if I had become a lawyer.

It was now time for me to think seriously of a profession. I came very near to entering the Government service. The Secretary of the Board of Education at Bombay took an interest in me, and obtained an appointment in the Secretariat for me. This I regarded as a great stroke of luck, but fortunately some circumstances prevented me from accepting it. In reality it was the best thing that could have happened. Otherwise I should have been bound down to the narrow outlook of a subordinate Government official servant.

The six or seven years before I eventually came to England in 1855, as one of three who came here to establish the very first Indian firm of business in the City of London under the style of "Cama and Co.," were full of all sorts of reforms, social, educational, political, religious, etc. Ah, those years!

Female Education, Free Association of Women with Men at public, social and other gatherings, Infant Schools, Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the Vernacular, Parsi Reform, Abolition of Child Marriages, Re-Marriage of Widows among Hindus, and Parsi Religious Reform Society, were some of the problems tackled, movements set on foot, and institutions inaugurated by a band of young men fresh from College, helped in some matters by the elders, and aided by the moral support and encouragement of such men as Sir Erskine Perry, Professor Patton and others. Such were the first fruits of the English education given at the Elphinstone College.

Yes, I can look back upon this part of my life with pride and pleasure ; with the satisfaction of a duty performed that I owed to the people. Yes, these " days of my youth " are dear to me, and an unfailing source of happiness.

The greatest event of my early career was my appointment as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at my old, old *alma mater*, -- Elphinstone College. I was the first Professor in India with the title of Elphinstone Professor.

To me it is the dearest title, and honour above all honours. It is my delight, and many a school-fellow and pupil call me " Dadabhai Professor " to this day.

The seeds sown in the days of my youth have brought me abundant harvest in the love and esteem of my fellow-countrymen. Is it vanity that I should take a great pleasure in being hailed as the " Grand Old Man of India ? "

No ; that title, which speaks volumes for the warm, grateful, and generous hearts of my countrymen, is to me, whether I deserve it or not, the highest reward of my life. A friend once asked me whether I would care to live my life over again ; my reply was : " Yes, I would, with all its disappointments and trials. "

I suppose I must stop here. But there is one, who, if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all--my mother. Widowed when I, her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in the world.

She worked for her child, helped by a brother.

Although illiterate, and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me and saved me from the evil influences of my surroundings.

She was the wise counsellor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against the prejudices of the day. She made me what I am.--*Progress*.

APPENDIX—B.

DADABHAI IN PRIVATE LIFE.*

| *By Mr. C. M. Cursetji, B.A., Barrister-at-Law,
And Third Judge of the Small Causes' Court, Bombay.*

Once out of his office or his study, the work and the worry of it were entirely laid aside, and in his drawing-room or at his hospitable board you found Dadabhai the most lovable and charming of companions. His conversation was ever clear, weighty, informing and pure, varied and flavoured with wit at once prompt, playful and kindly, so that one felt pleasure and reaped also profit by talking with him or sitting and listening to the flow of his illuminating words, whether mirthful or serious. No ill thought or word found place in his speech, nor a harsh term such as could wound any one's feelings. In familiar intercourse his general demeanour was such as to put you at once at ease and make you feel at home; whilst he never monopolised conversation, he contributed his fair share to it. His mobile and handsome features expressed amusement, sympathy or concern as the subject demanded; anger seldom or never. There was a brightness, freedom and unobtrusiveness all about him that made his presence most winsome and wished for. Young or old yielded to its charm. One never felt tired of being with Dadabhai Naoroji. His arguments were ever direct and straightforward, never specious or sophistic, whilst if he indulged, as sometimes he did, in paradox, it was from pure playfulness. Suiting himself to his company in a rare and remarkable manner, he was as a child with children, responsive with fun and frolic; with the ignorant or humble, simple and sym-

* Reprint from the *Oriental Review*.

pathetic ; with the learned, ready with information on all points ; and with the familiar friends in his house, the most delightful of hosts, lively, gentle and considerate, full of varied instruction suavely imparted, and anecdotes and stories apposite, amusingly and edifyingly told with effect. Above all, with a mind so richly endowed, Dadabhai possesses a good nature that is never put out—a disposition that is amiability personified. Though on the political platform he is a hard hitter and never shirks or wavers in leading the onslaught and heading the forlorn hope, in the bosom of his family and among his friends he is a very different being. I have seen him playing with his or other people's children, freely having fun with friends and even with those who were working under him in his office, never assuming airs, never showing temper even when provoked, and, as occasion required, ready with serious talk and the most clear-sighted advice. As a father he has ever been most affectionate, amiable and solicitous ; as a husband, a paragon of virtue and good sense ; as a son, most devoted and praiseworthy. As a friend it would be difficult to qualify him. He is everything that a friend should be. I know how he has ever been ready to listen to the tale of misfortune and to extend a helping hand to the unfortunate, either with his good offices, his valued counsel, or with his purse, slender as it is. Many a friend he has helped over the stile and even strangers have not gone from his door with their troubles unassuaged. Unfortunately for him and for human nature, his simple-mindedness and trusting generosity that think no evil, have more than once been taken advantage of by the dishonest and ill-deserving. Only lately he was fraudulently done out of over four thousand rupees by a Hindu whom he befriended at a serious pinch. Though ill able to afford to lose so large a sum, Dadabhai dealt with the traitor with a consideration and forbearance that was certainly undeserved and such as some might almost describe as weakness. When fortune, ever faithless and fickle, turned against him and he suffered irretrievable losses in business, I have seen him in his house bear his misfortune with a calm that seemed to come naturally to

his well-balanced mind. He never displayed the least irritation, and moved about and conversed with his friends very much in his usual cheerful unruffled manner. Even in the days of his commercial prosperity he ever lived in a simple and most unostentatious style, befitting a thorough gentleman. Though he then kept his carriage, it was oftener at the disposal of his friends or the members of his family, whilst he himself patronised the plebeian bus to and from the city and frequently walked much of the way back of a clear evening.

As an instance of his extreme simplicity and the humility of his mind, may be recorded the way in which he returned to his humble little house—then in a back street in Khetwady—on the occasion of his coming to Bombay to preside at the Lahore Congress. No Roman Emperor as we know, no victorious general ever received so triumphal a home-coming and welcome as he did, but instead of driving (as he might have done and as he was pressed to do) with all eclat to the fine house prepared for him on Malabar Hill, he gently stepped out of his carriage in the obscure street where his family lived ! It was like Cincinnatus returning to his poor farm after triumphing over the enemies of his country. Latterly, and especially since he entered Parliament, he adopted the full European costume so as to be in more consonance with his surroundings ; but, as most people know whenever he is in India, he discards the English habiliment entirely and dons the clothes—the *dagli* with its wrinkled sleeves, the pyjama-like trousers and the inconvenient sugar-loaf of a turban, which the orthodox Parsees still delight in, which, making a virtue of necessity, the ancient Parsees adopted from their Hindu neighbours in Sanjan over twelve hundred years ago. As an instance of the equanimity of his temper and the kindness of his nature, I may mention the following anecdote which he told us himself. It was just about the time of the great siege of Sebastapol. Dadabhai was then one of the masters in what used long to be known as the Society School at Dhobie Talao. Some great swell of the Educational Department came unexpectedly one morning to visit the school. Dadabhai received the great man and as they opened the door of the main class-room and en-

tered, they were received with a tremendous bombardment and clouds of dust. The boys had arranged all the school black-boards in opposing rows and were playing at the English and Russians. As Dadabhai and the distinguished visitor entered, the word of command was given, the boards were simultaneously hurled to the wooden floor with a crash and a rattle such we could well imagine come near to a discharge of artillery. Dadabhai merely greeted the delinquents with a "Oh, you naughty boys!" and ordering them to fall in, proceeded to the adjoining class-room, inwardly much enjoying the fun.

His mother was a remarkable woman and Dadabhai was a most devoted son. His filial piety is not to be surpassed. In his most prosperous days the maternal word or wish was law in his house and his dealing with the mother was so gentle and so dutiful that it struck even the most casual observer. I have often seen them together and the relationship between them was ever a pleasing and exemplary sight. Even when, as it sometimes happened, the good dame was unreasonable or acted incongruously, the son was ever amiable, forbearing and respectful. His children then, or his grand-children later, were ever most fond of him. When at home with them he shared in their pastimes, and if occasion called for instruction he made himself a welcome teacher, never acting the pedant or the taskmaster. Even his servants both here and in England are very much attached to him, due to his unfailing courtesy and gentleness.

Such was Dadabhai Naoroji in his home or private life in the old days in London, and though now he is looked up to by all India as its *Guru* and G. O. M., he is still much the same. In concluding this short sketch, I think I shall not be contradicted if I describe our venerable G.O.M. as a perfect gentleman in the truest and happiest sense of that word, and as a man, the most manly, true and human, in the noblest conception of these terms. It is thus that in his eminently ennobling and lovable character, man is made creditable and humanity is beautified. His life is gentle, and the element so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world "This is a man!"

APPENDIX—C.

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SOME APPRECIATIONS OF DADABHAI.

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I. By the late Mr. Justice Ranade.

“ It might be said that in this work of reconciliation, Mr. Dadabhai's extreme position had not been as helpful and as serviceable to the cause of the country as one might expect. But I have studied his writings and his speeches carefully and attentively, and would fearlessly and unhesitatingly observe that there was not a single sentence or expression, not even the most casual, which could be pointed out in support of the allegation that Mr. Dadabhai had created a gulf which did not previously exist. This is a calumny which would never lessen the affection and esteem in which the people held him. When he said that the phenomenal poverty of India must cause anxiety both to the dominant and protected classes, he said nothing but the truth. It was to the highest interests of both Great Britain and India to acknowledge that truth. It was of no use to ignore facts when those facts were proved ; and in Mr. Dadabhai's case, I would assure you that there was not a single sentence or figure put down in any of his books which did not represent mature thought and lifelong study. It was not that he had uttered them for the sake of gaining a temporary advantage in a discussion. These facts were being slowly filtered from mind to mind, and those who had followed recent discussions in Parliament and the Press must have found that slowly and surely the officials and non-officials, journalists and men of business

in England, were beginning to realise what it was impossible in the last century to realise, that India was not the rich land which the travellers of old times had described it to be. It was a poor country, and, as such, it required a specific regimen and treatment. And what were these regimen and treatment? They were exactly those which Mr. Dadabhai had been recommending to those responsible for the government of the country. I am afraid to admit that there might be those among you, and among Englishmen, who really thought there was no room for such an extreme position as had been taken up by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. But whatever might be the individual opinions, whether they were Englishmen or Indians, there was no doubt that the matter was serious and the seriousness had been emphasized by recent events which could not fail to work out their own salvation."

—:O:—

II. The Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

What a life it has been! Its sweet purity, its simplicity, its gentle forbearance, its noble self-denial, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims—as one contemplates these, one feels as though one stood in a higher presence! Surely there must be hope for a people that could produce such a man, even if, as Mr. Ranade once said, he be only one in three hundred millions.

Every one knows that Mr. Dadabhai is one of the gentlest men to be found anywhere in the world. When such a man is driven to the use of bitter language, there must be something in the situation to make him so bitter; and the responsibility for his bitterness must, therefore, lie not on him but on those who make the situation what it is. Again, take the writings of Mr. Dadabhai of his earliest years, take even his writings of middle age, and I say, without the least fear of contradiction, that no one will be able to lay his finger on a single word which can in any way be described as bitter. If, latterly, he has been using language which to some may appear too strong, it is because he finds that he has been all these years like one crying in the wilderness; also because he

finds, as we all find, that for some years past the ideals of British rule in this country are being steadily lowered. Further, ladies and gentlemen, a man of Dadabhai's great age, and lifelong devotion to the best interests of his country may well claim to state the naked truth as he perceives it without any artificial embellishments such as you or I are expected occasionally to employ. I think Mr. Dadabhai stands to-day in the position of a teacher not only to his countrymen, but also to the rulers of the land. And whoever has thought of complaining that a teacher does not care to overlay truth with a quantity of soft and plausible expressions? Moreover, gentlemen, I do not mind Englishmen occasionally making such a complaint, but I really have no patience with those of our own countrymen who, having done nothing or next to nothing for their country themselves, do not hesitate to say that Mr. Dadabhai is injuring the country's cause by the use of violent language. No, gentlemen, whether Mr. Dadabhai uses mild words or bitter words, our place is round his standard—by his side. Whoever repudiates Dadabhai, he is none of us. Whoever tries to lay rude and irreverent hands on him, strike him down.

APPENDIX—D.

Striking Selections from Dadabhai's Speeches and Writings.

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I. Taxation in India.*

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The Secretary of State for India (Sir Henry Fowler) in his speech last year, on going into Committee on the Indian Budget, made a very important statement. He said:—

“Now as to the revenue, I think the figures are very instructive. Whereas in England the taxation is £2 11s. 8d. per head, in Scotland, £2 8s. 1d. per head, and in Ireland, £1 12s. 5d. per head, the Budget, which I shall present to-morrow, will show that the taxation per head in India is something like 2s. 6d., or one-twentieth the taxation of the United Kingdom, and one-thirteenth that of Ireland.”

The Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) then asked, “Does he exclude the land revenue?” And the right hon. gentleman replied:—

“Yes. So far as the taxation of India is concerned, taking the rupee at 1s. 1d., it is 2s. 6d. per head.”

The exclusion of land revenue was unfair, but this was not the time to discuss that point fully. The land revenue did not rain from heaven. It formed part and parcel of the annual wealth from which the State revenue is taken in a variety of different names—call it tax, rent, excise duty, stamps, income-tax, and so on. It simply meant that so much was taken from the annual production for the purposes of Government. The figures taken by the right hon. gentleman for the English taxation is also the gross revenue, and similarly

* From a speech in the House of Commons.

must this Indian revenue be taken, except Railway and Navigation revenue. That statement of the right hon. gentleman, if it meant anything, meant that the incidence of taxation in India was exceedingly light compared with the incidence of taxation in England. It was the usual official fiction that the incidence of taxation in India was small as compared with that of this country. But when they considered the incidence of taxation they must consider not simply the amount paid in such taxation, but what it was compared with the capacity of the person who paid it. An elephant might with ease carry a great weight, whilst a quarter ounce, or a grain of wheat, might be sufficient to crush an ant. Taking the capacity of the two countries, the annual product or income of England was admitted to be something like £35 per head. If there was a taxation of £2-10s. as compared with that, it was easy to see that the incidence or heaviness was only about 7 per cent. of the annual wealth. If, on the other hand, they took the production of India at the high official estimate of 27 rupees per head—though he maintained it was only 20 rupees—even then the percentage, or incidence of taxation, was about 10 or 11 per cent., or at 20 rupees the incidence was nearly 14 per cent., *i.e.*, nearly double of what it was in England. To say, therefore, that India was lightly taxed was altogether a fiction. The fact was, as he stated, that the pressure of taxation in India, according to its means of paying, was nearly double that of wealthy England, and far more oppressive, as exacted from poverty. That was not all. The case for India was worse, and that was the fundamental evil of the present system. In the United Kingdom, if about £100,000,000 are raised as revenue, every farthing returns to the people themselves. But in British India, out of about Rs. 7,00,000,000 about Rs. 2,00,000,000 are paid to foreigners—besides all the other British benefits obtained from the wretched produce of Rs. 20 per head. Even an ocean, if it lost some water every day which never returned to it, would be dried up in time. Under similar conditions wealthy England even would be soon reduced to poverty.

II. True British Rule.

True British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people, that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonourable un-British system of government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent unconceivable at present, if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to their British instincts of fair play and justice, and will insist upon the "faithful and conscientious fulfilment" of all their great and solemn promises and pledges.

Mr. John Bright has truly said: "The good of England must come through the channels of the good of India.—*From Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.*"

III. Faith in British Rule.

The reason why I have dwelt upon our past life is that it shows that our future is promising and hopeful, that our faith in the instinctive love of justice and fair play of the people of the United Kingdom is not misplaced, and that if we are true to ourselves and learn from the British character the self-sacrifice and perseverance which the British so largely possess, we need never despair of obtaining every justice and reform which we may reasonably claim as our birth-rights as British citizens.

* * * * *

Our fate and our future are in our own hands. If we are true to ourselves and to our country and make all the necessary sacrifices for our elevation and amelioration, I, for one, have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving, fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain. It is this conviction which has supported me against all difficulties. I have never faltered in my faith in the British character and have always believed that the time will come when the sentiments of the British Nation and our Gracious Sovereign proclaimed to us in our Great Charter of the Proclamation of 1858 will be realised.—*From the Lahore Congress Presidential Address.*

IV. Message to the Benares Congress.

"We require on the one hand to inspire the people of India at large with the desire of attaining and enjoying their birth-rights, and the absolute necessity of freedom and self-government like that of the Colonies for their material and moral development, progress and prosperity. Without self-government the Indians can never get rid of their present drain, and the consequent impoverishment, misery and destruction. No more alteration or tinkering of the mechanical machinery of administration can and will do any good at all. The drain can only be stopped by Government and by the people themselves. To be prosperous, India must govern itself like the Colonies. Self-government is the only remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose we must strengthen the Congress, our great body representative of all India, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which is quite practicable as I have already said and has been already successfully carried out."

With the powerful organ, *India*, helped by sympathising English people and the press to carry on the propaganda of their claims, and to attain them, a few competent and truly patriotic and enthusiastic Indian members in Parliament will largely accelerate work there. "For, as I have said, it is in Parliament that the fight is to be fought, and the last word to be said. But, above all," adds the grand old man, with moving emphasis, "the most important and absolutely necessary fundamental condition is union and enthusiastic and self-sacrificing work among our people themselves. The tide is with us." He concludes:—"The English people and press are beginning to understand the wrongs of India. All Asia is waking up. The Isles of the East have made the start. A great autocracy in the West is crumbling to dust, and we may fairly expect that in dealing with such a people as the British with their instincts of liberty and justice roused, our emancipation is not far off, but I hope near. My word is never Despair or Despond! Go on! Go on thoroughly united, come weal, come woe, never to rest but to persevere with every sacrifice till the victory of self-government is won."

V. The Congress and Social Reform*.

" It has been asserted that this Congress ought to take up questions of social reforms (*cheers and cries of yes, yes*) and our failure to do this has been urged as a reproach against us. Certainly no member of this National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reforms than I am ; but, gentlemen, for everything there are proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places (*cheers*) ; we are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, not to discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics. But, besides this, there are here Hindus of every caste, amongst whom, even in the same provinces, customs and social arrangements differ widely,—there are Mahomedans and Christians of various denominations, Parsees, Sikhs, Brahmoe and what not—men indeed of each and all of those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (*Loud cheers.*) How can this gathering of *all* classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class ? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices of any class but our own ? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class ? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class congresses. But it does not follow that, because this national, political body does not presume to discuss social reforms, the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in these questions than in those political questions we do discuss, or that those several communities whom those delegates represent are

* From the Presidential Address delivered at the Calcutta Congress in 1886.

not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community ; and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. (Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you ; and we know as a fact that each community is now doing its best according to its lights, and the progress that it has made in education. I need not, I think, particularise. The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need : the Hindus are everywhere doing what they *can* to reform those social institutions which they think require improvement. There is not one single community here represented of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious status of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually those needful improvements ; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this in which all classes are intermingled.

APPENDIX—E.

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“ BRITAIN'S SOLEMN PLEDGES ”

ACT OF PARLIAMENT, 1833 (INDIA) :—

“ That no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company.”

[The Company's duties were transferred to the Crown.]

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION OF 1858 :—

“ We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these 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.

“ When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate.....and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. 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.”

LORD LYTON (the Viceroy), on the assumption of the title of Empress, 1st January, 1877, at the Delhi Assemblage :—

“ But, you, the Natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy.”

LORD LYTON (the Viceroy), as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, March, 1877 :—

“ The Proclamation of the Queen contains solemn pledges, spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice.”

JUBILEE of 1887. The Queen-Empress, in reply to the Jubilee Address of Congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation :—

“ Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct government of India as the charter of the liberties of the princes and peoples of India. It has always been and will be continued to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained.”

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