CHAPTER-IV

AS A SPOKESMAN OF INDIA IN ENGLAND

Having rendered as much service as he could to the causes, social and educational, Naoroji now thought of serving his country in other ways. As he himself wrote: "By this time the idea itself developed 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, and must devote myself to the service of the people". He was in search of an opportunity to do his best for the people of the country. This opportunity soon came in 1855 when Messrs. Cama and Company of Bombay intended to establish a branch of their firm in England. This firm was in search of a suitable representative who could act as an incharge of their office in London. Naoroji who was then working as a Professor of Mathematics and Physics had shown his multifarious activities remarkably in Bombay. However, this young boy of twenty had not acquired until then any experience in the field of business of banking, trade and commerce, yet he was deemed fit for that post.

1. Natesan, G.A., Dadabhai Naoroji: A Sketch of his life or Career (Madras 1920) p. 3.
2. Bombay Gazette August 27, 1852.
The company reposed confidence in his wisdom, integrity, intelligence and capacity for hard work. He accepted the offer of the firm and thus began his long connection with England which lasted more than half a century.

Within a very short period, his hard labour placed him high and he became the partner of the firm. He settled in England permanently. His political activity began soon after he set-foot on Britain's soil. He soon felt that there was much ignorance in that country regarding India, its people and its government. It struck him that if this ignorance was removed and the misunderstanding cleared away, it would be of great advantage to India, if the British public was educated as to their responsibilities as rulers of India.

Naoroji left the partnership of the firm in 1858 due to differences with the Cama and Company and returned to India with refined mind as he had lived and breathed in England in a new spirit of liberalism of which Gladstone, Bright and Cobden were the prominent exponents in British politics. The pattern of changing society in England left a profound impact on his mind. The contribution of Herbert Spencer, Jeremy Benthan, J.S.Mill and Carlyle in the development of liberal political thinking made Naoroji more

vividly than ever before the contrast between the social, intellectual, economic and political condition of the people in England and that of his own countrymen. Now he began to think in more vigilant and conscious way about the poor and backward condition of the Indian people and the political wrongs of the British bureaucracy in India. However, he had great trust in the British justice and fair play.

After a brief stay in India, he went to England again in 1859 where he formed a firm of his own, known as Dadabhai Naoroji and Company. He again came to India in September 1863 and remained here till April 1865. Now this time he settled permanently in England. This period can be regarded a very important period when he started taking keen interests in social, cultural, economic and political matters. He became member of many societies in order to understand the minds of the British public. He never missed any opportunity of voicing the grievances of the Indian people whenever or wherever possible. The issue which he took up in England were the increasing share of Indians in the

8. He was active member of Liverpool Literary and Philanthropic Society, Philomathic Society, Royal Institute of London, Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Ethnological Society, Anthropological Society, Society of Arts etc.
administrative set-up, reduction of age for Indians in I.C.S. examination; racial arrogance of Englishmen etc. He submitted numerous petitions to British Parliament and politicians for sympathetic dealing with Indian affairs. His activeness shown in the promotion of the interests of Indians virtually made him an unofficial ambassador of dependent India to Britain.

Soon after his settlement in England on permanent basis, he felt that mist of ignorance and misunderstanding were so greatly penetrated in British public that it knew hardly anything about India and her people. He thought that if British public was educated and enlightened properly and their misunderstanding about India was removed, the relations between both the countries would be strengthened to the betterment of both. Keeping this object in mind, he started organising a set of persons who would work and mobilise the British public opinion in favour of India.

It was his ardent desire to awaken the consciousness of British people to their sense of duty towards India keeping Philanthropic and democratic instincts in mind.

With the support and cooperation of some public-spirited Indians (who had been living in England either for business or education) and political associations in India, Naoroji provided leadership to the formation of a centre of action and communication to in England for the promotion of native interest. A meeting was called at the University Hall, Gordon Square, on 24 March 1865 purely at the initiative of Naoroji. The Indians who gathered at that time decided to establish an organisation namely London India Society. Its main objects were to discuss, political, social and literary subjects pertaining to India and adopt such measures which might be necessary to acquaint the public in England with the views and feelings of the people on all important questions that might arise from time to time.

The London India Society's membership was strictly restricted to Indians (including Ceylonese Indians) only and if non-Indians were enrolled as its members Indian interests and sentiment would completely be lost.

12. Ibid.
It gave an opportunity to those Britishers who showed themselves interested in the welfare of the people of India. It dealt only with wide spectrum of Indian issues which were very significant in the then political conditions. Later on, its membership was given to those who were genuinely interested in Indian affairs.

Dadabhai was elected its President, Womesh Chander Bonnerjee its Secretary with John Dickinson, Robert Knight, Hodgson Pratt and Professor T. Goldstucker as honorary members and Naoroji Furdoonji (Treasure), P.N. Mehta, H. Pestonji, G.M. Tagore, M.M. Ghose, H. Dias and H.P. Mutukrishna as members of the executive Committee. This society encouraged the meetings together of Indians and Englishmen to discuss political, social and literary subjects pertaining to the Indian people. Being a firm believer in the justice and fair play of the British, he realised the constitutional progress of India through the righteous and sympathetic British policies towards India. Agreeing with this political dictum, he obviously asked What Indians wanted was British rule on British

13. India, December 1897.
14. Ibid.
principles, and this demand was not a new one. The Queen in her Gracious Proclamation had given them that great gift upon which they would always take their stand to demand their rights as British citizens.

Naoroji knew well that some burning aspects like economic conditions of India under British rule with its offshoots like famine, plague, frontier wars, poverty should be presented before the British public in such a way that it could know the true picture of the country under the rule of their representatives. The society submitted a petition to the Secretary of State for India in which it discussed the matters like reduction in civil and military establishments; fulfilment of pledges and proclamation, taxation policy, economic drain etc.

The economic policy of Britain was such that Indians heavily suffered misery and starvation. Naoroji insisted on the British governments' adopting a liberal policy and measures for the welfare of the Indian people. In his address, he said: "I am not asking England to pay anything from its own pocket, but to a portion, a quarter or one half, as the case may be of what is received every

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15. The Englishman (Calcutta), January 18, 1898.
16. India, March 9, 1900.
year from India. If this relief is not given, the whole cost of the relief of the famine to the Government of India will simply mean so much additional future burden upon those very wretched people themselves, for every farthing spent by the Government of India will be exacted from them, and making every successive famine more onerous and destructive than the present one."

The London India Society remained active for two years but it proved useful in many ways. First of all, it drew the attention of the British public towards the ills of the British administration in India. Secondly, it loudly protested against the British policies and sought remedies for the solution of the Indian problems. Thirdly, it displayed the India's cause and enlisted the support of several public-spirited personalities who began to take keen interest in the Indian affairs. Though the Society could not maintain its identity yet a year later it got merged into another association known as the East India Association.

17. Ibid.
18. The Home News, September 18, 1866.
Not content, however, with the London India Society, Naoroji conceived and carried out the organisation of a larger association for reducing the gap and increasing the friendship and mutual understanding between England and India. It was to admit as its members not only Indians but also such Anglo-Indians as showed themselves interested in the welfare of the people of India. Hence, for this purpose he founded East India Association on December 1, 1886. This Association was formed for the purpose of promoting the interest of all classes in India and "at their discussions the views both of natives of India and of Anglo-Indians on all general questions.... impartially be allowed to be placed before the public."

Naoroji was appointed Professor of Gujarati in the University College, London. He corresponded with several Secretaries of State for India in connection with pressing Indian questions. He wrote a number of letters to British publicmen, newspapers and to the organisers of several association throwing light on controversial subjects and placing before the public of Britain the Indian view of the

20. Ibid.
questions. He travelled about a lot and address several meetings on the wrongs done to India. He collected donations and endowments for this purpose from some Indian princes, chiefs and placed the organisation on a sound financial footing. This organisation had more broad base and helped in bringing two races—English and Indian—together on common platform not merely for the ventilation of Indian grievances but also for the removal of erroneous impression.

The association threw its membership open to all. Its annual subscription was ten rupees. Its membership swelled from 1250 in 1867 to 1000 in 1871. It was possible only due to the efforts of Naoroji who kept himself in constant touch with the leading personages of British political life. Naoroji and W.C. Bonnerjee worked as President and Secretary respectively. The association started publishing a quarterly journal containing reports of its meetings and papers. Its branches were also established in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras during his brief stay in India in 1869.

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21. Ibid.
Naoroji was of the opinion that if the British public was roused then no impediment could stop it. Realising the different traits of British Character, he observed: "It is a peculiar trait of the British National Character that when once a case is made out beyond all doubts and the public is convinced as to what justice and righteousness demand from them, nothing whatever, no consideration of any kind, would stop them from doing what is right. Like the lion - a very appropriate symbol of English character the English public is difficult to be roused, but when once roused no obstacle can stop it .... All that is necessary is to make out a good case." He wanted to rouse those who were men of influence, position and authority.

In one of his addresses to the East India Association he cautioned that the Indians should be treated human-beings not as 'liars and rascals.' They should not expect 'love from them' in such circumstances. Though they might be having several 'shortcomings' yet it was improper on part of British bureaucracy to call the 'meanest worm' and

abuse them. Instead of resolving the problem, crisis and anger would be multiplied that could lead to disastrous situation. The educational institution, press and other medias isolated the regional barriers and a common language among the educated was forging strong bonds of nationality.

In another meeting of the Association, Naoroji demanded to have a voice of Indians in the Government of their own country as a right which Indians had possessed and exercised for thousand of years. If they were allowed to be elected in the councils, corporations in the Presidency towns, it would be a fair and reasonable beginning in this direction. If the selection were allowed to be made by the people themselves, the government would be much relieved in their responsibility and no blame could be attached to them for anything that might be censurable on the part of the people's own responsibilities. He also raised his voice against the injustice done to educated youths of the country by depriving them of their rights to be associated with the Indian administration. He, therefore, suggested

for the holding of simultaneous examinations both in India and England. Though the Association submitted a memorial to Secretary of State for India to press the demand in Parliament yet the proposal submitted was turned by himself.

The East India Association was dominated by the retired Anglo-Indian officials but Naoroji had enough say in its activities. In one of his papers, "Wants and means of India" read before it, Naoroji presented a gloomy picture of India's poverty and economic condition of India under British rule. He asserted that if the foreign rule failed to produce positive results, its existence was naturally felt as a crushing burden to the nation and either starvation, decimation and poverty or rebellion against the foreign rule was the inevitable consequence.

The wealth of the country should not go out of the country but remained in the country as a wealth of the country. India ought not to grudge the wages of foreign


bureaucrats as they had brought out the changes in political, social, moral and intellectual fields. He was deeply concerned with the drain of wealth from India with no return to India. India had to remit £ 12,000,000 per annum to England. However, it was inevitable as accepted by him but England on its part should act justly towards India. No unreasonable burden should be imposed on India because it is 'at your mercy and revenues of India should be administered with economy, wisdom and sense of responsibility of a great trust.

Naoroji had become the most active and distinguished Indian in England as far as the Indian affairs were concerned. He had developed a close intimacy with many top-ranking Britishers. He appeared before the Select Committee on behalf of the East India


32. The Association submitted petitions to the Secretary of State for India as well as to Parliament for placing the finances of India on proper and satisfactory footing. It prayed for the appointment of Select Committee of both the houses to enquire into the general administration of Indian territories but the Committee limited its enquiry to financial administration.
Association to give his evidence in 1871. He compared and contrasted between the tax-paying capacity of England and India and said that whatever revenue was raised in England remained in the same country. The national capital upon which the production of the country depended should not suffer diminution. While on account of India's revenue around £ 12,000,000 out of £ 50,000,000 raised every year was carried away to England and the National Capital (its capability of production) was kept continuously diminishing year after year. He wrote many articles and even book on the burning questions such as the poverty of the country, drain of India's wealth etc. which were duly appreciated by the press, even Anglo-Indian press for presenting fiscal matters with firm stand and arguments on the subject.

Having close association with many a public spirited personalities in Britain, Naoroji appealed them to take the question of admission of Indians to civil service to

33. Natesan, op. cit.; pp. 175-76.
34. Naoroji also took up the issue of R.H. Wadia whose admission to civil service was objected by the Civil Service Commission on the ground of age limit. This case was raised by John. Bright in Parliament, however he did not succeed.
Parliament and even succeeded in getting Henry Fawcett's support to give notice of motion to the effect that the House of Commons deemed it proper to hold exams. both in India and England simultaneously. Besides, Sir David Wedderburn, elder brother of William Wedderburn, John Bright, Charles Bradlaugh etc. offered their services to the Indian cause. Hence, the Association enlisted the support and cooperation of some liberal-minded Anglo-Indians, public men in presenting India's case before British public and Parliament. The torch-bearer in this regard was Naoroji.

When the Indian questions had began to arouse public interest in England, A.O. Hume paid a visit to England in July 1885 to elicit support for his embryonic idea of creating an all India organisation. He urged the British journalists to spare some columns for Indian affairs in their newspapers. He met some eminent personalities like John Bright, Sir James Caird, W.E. Baxter, James Bryce, John Morley, Joseph Chamberlain, R.T. Reid, Lord

36. Times of India (Bombay), April 15, 1880.
Ripon and John Slagg. He received hearty cooperation from British national and provincial newspapers for the publication of telegrams from the Indian Telegraphic Union which was founded in early 1885.

In response to the suggestion of some Englishmen including Hume, the prominent Indian Associations sent Man Mohan Ghose from Bengal, N.C.Chandavarkar from Bombay and S. Ramaswami Mudaliar from Madras to mobilise the British electors in favour of Indian reforms. Indian delegates addressed many meetings on the eve of elections in several parts of England from where the sympathisers of Indian cause were contesting elections. The delegates submitted petitions on behalf of their respective organisations to British Parliament on the subjects such as financial grievances, administrative expenditure, enhancement of qualified Indians in governmental services, expansion in the members of central and provincial councils, separation

37. Wedderburn, Sir William, op. cit.; pp. 54-55.
38. Indian Association of Calcutta, Bombay Presidency Association, Madras Mahajan Sabha sent their representatives to England to put India's problem jointly before the British public and Parliament. Indian Spectator, December 6, 1885.
of executive and judicial functions etc. 39

The election results had a shattering effect due to defeat of many India's friends including Lal Mohan Ghose and Dadarhai Naoroji. Henry Fawcett was no more to voice Indian affairs. East India Association believed only in papers' reading exercise and moreover, it was predominated by retired Anglo-Indians. So it was felt that without strong organisation in India, the Indian questions would not get proper hearing in British circles. Most prominent work thus was the formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 which was to play a vital role in most organised way in England too.

Naoroji, somewhat unnerved by his defeat, soon regained the confidence. He was convinced that without solid and substantial work, India would get any reform from the British. His profound knowledge of Indian economy and politics coupled with his long standing had earned for him the well deserved comment of an Indian newspaper, Hindu, that there was no equal to him in all India as an undaunted

39. Ibid.
40. Yadav, op.cit.; p. 155.
leader. He exceeded great confidence in his Presidential ovation to the Calcutta Congress in 1886 and avowed his intention to work in London as an official agent of the Congress. Thus the Congress laid great stress on the political agitations and propaganda work on permanent and substantial basis in England.

The founders of the Congress hailed those British ideals which gave internal peace and security, rapid means of communication, freedom of press and above all the English education that made possible for Indians to sit together and work for the commonweal of the country. They were greatly impressed by the British liberal forces for meeting the ideals of political liberalism and setting-up of democratic values in England. The appreciated the democratic tendency of England and hoped that she would not withhold from India of its many-fold blessings of representative institutions which she had attained after a long and already bestowed on her self-governing institutions in many colonies.

41. The Hindu (Madras) March 13, 1886.
42. The Proceedings of Second Indian National Congress, Calcutta, 1886, Resolution XII.
43. The Tribune, June 2, 1888.
44. Natesan, G.A., The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya His Life and Speeches (Madras 1910) p. 15.
The Congressmen were sure that through their constitutional agitation in Britain they would be in a position to secure sympathy and support of British politicians in the work of Indian political reforms. They knew that reforms had been conceded to the people by ceaseless work and persistent political pressure on the governing authorities. Hume proposed to the Congressmen "to carry on agitation in England on the lines and in the scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Corn Law League triumphed". They were sure that if they succeeded in arousing the attention of the British public and parliament their demand for reforms would be conceded soon. Therefore, all the leaders of the Congress stressed on the propaganda work in England in order to seek more reforms from the British Government.

Now question arises: Why they extended their arena of agitation from India to England? Perhaps, the Congressmen had been visualising the attitude of indifference of the Indian bureaucracy which did not budge an inch on the reform for India and it provided an incentive to intensify the Congress agitation in England. It is important to tell here

45. The Tribune, February 12, 1887.
46. India, February, 1890.
that William Digby had started planning for India’s work in England. He had worked as a journalist in India and had vast knowledge about Indian affairs. It was his intention to enter into Parliament as a candidate of Liberal Party during the election of 1886 but due to insufficient financial resources, he failed to do so.

Naoroji not only took keen interest in the formation and development of the Congress activities in India but also showed exemplary courage to work as a Congress agent in England. He, therefore, made England the centre of his political activities. He continued his efforts to organise the Indian agitation in England through an authorised agency. Encouraged by the work and activities of the London Indian Society and the East India Association, he was to work on solid and substantial basis with the concerted efforts of his friends like Eardly Norton, William Wedderburn, W.S. Bright, W.C. Bonnerjee, W.S. Caine, A.K. Sethna, Charles Bradlaugh, William Digby etc. The Indian Political Agency was established in 1887 with W.S. Caine and William Digby as Chairman and Secretary respectively.

The Agency tried to take ‘all classes of political and social work on India’. It campaigned through writings

47. Digby to Secretary, National Indian Association, Bombay, London, April 24, 1885; Ferozshah Mehta Papers.
48. India, February 1890.
49. Ibid.
and speeches and circulated thousand copies of the Report of the Third Indian National Congress with preface detailing the denial of promises contained in the Acts of Parliament of 1833, 1853 and Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and speeches of various British officials. The leaders of the Agency knew that without enlisting the support and cooperation of Parliament, Indian reforms would not be materialised. Naoroji, Bonnerjee and Eardly Norton delivered numerous speeches explaining Indian stand and opinions on several problems.\textsuperscript{50}

The expenses of the Agency were borne by the Indian National Congress. The Congress promised the Agency to provide £ 20,000 for the ensuing year, 1889.\textsuperscript{51} It worked according to the guide-lines of the Congress but one part of it worked separately and independently solely on the affairs of Indian princes under William Digby. Both the agencies supplied useful informations detailing the immediate wrongs and suggestions for their redressal to British M.Ps., publicmen, journalists and others interested in Indian Agency constituted an immediate precursor of the British Committee of Indian National Congress.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{50} Vol.I; Naoroji Papers.
\textsuperscript{51} Minutes of the Indian Political Agency, Meeting July 30, 1889 (AIWC Library, 7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi).
The establishment of the Agency was welcomed by the Indians as it constituted a challenge to the desposition which brought disrepute to English name. The Agency which had already been divided into two branches continued to work towards desired goals. Naoroji, Hume and perhaps other Congressmen did not want the bifurcation of the Agency. Hume, therefore, proposed the maintenance of such an Agency solely responsible for the Congress so that it might realise that their money was properly utilised there. Naoroji was the prominent personality of the Indian Political Agency but could not devote much of his time as he was engaged in his own private business. Moreover, he was not supplied with adequate funds for the purpose. Indian Political Agency was paid body of the Congress. Therefore, it had to work under its strict control. Some of the leaders of the Congress in India did not like methods of its functioning as it wasted a huge amount of money only in the establishment of its office and in other irrelevant activities.

Hume who had been visualising the affairs of the Agency very intimately was annoyed with its functioning methods. According to the wish of Hume, a Provisional Committee was resolved to direct the work of the Congress.

53. Amrit Bazar Patrika, August 30, 1888.
in England. In a meeting of July 30, 1889 of the Agency, it was converted into a Provisional Committee of Indian National Congress Agency Committee. The Congress duly recommended and recognised it in its annual session of 1889 and named it as the British Committee of Indian National Congress to guide and control the Indian affairs in England. The Congress passed vote of thanks for those who were doing yeomen's service to India's cause there.55

The British Committee of Indian National Congress came into being in July 1889. It began as a branch organisation of the Congress in England. William Wedderburn and William Digby were elected its President and Secretary. It included W.S. Bright McLaren, M.P., J.W. Ellis, M.P., Naoroji, George Yule, William Wedderburn and Digby in its committee. It maintained a furnished office first at 25 Craver Street, Charing Cross, London, but later on shifted to Rooms 84 and 85 Palace Chambers Westminster, a place nearly to House of Commons.56 Library was also established to collect sufficient information and material from India and other parts of the world on Indian affairs to be available for M.Ps. and others interested in Indian affairs.57

55. The Proceeding of the Fifth Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1889 Resolution XIII.
57. Ibid.
Naoroji, Hume and Wedderburn made generous and personal contributions towards the funds of the Committee. He paid one thousand rupees towards the expenses in 1888 and contributed very liberally whenever the committee was in financial crisis. Besides, the committee raised funds from other sources to carry on its activities. It maintained its budget record as it was prominently financed by the Congress through its 'Permanent Fund', regular subscriptions and donations.\(^{58}\) It also used to receive financial assistance from various non-Indian agencies of England\(^{59}\) on several occasions. Urgent contributions and collections were procured whenever there was shortage of funds.\(^{60}\)

The British Committee started India as an official organ in 1890. Its sale proceeds swelled the income of the Committee. It was purchased by all the Congress leaders in India. Its objects were to publish reports of the Congress and other material pertaining to Indian affairs; to forward before Parliament and public men the reforms proposed by the

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58. Ibid.
59. The Youngmen's Association of England, National Liberal Club etc. always sent money to the Committee. Indian residents in England gave eight thousand rupees to it in 1894.
60. Gokhale, Wacha, Naoroji, Bonnerjee, Hume, Wedderburn, G.B. Clark used to contribute money on needy occasions where there was acute deficit of finances.
Congress, to conduct all correspondence whether in England or with the Congress leaders or with officials; to propagate Indian questions through meetings, press and other means in England. 61

The formation of the British Committee was undoubtedly a significant political landmark in the field of communication and propaganda work on behalf of the Congress in England. It put forcefully India's case before the British public and Parliament. It acted like an unacknowledged ambassador between the two countries. 62

The British Committee laid foundation and created quite favourable conditions for the Indian cause but without the solid support of the press as the constitutional history of England showed, no movement could be successful. Press, which was regarded as the Fifth Power of the state, 63 exercised

62. Yadav, op. cit.; p. 159.
63. The other four powers were (i) House of Commons (ii) House of Lords (iii) The Church, and (iv) the Sovereign.
powerful influence upon British public as well as Parliament. It was eagerly recognised that the battle of India must be fought, "if it has to be fought, on British soil, and in that fight, the British Press must be our ally to guide and direct the operations if not actually to deliver the frontal attack". Hume and Wedderburn paid attention to this aspect. The most prominent step in this direction was the starting of India to form a public opinion in favour of Indian affairs.

India, the official organ of the British Committee did much in the circulation of India's burning questions among the British public. Many Indians and non-official Britishers who were closely associated with the Indian affairs in England wrote books to disseminate knowledge about India. It issued many circulars to several British organisations and parties regarding India's problems. All the circulatory literature was prefaced by such promises of reforms made by the British authorities from time to time in regard to the progress and welfare of India under British rule. Some extracts from

64. Wedderburn to Gokhale, an undated letter; Gokhale Papers (NAT).
66. Dadabhai Naoroji, Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (London 1901); R.C. Dutt, Economic History of India under British Early Rule (London 1902); William Digby, Prosperous Britain: India; H.J.S. Cotton, New India or India in Transition (London 1907); J.K. Hardie, India (London 1909).
67. Ibid.
the speeches and writings of the prominent Congressmen and especially the Presidential addresses were circulated to the British public in England.68

The next step Congress which took was the appointment of deputations consisted of prominent members of the Congress. The Congress sessions of 1889 appointed P.M. Mehta, Manmohan Ghose, Eardly Norton, Sharfuddin, George Yule, W.C. Bonnerjee, A.O. Hume, J. Adam, Kali Charan Banerjee, Naoroji and D.A. Khare to go to England.69 The main plank of the deputation was to educate and enlighten the English masses in favour of passing the Indian Council Act which was before Parliament for discussion. Charles Bradlaugh who had attended the Madras session of Congress with William Wedderburn presented a bill before the House of Commons. However, his bill was not accepted by Parliament yet he prepared the ground and compelled Parliament to pass the reform bill for the councils.70

69. Report of the Proceedings of Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1889, Resolution XIII.
70. Ibid.
Naoroji identified himself with the propaganda work of the Congress. He had great hand in determining the policies and programme of the British Committee and also acted as an enthusiastic member and an undisputed leader. Now he became the chief representative of the Congress to see that the aspirations of the national body were realised. As an active member of the Committee, he corresponded with persons interested in Indian matters, wrote to British press to convey information supporting India's national movement, contradict or correct a wrong impression that was made by erroneous elements and represented Indian National Congress as the permanent agent throughout his sojourn in England.71

As mentioned above, the Congress deputation reached England in April 1890 and Naoroji joined the deputation and helped the Congress delegates in their speeches and other engagements in various part of Britain. In one of the meetings addressed by the delegates, they assured public: "We do not in the smallest degree want to weaken the stability, the permanence or the greatness of the British rule in India. We do not want Home Rule, we do not want Parliamentary Government, we do not want democratic institutions. We shall want them by and by when the time comes, but for the present we shall be satisfied with the small modicum of representative institutions that we pray for."72

71. The Modern Review (Calcutta) Vol. XXXV, May 1919, p. 53
72. India, July 4, 1890.
In another meeting, Naoroji attracted the attention of the British people to the poverty of the Indian people and the drain from British India's produce for the profit of Britain. He also appealed to the British Nation to be relieved from a system of high paid officialdom, in whose selection they were voiceless. "The commercial development of India, so as to increase the power of production, and as a consequence augment the purchasing power of the people, would be beneficial alike to England and India". He was affirmed that his appeal for the democracy would not go in vain.

The delegates of the Congress also addressed the constituents of Northampton, the constituency of Charles Bradlaugh. It was a mammoth meeting attended by British public men, advocates of India like Hume, Wedderburn, T. Gasquoine, Bradlaugh, Rev. J.C. Roberts, S. Campion, T. Ashdowne, H.T. Patrick W. Lawrence, J. Smith, H. Chintamani etc. who made erudite speeches on the eve of the election of Charles Bradlaugh to Parliament. The Indian delegates expressed gratitude to the constituents of Northampton for choosing Bradlaugh as their representative as he would serve the interest of 'multi-millions of India'. Most of the addresses made it in plain terms that

73. Ibid.; May 23, 1890.
74. Manchester Guardian, March 10, 1890.
the Congress was neither 'disloyal' nor 'seditious' organisation. This impression was made by the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats who had been doing harm not only to the relations between India and England but also creating a wide gulf between the people of both countries.  

Like the Congress, Congressmen, the other Britishers who were closely associated with the Congress activities in India and England were greatly influenced with the liberal and humanitarian actions of Edmund Burke, Macaulay, John Bright, Richard Cobden, Henry Fawcett etc. Naoroji and Bradlaugh had intimate relationship due to many commonness between them. Speaking in Naorojian way, Bradlaugh deplored the callous indifference of the bureaucracy towards the people hanging between life and death due to visitation of natural calamities like famines, pestilence, floods, deadly diseases etc. The plight of Assam coolies did not escape his scathing denunciation which he compared with indirect slavery. He demanded dispensation of justice in dealing with Indian problems and its people.

75. *Mahratta*, February 25, 1890.
76. *Ibid.*, January 5, 1890.
77. *India*, October 31, 1890.
The Congress deputationists were greatly assisted by the members of the British Committee of Indian National Congress. Naoroji made many Indian delegates acquaint with British mind, political system, social value system etc. He also told the likings and dislikings of the British people. The delegates toured various parts of Britain and addressed well attended gatherings at Manchester, New Castle, Aberdeen, Dundee, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, Plymouth, Cardiff, Swansea, Exeter, Northampton, Kennington etc. either under the auspices of British Committee of Indian National Congress or Liberal Party or some other liberal platforms. The British Committee of the Congress urged upon many organisations to include Indian reform question in their annual discussion whether inside or outside Parliament.

The delegates influenced the British public to a considerable extent impressing upon them for the inauguration of a reform that was to usher in the formation of self-government in India. The first deputation of the Congress, however, restrict

78. National Liberal Association, National Liberal Federation, National Liberal Club, Fulham Liberal Club, Camberwell Progressive Club, Hardwicks Society, Oxford Union, Manchester Reform Club etc.

79. Bengalee (Calcutta) September 26, 1891; India, October 31, 1890.
its activities up to the platform strategy preparing the British political climate in India's favour and hence rendered yeomen's service to the cause of Indian agitational activities in Britain. Naoroji equally worked as a delegate and host also. His service to the cause of nation were greatly recognised by all the contemporary Congressmen, British advocates of India and others related to the activities and agitational work of the Congress and its Committee.  

Non-official Englishmen and even Indian leaders had always held that it would be great advantage to India if some Indians could obtain a voice in British Parliament. Dadabhai Naoroji and Lal Mohan Ghose, however, contested elections but could not succeed. Even after his defeat, Naoroji did not lose patience but continued his efforts in that direction. His association with London India Society, East India Association and British Committee of Congress and with so many others, his contest of election, his intimacy with British public, his addresses to multiples meetings and constituencies had made him popular leader of the Congress in England. He continued to get many invitations to address on Indian affairs from many parts of England but continued to decline. In a letter to D. E. Wacha, he told frankly : "I have always to be ready for any call from

80. Masani, op. cit; p. 311.
Central Finsbury, I wish to make a tour of all the towns (falling in Central Finsbury constituency) to address on India and make the Congress a familiar topic and an institution deserving and claiming support from all Englishmen. It shows that he had still faith in the people of that constituency and intended to contest once again election for Parliament.

Naoroji and other Congressmen in England had been constantly reminding their counterparts in India that the power to introduce reforms was entirely in the hands of the British people and British Government and asking them to send frequent delegations to England to convince the British people that the Congress demands were just and fair. He was equally enthusiastic in inducing British statesmen to go out in large numbers to India to make acquaintance of Indians, to study their character, to learn their aspirations, to show sympathy for their just demands and to prove by their own example that the British conscience was still as sound as ever.

Following his advice, the Congress sent to England during the summer of 1890, a delegation consisting of S.N. Banner; R.N. Mudholkar, Hume and Eardley Norton to tour the country and appeal to the British public on behalf of the unrepresented millions of India. The principal demand was to support the Congress in its demand for reform in the administration of their

82. Masani, op. cit.; p. 310.
83. Report of the Proceedings of Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1889, Resolution XIII.
own country. They addressed well attended meetings and the audience manifested great interest in the reform proposals. Resolutions were enthusiastically adopted at several meetings in favour of the reforms particularly for a system of representative government. Many petitions were sent for submission to parliament praying for the acceptance of the Congress scheme for council reform. Surendranath Banerjee was the most active and most eloquent member of the delegation.\(^84\)

His powerful oratory excited unusual interest. Naoroji as an Indian resident in England was also a welcome speaker. His services on this occasion were greatly appreciated and recognised by the British Committee. Perhaps the most interesting feature of this platform campaign was the series of lectures delivered in different parts of England by Charles Bradlaugh on Indian questions.\(^85\)

The Congress adopted a notable technique to extend its activities was the idea of holding its annual session in England so that the existence of the Congress could be made known to the British public and their rulers. It was thought that the resolutions passed in India would be like cries in wilderness. The Congress in its session of 1890 proposed to hold its session of 1892 in England. Naoroji appreciated the idea but he suggested to hold the proposed session sometime

\(^84\). Masani, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 311.

\(^85\). \textit{Ibid.}
after the general election in Britain after 1892. Congress welcoming his suggestion postponed the idea.86

Soon after the elections in which he was elected to British Parliament in 1892, he insisted on the idea that the Congress should be held in England. He said, "I can assure the Congress that as I hope and wish, if you will pay an early visit to the United Kingdom and hold a session there, you will obtain a kind and warm reception from its people. And you will, by such direct and personal appeal to the British nation, accomplish a vast amount of good".87 As suggested by Naoroji, the idea did not materialise to help in bringing about an understanding between the Congress and the British Committee. Though it was considered seriously by the British Committee of Indian National in later years.88 But due to financial and other difficulties relating to the arrangement, the British Congress Committee again suggested the postponement of session. Serious and continuous efforts were made by the leaders towards materialising the plan.89 But the Indian leaders did not take-up the matter seriously. It lacked coordination, enthusiasm and understanding among the rank of the leaders of Congress both in India and England.

88. minutes of the British Congress Committee, Vol. January 5 1897-March 27, 1900.
89. Ibid.
Although the plan of holding session in London was abandoned but Naoroji did not relent his efforts. He urged upon the Congressmen in India to utilise the election opportunity for explaining to Congress creed and in particular for removing the misconception about the Congress that it was a microscopic minority of educated Hindus. In his note, he emphatically characterised the Congress as a fully representative institution of people with ample intellectual and moral force. The administration of such people was left entirely to the discretion of an irresponsible and 'impeccable bureaucracy'.

The years 1896-97 brought misery and disaster to the people of India, particularly of the western parts of the country when the natural calamities like famine, plague and pestilence struck over a track of 450,000 square miles affecting 97 millions people. The rural economy which was already in bad shape was totally shattered. At such a juncture, the apathy of the government drove discontent deeper. The emergent group of new-nationalists headed by Tilak whipped-up anti-imperialist propaganda. Indian leaders like D.E. Wacha, R.C. Dutt, Gokhale, S.N. Banerjea and Subramaniam Iyer went to England and some of them gave evidences before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. They also performed the task of Congress delegatio

90. Bengalee, July 15, 1893.
91. Manchester Guardian, January 5, 1897.
The delegates and others like Wedderburn, W.S. Caine, Samuel Smith, Naoroji etc. delivered speeches on multiple aspects of Indian in many parts of England. The question of famine in Western India became a very important matter for the discussion in Parliament. However, a Plague Committee was constituted to enquire into the matter and provide relief measure but it failed to assuage the feelings of the people. The British Committee collected information from provincial sources with a view to solve the problem. Naoroji and Wedderburn suggested a village level inquiry into the grievances of the peasantry and urged to restore confidence, peace and prosperity among them.

Naoroji believed much in platform campaign as it was a very conspicuous media to attract the attention of the people. In one of his public meetings held on April 26, 1897 under the auspices of Library Institute Edinburgh, the topic of his discussion was "The coming collapse of British Rule in India". He thrusted at the topic of famine, plague and the costly wars that made the precarious condition of the country. Underlying the principles of British rule in India, he said that the spirit of the whole administration was pure selfishness carried out in the most rapacious manner possible. After stating that there were 300 millions of people of India, and arguing that the trade

93. **Ibid.**
94. **Times**, April 19, 1901.
95. **India**, June, 1897.
with India might, if 'the country were righteously governed, be so increased that the word 'unemployed' might be deleted from British dictionaries. He cautioned the British audience that if the British "continued to bleed a person or a nation, that persons or country must in time die. If, however, there was a peaceful revolution of the principles upon which the Indian Government was as conducted, Britain and India would both be blessed."

In an annual dinner meeting of London India Society on 1 November, 1897, where he was given a very warm reception, Naoroji commented on the condition of India whether it was of sorry or of joy but Her Majesty always had a share in it. He obviously told his audience. 'What India wanted was British rule on British principles'. The Queen in her gracious proclamation had given them (Indians) that great gift, upon which they would always take their stand to demand their rights as British citizen He felt that the Queen had special claims to the attachment and the gratitude of her Indian subjects.

His vigorous campaign made by Naoroji had a great story of despair and frustration for which he fought for forty years. In the end of the meeting, a very pregnant resolution was passed covering almost all the aspects responsible for the

96. India, June, 1897.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
formidable position of the country and its people. It read as under: "That of all the evils and terrible misery that India has been suffering from a century and a half, and of which the latest developments are the most deplorable, famine and plague, arising from even increasing poverty, the stupid and suicidal frontier war and its savagery of the wholesale destruction of villages, unworthy of any people, but for more so of English civilisation the unwise and suicidal prosecutions for sedition, the absurd and ignorant cry of the disloyalty of the educated Indians and the curtailment of the liberty of the Indian press, the despotism and the general insufficiency of the Administration; of all these and many other minor evils, the main cause is the unrighteous and un-British system of government which produces an unceasing and ever increasing bleeding of the country and which is maintained by a political hypocrisy and continuous subterfuges, unworthy of the British honour and name, and entirely in opposition to the wishes of the British nation and sovereign." 99

He warned that if present system did not improve, it could turn into reverse direction. The unrighteous and un-British system of administration should thoroughly be reformed into a

righteous and truly British system. If such steps were not taken in this direction, it would lead to the destruction of the Indians and disaster to British empire in India. It was, in fact, a good warning to them in order to open the eyes of the British public in this concern.

Naoroji continued to renew his efforts to persuade the British people and government through his addresses, meetings, petitions, interviews and correspondence. But the platform strategy was deemed prudent by him as through it a large number of people might be made to understand and realise about the Indian affairs. Thus he now turned his eyes to the industrial towns such as Manchester and Lancashire where the trade unions were quite active. In one of the meetings at Manchester on 15 November, 1898, he addressed the workers that much harm had been done to India in the interest of British trade. He was of the opinion that much real good could be done, if the people of the town realised what the real condition of India was, and what could really promote the cotton trade between England and India. He asked: Are you aware that the drain of wealth from India acts a 'protection' of India's industry? 'Tribute' and 'forced payments' in different ways calculated to have the economic effects on the nation. He further made it clear: "I do not speak with indignation or anger, I am speaking the
bare truth— it is most important that the British should be informed and should judge of themselves and not be misled by those who have made it their interest to exploit India as India had been created by God for that single object."

In a meeting at Lancashire, Naoroji denounced the economic policies adopted by British towards India. He observed: "In England they were able to pay 50 shillings per head for the purpose of revenue in India, they were not able to pay 5 shillings. Even with free trade in India they had the most wretched trade they could possibly thought of. ...... in India, there were 300,000,000 of people ready to trade with the people of this country, if they would only act righteously and carry out the promises made to the natives looking at the condition of Europe they saw that the natives were ready to fly at each others' throats the "bloated armaments" were continuously increasing." The administration should have at least some of the western values. He told that they wanted neither 'favour' nor 'fear' but the adoption of righteous and just British policies in the country. What they

103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.; November 25, 1898.
wanted was true citizenship with equal rights as British citizens so that their degrading position could lead towards 'a higher civilization.' In the peroration of his speech, he ridiculed: "The Government of India had continued to act on the most un-English and the most wicked principles. The result was that India was reduced to the utmost poverty and was the poorest country."

Naoroji did agree to the statements made by Anglo-Indians that the British rule had given Indians its multiple blessings but as far as the economy was concerned, the case was quite different. The 'economic system was a vicious and a wrong one in itself'. It was carried on in such a manner that it did not reflect credit upon the British name. He paid tribute to those personalities who worked for the abolition of slave trade. However, in the beginning they were also called 'faddists and fanatics' not philanthropists who raised the European nations to the state of civilization and advancement. So they should play the same role in India towards their advancement.

In another meeting held at Achorton (in Lancashire),

105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.; December 2, 1898.
107. Ibid.
Naoroji reminded his assemblage of their responsibility to India in the following words: "The British people did not know what they owed to India..... England exported three hundred millions worth of goods to the whole world but what did they send to India, hardly eighteen pence worth per head per annum". Dadabhai stated that the British could not do real good to the Indians unless they did not good to themselves as well. He, therefore, submitted that the government dealing righteously with India, England and even Lancashire would be rich and prosperous.

Naoroji continued to address the meetings even in 1899. These places he covered were Holloway, Warrington (Lancashire), Dewsbury, Yorkshire etc. The subject of meetings remained almost the same. He exhorted his audience not to be apathetic towards India but realise their duty towards their multi-million brethrens living across the many seas. He did not hold that England should make a selfish use of her rights but at the same time, in as much as the government of India was supported and maintained by England, the government should take care that India did not set-up a fiscal system hostile to

108. India, December 9, 1898.
109. Ibid.
In another meeting, Naoroji laid great stress on the condition of India. He made it clear to the people that the formation of the Indian National Congress was to demand the rights of the people in peaceful and constitutional means. He tried to dispel the misconception that the Congress was consisted of few communities of India and did not represent the aspirations of the entire country. The main object, he explained, was to make Indo-British relations on harmonious basis. "The British people have desired, and clearly and emphatically laid it down that the Indian people should be treated and governed exactly like themselves, we are asking no more than that we must be under the same form of Government." 

Naoroji had great admire for the British rule for its many blessings such as western education, freedom of press, speech, association but on the other hand, he denounced it for not implementing those promises, pledges and proclamations in true spirit. Reminding them of their duties, he said: "The people had an actual desire to govern India in a spirit of

110. Ibid.; February 10, 1899; February 24, 1899; April 28, 1899.
111. Ibid.; February 24, 1899.
Justice, honour and duty ....... What he had to complain about was that the mandates they had passed were not carried out, and that they did not trouble to see that they were properly administered."

In another meeting at Halifax on 10 October, 1899, under the auspices of Federation of Liberal Club, Naoroji vehemently denounced the role of the British authorities in not understanding its responsibility to the people of India. On a topic entitled: "Can British Rule be Popular in India?", he went on to lament that the policies of Britishers were such that the Indians were given no opportunity to have a share in the government of their own country. He forcefully said, "if the Indian people were governed on British principles, the popularity in India of British rule would be something they could conceive, the educated people of India knew what British rule was, and they knew that the best rule that could happen to India was, that true British idea should be introduced among them, and that they should be raised to the position of British citizenship."
The appointment of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India evoked some hope as he had expressed words of sympathy earlier in some of his speeches. But his arrogance, bureaucratic temperament and policies marked the imperialist character. His Calcutta Corporation Act was a pre-planned attempt to alter the constitution of the municipality for strengthening the power of executive. The people of Calcutta became apprehensive as the new scheme transferred powers to irresponsible nominees of the government. The representative character of Calcutta municipality was axed by the introduction of the official majority into it. This question was placed before the British public and parliament by Wedderburn, Naoroji, Smith, Caine, Banerjea, R.C. Dutt, A.M. Bose, Gordon Hewart etc. but the government remained unmoved.

The general election of 1900 gave a severe shock when Naoroji, W.C. Bonnerjee, Robinson Souttar, S.H. Pickersgill, Sir Wilfred Lawson, Sir John Baker, Dr. G.B. Clark, A.D. Provand, H. Wilson, Sam Woods, Sir James Stuart etc. were

115. It consisted of 75 Commissioners and one Chairman; of 15 were nominated by the government; 10 by various public bodies and remaining 50 by taxpayers of town.


117. India, July 2, 1902.
defeated. Wedderburn, Luttrell, Carvel Williams and J.C. Wilson did not contest election. But the announcement of William Wedderburn not contesting election was received with a feeling of profound disappointment throughout India. He fought in Parliament for the voiceless and helpless people of India with such pertinacity and determination, noble-forebearance and dignity, that these qualities had elicited warm admiration for him both inside and outside parliament.

The year 1900 witnessed a severe famine in India during twenty-five years. British Committee of congress and liberal organisations extended their activities in regard to the financial help. Naoroji and other advocates of India in England began to hold public-meetings all over England revealing the British public the wills and woes of the Indian people. Matters like causes, nature, remedial measures and financial help were discussed in detail in numerous meetings.

118. But on the other hand, there was an addition of Sir John Jardine, A.E. Fletcher (editor of Daily Chronicle), Prof. Murison, W.S. Caine, M.M. Bhownaggree etc. in House of Commons.

119. Indian Spectator, September 30, 1900.
In a meeting at Town Hall, Edmonton on April 29, 1900, he said "There was a chronic state of famine in India. Even in years of average prosperity and average crops scores of millions had to live on starvation diet. They could not expect to draw blood from a man day after day and yet expect him to remain healthy". He cautioned the audience that if no remedial measures were adopted, famines would keep on increasing in intensity and country would be reduced to utter exhaustion. It would also lead to disastrous end if humanistic approach was not applied to handle it.

The Indian Famine Union which had already been founded during 1896-97 started collecting funds for giving relief to the famine affected people. In a meeting held at Walthamstow under the auspices of United Methodist Free Church on 1 July, 1900, he decried the attitude of the British Government in India in dealing with Indian problems—poverty, its causes, taxation, policy, drain of Indian wealth, military and civil services etc. The management of expenditure and taxes were in such way that the Indians paid

120. *India*, May 4, 1900.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.; July 6, 1900.
a hundred million pounds of taxation but there was no return of hundred millions into India. There was a continual bleeding of about twenty millions annually.... the time has come when India is bleeding to death. You have brought India to this condition by the constant drain upon the wealth of that country.' He accused the British Government for spending lavishly on the establishment of civil and military services which swallowed all the money collected through taxation department. But in the disbursement and disposal of taxation, Indians had not the slightest voice. In fact, Indian government was the real master of resources of the country and it might do what it liked with them. Except submission, there was no alternative before the helpless Indians that caused to their 'bleeding' in abundance.

The prevalence of famine arrested the attention of the non-official British and Indians very much. Meeting after meeting were taking place in numerous parts of England. This question created a great hue and cry not only in Congress circle: in England but also in liberal circles of England. Besides,
two Indians who had depth knowledge of India's fiscal system were Naoroji and R.C. Dutt. Both of them kept on discussing this immediate problem at length. Speaking at Plumstead under the auspices of Radical Club on 21 July, 1900, Naoroji stated that the 'roman' was that the British rule was a blessing to India while the reality was that it was destroying India, and that they might depend on it that the destruction of India must ultimately be followed by the destruction of England. He expressed his apprehension that the present famine would be followed by another famine next year because the land had become very dry. The plight of the peasantry was going from worse to worse and it was the responsibility of the people of Britain "to arouse themselves and in the interest of and common justice to adopt such a policy in India as would enable the people to develop the enormous wealth of that country and to enjoy the fruits of their own country".

Naoroji was the greatest critic of drain of India's wealth to England which was estimated around £30,000,000 every

125. Ibid.; July 25, 1902.
126. Ibid.; July 27, 1900.
127. India July 27, 1900.
year with the millions appropriated for maintaining the empire in India were the primary reasons of acute poverty and pauperism. He regarded that it was the duty of England to pay the cost of all famine and decreases caused by such destitution 'out of her own pocket'.

H.M. Hyndman, a great socialist leader of Britain, and in turning with line of action of his friend Naoroji paid tribute to Indian affairs in England. He maintained that "the growing impoverishment of the people of India was due mainly to the fact that we drain away from them, year in and year out, an amount of produce without return which has now reached the appalling total of £30,000,000 annually from India without return and is spent on English account.....this unceasing drain means the manufacture of almost continuous famine. The rayats are utterly denuded of their resources and have nothing to fall back upon in time of pressure". After reading notes, evidences and general works of the masters of Indian economy, he opined that the

128. Ibid.; November 2, 1900.
130. Robert Knight, Montgomery Martin, Col. Osborne, Evans Bell, Chester Macnaghten, William Digby, Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, etc. wrote on Indian Economy.
system of their government would not continue permanently in such state of affairs where 85,000,000 of population were afflicted by famine out of a total population of less than 250,000,000 under their direct rule. India was made to contribute for the wars in South Africa and elsewhere during the prevalence of dreadful famines. Seeing predicament of Indian masses, some British liberal journalists proposed that 'a large and generous free grant' should be voted not to the Indian exchequer but to the Viceroy, as a national contribution to the relief funds. The proposal was supported by 65 MPs but was defeated by a majority of 47 votes in the House of Commons. The imperial authorities considered it as 'a pedestarian' matter and ignored the rising tide of national sympathy.

The Indian famine Union submitted a petition to Lord George Hamilton on 14 February, 1902 'for the purpose of considering the situation of India.' It wanted a deputation to call on the Secretary of State for India. Hamilton who was heading the India Office refused to receive the deputation

131. India, May 25, 1900.
132. Times, January 9, 1900.
133. India, August 3, 1900.
on the plea that it was a non-political body, although it contained eminent persons of both parties and retired Anglo-Indians. It was argued in House of Commons that India empire bore its own cost and was dependent on England nor the English taxpayers were asked to pay a shilling for an Indian purpose.

The friends of India in England were also great critic of Hamilton. They also joined the issue and accused the British authorities of straining Indian Exchequer in meeting the cost of the establishment of the colonial office and salaries of the Secretary of State for India and other subordinates. W.S. Caine in his fiery speeches in the House of Commons cautioned: "We have to realise that the duty of his country and of this House is to govern India for the benefit of the Indian people, and not simply to exploit the country for the benefit of the British people." Robinson Souttar stressed that if England did not do its duty properly at such a crucial hour, it would be shirking their share of 'the white men's burden' and 'proving themselves (Englishmen) unworthy

135. Indian Parliamentary Debates, August 10, 1901 p. 289.
of the responsibilities of Empire'.

Reeling under the attack of the advocates of India, Hamilton took shelter behind the revenue settlement as the cause of impoverishment of the peasantry. But M.Ps. like Robinson Souttar, W.S. Caine, Charles Dilke etc., held the Secretary of State for India responsible for creating such conditions in India whom they decried as 'the real autocrat of India'.

Naoroji and other leaders of the British Committee of Congress demanded an inquiry to be conducted from village level under the direction of various local governments, to select a few villages and to appoint a representative Committee of experienced persons, officials and non-officials, European and Indians. The object in inquiry was to ascertain the exact financial position of each cultivator, with the history and causes of his indebtedness. After completion of inquiry, appropriate experiments in Village management might be entrusted to administrators of proven capacity and discretion.

136. Ibid.
138. Manchester Guardian, November 2, 1901.
The Indian Famine Union through the letters to various English newspapers urged upon the British public to contribute generously towards the cause of India's sufferers. Last but not least, Naoroji and Wedderburn suggested suspension and remission of revenue, formation of agricultural banks, granting taccavi loans, organic changes in the existing agrarian system of Bombay etc. in order to improve the lot of peasantry. C.J.O.'Donnell cautioned the Indian government not to act like 'landlord' on the other hand urged to keep an eye on it too.

Naoroji not only paid attention to the peasantry of India and suggested ameliorative steps but also demanded to reduce military forces in India as it ate the India's revenues in abundance. It was suggested to restrict army upto 20,000 troops or less if possible and thereby divert the savings to domestic reforms which were hanging fire indefinitely. D.E.Wacha hoped that the Government of India would consider more seriously than it had hitherto done the principal grievances of the people and set them right according to the British concept of justice and sympathy.

139. India, December 20, 1901.
140. Amrit Bazar Patrika, May 1, 1905.
141. Wacha to W.R. Lawrence, Private Secretary to Curzon, Bombay, March 7, 1902; Curzon Papers (NAI).
In another petition submitted to the House of Commons, Bombay Presidency Association quoting the Royal Commission, (known as Welby Commission) which confirmed that British Government had derived great benefit from the existence of a large effective force in India, mildly urged to check rising military expenditure which rose from 16 crores to 27 crores during 1885 to 1902. R.C. Dutt, a famous economic historian of India, held Englishmen responsible for increasing military expenditure, annual economic drain, taxation, land revenue on the one hand and narrowing the admission of the people of India into the higher services, accumulation of wealth on the other. The British trade with India also languished which suffered the interest of manufacturers.

Naoroji alleged that India had to carry the burden of many other taxes such as cotton, salt, excise, income etc. On many occasions, voice was raised in India and England against the oppressive taxes levied upon the Indian masses. The salt tax was a burden on the poorer classes of the people. Remission of the enhanced duty on salt was demanded but the government did not go beyond that that it would be remitted as soon as the finances permitted. The mortality rate in plague and famines

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142. India, July 25, 1902.
143. Ibid.
144. Indian Parliamentary Debates, March 16, 1903, pp. 63-66.
was so high that people had hardly forgotten the scenes of misery that a gigantic and costly darbar was held in Delhi in 1903 which swallowed the sanctioned amount of £260,000 from India budget. Taunting at the statement of Hamilton in the House of Commons on the darbar's cost, W.S. Caine exposed the farce enacted in the name of ancient usage.145

The work of both the British Committee of Congress and India during the years 1897-1904 suffered greatly due to heavy deficit. Its work would have come to an end long ago had Hume, Naoroji, Wedderburn not personally sacrificed large sums to meet the deficit. January 1, 1902, the total deficit had reached upto £2300. Naoroji meet the deficit partially from his own pocket and appealed to the Congressmen in India to work for its maintenance.146 The deficit appeared due to extra-expense in publishing India weekly instead of monthly at the original price and due to increasing expenses on the work of the British Committee.147 Neither the Congress received subscriptions

145. Ibid.
146. Wedderburn to Wacha, Joint General Secretary, Congress, London, May 6, 1901; Gokhale Papers (NAI).
147. The British committee failed to pay the rent of its office to the proprietor of 84 & 85 Palace Chambers.
from its members in time nor the subscribers of India paid their subscriptions to the British Committee of the Congress in England.

Naoroji and friends of India in England nor the Congressmen wanted that their propaganda work should come to an halt. All of them knew that if the publication of India was stopped, it would be disastrous to their movement. So the Congressmen appointed its members to collect subscriptions from India on provincial level besides the local Congress committees. R.C. Dutt promised Naoroji and Wedderburn to devote sometime towards the work of collection. The Congressmen desired the continuance of the paper at any cost.

The India was thus separated financially from the British Committee and was put under a Company comprising Hume, Naoroji, Wedderburn, W.C. Bonnerjee, Sir Henry Cotton, R.C. Dutt, S.H. Swinny as its directors. It was proposed to allot 1500

149. C.Y. Chintamani to Gokhale, Allahabad, October, 1903; Ibid.
preference shares of £1 to the several circles in India. It left 500 shares for 'friends in England'. They expected that the paper would make its circulation larger. All the Congressmen were urged to purchase more copies so that the financial position could be improved for its propaganda work on large scale.

Naoroji and Wedderburn thought it desirable to place the propaganda work upon a proper footing. The ultimate power, undoubtedly, rested with the British people but that power could not be exercised directly. It was only indirectly by means of mobilising public opinion and then getting expressed through ballot. The public opinion influenced and guided the parliamentary electors, the voters decided what manner of persons should compose the majority in the House of Commons. The majority in the

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Wedderburn to Gokhale, Westminster, October 16, 1903; Gokhale Papers.

Ibid.

Kesari (Poona) November 29, 1904.
Corrmons placed in power, the government which it approved and the government appointed the Secretary of State for India and Viceroy who between them exercised the supreme power at Whitehall and Calcutta. This was the complex but hopeful political situation with which the Congress had to deal.

In spite of heavy deficit, the British Committee and India were duly financed by the Congressmen from India. Realising the necessity of their presence, Tilak suggested Naoroji that the agitation should, no doubt, be continued in different ways and by every one, according to his ability, by means of public meetings, newspapers, criticism, interviews. But the agitation in England should be carried on vigorously. This needed men of patience and self-sacrificing operators like Naoroji. Tilak in a letter to Naoroji praised his missionary zeal and his stupendous labours in England. He told obviously that there was no way left before them except the pressure from England upon Anglo-Indians in India. That could only be possible by establishing a permanent political mission in England working 'persistently after the fashion of Christian missionaries in India or elsewhere'.

153. B.G. Tilak to Naoroji; Poona, December 6, 1904; Tilak Papers (NMML).

154. Ibid.
Tilak knew that without substantial organisation, press and persistent efforts in England carried on by Indians themselves, only annual gatherings in India would be of no use. He further observed: "... the annual session of the Congress is like the croaking frogs in the rains - only a seasonal activity, and we cannot hope to gain by it, unless our methods are supplemented by persistent agitation in England. My scheme is that either the older leaders of the Congress should themselves follow your example and spend the last few years of their lives in agitating India's questions in England, or, failing this, we should select half a dozen younger men and maintain them in England for ten years at least, by paying them expenses".  

While Tilak advocated the establishment of a permanent political mission in England, the older generation of the friends of India comprising men like Naoroji, Wedderburn, Cotton etc. were going out from the Westminster under the impact of old age. It must fall upon the Indians themselves to do the work. The chief courses before them were to hammer on the anvil of the press, platform and Parliament. Wedderburn in a philosophical verse said: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore the Lord of the harvest and he send forth labourers into his harvest".  

155. Ibid.  
156. India, November 11, 1904.
The Congress sent Gokhale and Lala Lajpat Rai as delegates to England to make use of the general election. Naoroj always deemed the election period most prudent to put pressure on the constituents so that many friends of India could enter the Parliament. Both the delegates and other leaders of the British Committee held public meetings, addressed representative organisations, interviewed leading personalities, petitioned the government authorities etc.\textsuperscript{157} In a number of public lectures they dilated upon the burning problems of India such as Britain's unfulfilled pledges, expenses on army, Home charges, awakening of India etc. under the auspices of British Committee of the Congress and other liberal and radical organisations.\textsuperscript{158}

Naoroji in a letter to Wacha made it clear that the violence was not proper form for them as it would lead to 'nihilism', but the proper 'weapon is to bark as loudly as we can and as frequently as possible ... the mass of the people will be trained in agitation and be educated in the evil and the remedy. We need to move the masses to an appreciable extent .... The more they try to keep us down, the louder must be our cry, and our cry must be clear and well kept directed towards self-government".\textsuperscript{159} 

\begin{flushleft}
158. \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushleft}
The partition of Bengal created a great hue and cry not only in India but also in England. Almost all the leaders of the Congress including Naoroji criticised the measure as a great shock. Speaking on this issue, he reacted: "The old days have passed and the India of today looks at the whole position in quite a different light. Now India is becoming restless, and it is desirable that the Government should at once realize it". Indian people for the first time had arisen against 'foreign invaders'. Expressing contentment at this new turn in Indian politics, he said 'I am thankful that I have lived to see the birthday of the freedom of Indian people'.

Interviewed by the representative of the Daily News in August 1905, Naoroji said that he had known Lord Curzon when he was in Parliament. In his reaction towards Curzon and his mentor at India Office, George Hamilton, he said "he (Curzon) and Lord George Hamilton have wrought infinite mischief in India, their whole policy being to break down the rising spirit of the Indian people. Now India is quite different from the India of the past. The country is ripe for steps towards self-government".

Gokhale in a speech at the National Liberal Club, London on 15 November, 1905, laid the blame for Indian ills at the door

of bureaucracy which ate Indian resources by appropriating high salaries, pensions, allowances and by maintaining the costliest administration in the world. 'Self-government' was the only remedy of those ills, stated Gokhale.\(^{162}\) The burden of organising public meetings fell on the shoulders of Wedderburn and S.S. Camp, a journalist and one time right hand man of Charles Bradlaugh. A the leaders decry the British politicians as 'timids' and 'have to satisfy them that the danger is not from making concessions but refusing them'.\(^{163}\)

Naoroji and other non-official British friends of India were greatly impressed with the performance of Gokhale who made great impression on their minds. Gokhale was asked again to come to England in April 1906. Almost all the Congress leaders hailed the installation of Liberal Government at Whitshull. They expected that the new government would fulfil all the promises made from time to time towards India.\(^{164}\) In one of the meetings held at Leicester on November 24, 1906, Naoroji said that millions in India did not know what it was to have a full meal. The fundamental need of India was that she should live free from the yoke of stranger. She must have self-government as the birth right of Indians. He hoped that England would give it with good grace, without loss of time.\(^{165}\)

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162. *India*, November 24, 1905.
163. Wedderburn to Gokhale, London, October 17, 1905; *Gokhale Papers*.
164. R.C. Dutt to Gokhale, Baroda, May 24, 1906, *Gokhale Papers*.
165. *India*, November 30, 1906.
In the conclusion of the chapter it can fairly be said that Naoroji wanted that unless the youths were given proper share in the administration of their own country, the multiple problems would not lead towards their solution. He wrote many letters, delivered innumerable speeches, submitted many petitions but all efforts were of no avail as the Conservative politicians then in power remained unconvinced and unaffected. Hamilton even ended the correspondence with Naoroji regarding Indian matters.166

Naoroji made the British people and authorities acquaint with the Indian problems and insisted on the redress of their grievances. He also conveyed the Indian feeling with regard to the Indian problems and the Congress attitude towards them. He utilised platform, press and parliament in order to convince the British that with the prevailing system of administration in India the interest of the Indian people and British rulers could not be identified at all. His efforts to place India's woes and grievances before the British public and authorities received individual sympathies and support but the British attitude and policies towards increasing India's lot and economic condition remained firm and changeless.

It was realised in some quarters that some Indian members should enter the House of Commons to carry the hopes and aspirations of Indian under the British rule. It is remarkable to note that the Bombay Presidency Association had taken a serious view of it before the establishment of the Indian National Congress. In its meeting held on 29 September, 1885, Association discussed the topic "India's interest in General Election". Dadabhai Naoroji laid great stress on the value and urgency of India's representation in British Parliament and observed that "the present occasion of the new elections is one of those occasions in which we can appeal to the whole nation and specially in a way most useful for our purpose. It is the Parliament that our chief battle has to be fought. The election of its members, especially those who profess to speak on India's matters, requires our earnest attention, and we should point out to the electors, which of those candidates who make India plank in their credential, have our confidence."¹ It was his utmost desire to contest for a seat in the House of Commons but he did not communicate his will to the people.

¹ Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay 1899), p. 293.
It was the Hindu of Madras that made a gesture about his intention to leave India for England with a view to standing 'as a candidate for election to Parliament'. The same paper went on to say that 'there was none equal to him in all India'. Naoroji who had been in England for many years was of the opinion that not a single genuine voice was there in Parliament to make Indian opinion on any question familiar with the British Parliamentarians. In his Presidential of second Indian National Congress session, he vehemently urged the need of India's representation in British Parliament. Even the sympathisers of India's question felt it to be 'a great defect in Parliament' that it did not contain one single genuine representative of the people of India.

It was possibly the grandeur of the second session of the Congress which emboldened him to fill-up the vacancy as far as the India's representation was concerned. During his long sojourn in England, he had come to know about the British electors' mind, politics and other aspects of British society. He reached England and prepared himself for entering the Parliament 'a body where the most fundamental questions regarding Indian administration were decided and where there was no Indian to put forth the native views on this question'. Moreover, his association with the London India Society, East India Association,

2. The Hindu, March 13, 1886.
4. The Hindu, March 13, 1886.
and host of the liberal organisation had made him a reputed Indian in British circles. In the general election of 1886, he was given a ticket as a Liberal candidate for Holbourn constituency. But due to his unluck, he suffered a defeat polling 1,950 votes against his opponents 3,651. He took it as a beginning and did not lost patience and courage.⁵

Even after his defeat Naoroji continued to prepare for the next election with a greater determination. In a letter to Wacha, he made it clear that he would not accept any invitation to address on India from any corner but 'to be ready for any call from Central Finsbury'. He kept on touring all the towns of this constituency in order to "address on India and make the Congress a familiar topic and an institution deserving and claiming support from all Englishmen".⁶ It shows that soon after his defeat in 1886, he spared enough time to work in this constituency so that he could contact the constituents directly.

Seeing Naoroji's interest in the next election, some of the Indians started taking keen interest in the Parliament elections. However, the Association always sent their representatives to England in order to address the constituencies of their supporters for return to Parliament. Behramji Merwanji Malabari,

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5. *India*, July 6, 1917.

a great social reformer who took least interest in political matters than social matters, went on to sympathise with him and wrote that it was necessary that Indians should once more urge his claims upon the Liberals and upon British electors generally in such a manner as to convince them that India had set her heart on his return to the British Parliament. "We must appeal to the sense of justice of the Liberal party, and ask them to be true to their principles and professions. This is just a time for united appeal."

Naoroji who had been working in Central Finsbury constituency was adopted as a liberal candidate to represent this constituency in Parliament. This constituency was earlier represented by a Conservative Party candidate. R.M.H.Grifth acted as a chief election agent to work for him in this constituency. Naoroji also started his election campaign. It is important to tell here that there were thirteen candidates to have their claims to represent this constituency but, finally he was accepted as the best candidate for the same. He started paying visits house to house.

7. B.M.Malabari to Naoroji, Bombay, December 9, 1891; Naoroji Papers.
8. India, February 5, 1892.
attended ward meetings, gave numerous talks and lectures, presided or attended political meetings and was constantly in touch with the public.

Naoroji in his election manifesto made it clear that he was 'a Home Ruler' and would not give his silent vote in the House of Commons but would work actively for the cause. He was determined to pursue the Indian cause in the form of reforms for the administration of India in the House of Commons. He obviously indicated that he would not deviate even an inch from the singleness of purpose nor from rectitude by which he proposed to achieve his aim. In his election meetings, he remarked that he would work like an 'instrument' to India's cause. Several Indians also went to address the constituents of the Central Finsbury in order to have their sympathy for electing an Indian to Parliament. Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, widow of Charles Bradlaugh, a great champion of Indian cause, also worked labouriously for Naoroji's election. She kept on addressing numerous meetings in his support. Several Indians including Maharaja of Baroda also supported in candidature of Naoroji both for the commonweal of India and England too.

11. Ibid.
12. India, July 15, 1892.
Lori Salisbury, Prime Minister of England, in his notorious Edinburgh Election speech called Naoroji 'a black man'. These words caused a sensation all over England and gave more prominence to Naoroji unknowingly. His utterance not only hurt the sentiments of Naoroji but to the whole of India who had high regard for him. Indians regarded it 'a great offence'. It was even resented by the Liberal Party including Gladstone. The whole of England who up-set at these words of the Prime Minister of England. Even Queen Victoria expressed her grief that one of her patriotic Indian subjects should have been insulted by her Prime Minister.

Naoroji was elected in 1892 to the Parliament. It was a result of his five years strenous work. He won by a narrow majority of three Votes only. Naoroji had to face much difficulties during his election campaign and his oppsiti party even tried to stir up racial prejudices. It is said th the official machinery was immensely used to defeat him. The party in power tried to create gulf in Liberal party in order to get him defeated.

13. Ibid.; August 26, 1892.
15. Congress Presidential Addresses, First Series, p. 120
The success of Naoroji at the election was hailed with universal rejoicing in India and England and the welcome extended him by his friends was no less cordial. His cherished dream came true. He reached the pinnacle of his fame. His reputation and moral character were so great that when he was asked to take an oath on the Bible, he politely refused to do the same as he was not Christian. Parliament allowed him to take an oath in the name of God. He had taken a small book on Avastā, a religious book of Parsees with him for the same. Gladstone expressed his joy in Parliament and said, "That Black Man, who was called in contempt by Lord Salisbury, is elected to the Parliament by the White voters to my great satisfaction". The Princes of India were also very happy particularly the Maharaja of Baroda, Bhavnagar and Maharaja of Kutch, Nawab of Junagarh and the Prime Minister of Hyderabad sent him felicitations.

This opportunity, undoubtedly, was a matter of great joy in Congress Circles too. The British Committee of Indian National Congress in its meeting passed a resolution, "That this Committee desires to record its great satisfaction

18. Ibid.
at the return of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to Parliament by the Central Division of Finsbury and heartily congratulates the enlisted electors of that constituency on being the first to recognise paramount claims of the people of India to representation in the Imperial Parliament." Public media also expressed their pleasure and praised the voters of Central Finsbury for their impartiality in choosing Naoroji as their representative in Parliament 'in preference to a countrymen of their own.'

It is noteworthy that he got universal admiration on the eve of his election. He achieved too much popularity at this turn of event. Indian leaders like Tilak had also a great praise for him when he wrote: "If we twenty eight crore of Indians were entitled to send only one member to the British Parliament, there is no doubt that we would have elected Dadabhai Naoroji unanimously to grace that post."

19. Minutes of the British Congress Committee meeting July 1892, Resolution No. 3.
22. Kesari (Poona) July 12, 1892.
Leaders of The Indian National Congress in its eighth annual session greatly missed his presence at this session as they wanted him to preside over this session. Naoroji could not come as his opponent, captain Penton, was busy in challenging his election in the court. The Congressmen were quite contented and assured Naoroji to support wholeheartedly to put India's case convincingly before the House of Commons. They wanted that their countrymen should have the opportunity of really representing to the government the views of the people of India. Most of the Congressmen expressed their gratitude to the voters of Central Finsbury to have elected an Indian to represent them in the Parliament. In the same session, the Congress passed a resolution expressing thanks to the electors of this constituency: "That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons; and puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that

23. Congress Presidential Addresses, First Series, p. 120.
gentleman has rendered to this country, reiterates its unshaken confidence to him and looks upon him as India's representative in the House of Commons." The Congress deemed it better to put-up pressure for reforms through Naoroji and to convince parliamentarians to concede the Indian demands in the Commons.

Naoroji had to deal with the two streams at a time. An Indian, he was the representative of British constituents; as a leader of the Indian National Congress, he was a member of the British Parliament. He had to work as a binding force between the political circles in India and England. It was perhaps his ardent desire to remove the gulf existed between the rulers and the ruled and "to establish a bridge of understanding between the two countries." He intended to work according to the creed of Congress whose path led towards constitutionalism. His cardinal motive was to create among members of British Parliament an interest in the Indian affairs.

The results of election in 1893 proved momentous for India when many British and Irish sympathisers were

24. Ibid.; pp. 33-34.
elected to the Parliament. But the victory of Sir William Wedderburn was deemed significant. His victory was hailed like that of Naoroji's membership of Parliament from Central Finsbury. Their entrance into Parliament strengthened the position of India's cause in the Parliament. The other M.Ps. like John Bright, W.S. Caine, Samuel Smith, C.E. Schwann, Herbert Paul also joined them to take-up India's questions. Their solidarity might be seen on the Indian Civil service question when they succeeding in enlisting the support of 130 members.

Encouraged by the success and sympathetic attitude of British members, Wedderburn, Naoroji and W.S. Caine invited them to a dinner party. The dinner discussion revealed the desirability of the formation of the Indian Parliamentary Committee on 27 July 1893. This committee would espouse the Indian cause inside the Parliament as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress had been doing outside since 1889. The sponsors of the move knew that the moderate and limited objective of the Congress could be better realised by the combined efforts of M.Ps, publicmen and the

26. India, August 1, 1893.
advocates of the Congress. Wedderburn moved the resolution for the revival of committee for the purpose of "promoting Combined and well directed action among those interested in Indian affairs."

The Indian Parliamentary Committee resolved to promote in advance the Indian cause in Parliament. William Wedderburn and Herbert Robert were appointed Chairman and Secretary. The other members of the Committee were W.A. Hunter, Illingworth, Sir Wilfred Lawson, W.S. Caine, J.E. Ellis W.B. McLaren, J.G. Swiff McNeil, Naoroji, Herbert Paul, Joseph Pease, R.T. Reid, C.E. Schwann, Eugene Wason, Alfred Webb and H.T. Wilson.

The formation of the Parliamentary Committee re-invigorated the British Committee which prepared a voluminous petition demanded immediate inquiry into the working of Indian government, Indianisation of the councils, civil service question, military, home charges, drain of Indians' wealth, wicked taxes etc. The number of membership increased to 152 in 1894. In the general election of 1895,
the number reduced to 85 as sixty members suffered defeat, several members died or resigned. It is significant to note that again the membership of the Committee swelled to 125 in 1896. Naoroji narrated the object of the Committee with a view "to take charge of Indian questions in Parliament and to press on the House of Commons what we conceive the right views on these matters."  

Naoroji with the help of the Committee made feasible efforts to get Indian questions raised and passed in Parliament during his Parliamentary career between 1892 and 1895. The members of the Committee remained in close touch with Indian leaders and members of the British Congress Committee. All the three—British Committee, Parliamentary Committee and India rendered a very valuable and remarkable services in promoting the cause of Indians on the floor of the House of Commons 'in such a way ' as they never received before.'

When the Congress leaders failed to redress their grievances at the hands of Indian government, they shifted the

30. The Tribune, August 30, 1893.
31. India, May, 1894.
arena of their agitation from India to England where they could mobilise British public and Parliament in support of Indian cause. It was Parliament which not only passed reforms but also directed the entire Indian affairs. The relationship between Parliament were like those of 'a doctor and his patient', and the doctor could make a correct diagnosis and find out the remedy so far as to ensure a satisfactory cure. Naoroji was of the opinion that there was a great need of Indian representation in Parliament which hardly knew much about Indian affairs.

This was the period when Indian affairs arrested the attention of the British parliament and public. In order to create more heat in British political circles, he asked the congress leaders in India to hold its session in England. He said, "I can assure the Congress that as I hope and wish, if you will play an early visit to the United Kingdom and hold a session there, you will obtain a kind and warm reception from its peoples. And you will by such direct and personal appeal to the British Nation accomplish a vast amount of good."

Naoroji worked as a devoted and sincere leader through parliamentary and constitutional manner in Parliament. He not only raised his voice against the un-British policies but championed the Indian cause in the House of Commons. He always fought nail to teeth for political and economic advancement of the country taking Indian administration and problems together. In his speech on the address of Queen Victoria on 9 August, 1892, he made it clear that it was improper on his part to speak before the Augustus House so immediately after his admission to parliament yet he justifie it on the ground that he was compelled to do it under a certain necessity. He deemed his election as a very conspicuous event in the history of Indian and British Empire. He greatly praised the European Principles of Liberalism, freedom and justice and urged to rule India in accordance with that spirit. In the end of his speech, he showed gratitude towards the British political system which made him possible to be a member of British Parliament.

Naoroji always praised the infrastructure created by the British in the country such as the expansion of

educational institutions, press, means of communication and transportation etc. which created bond of solidarity among all the regions of the country. It was only possible under the British rule only. But he was utterly dissatisfied with the principles applied to Indian administration. He hoped that by his presence in the House of Commons that question would also get due attention of the Parliamentarians. When he made his first speech in Parliament he was attentively listened to by the members. Following lines are remarkable from his speech: "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 preserve, whatever justice we ask in reason we shall get ..... There will be certain Indian questions, principally of administration, which I shall have to lay before the House, I am quite sure that when they are brought forward they will be fairly considered and if reasonable, amended to our satisfaction." In the end of his speech, he was greeted with cheers by the members of the House of Commons. His speech greatly influenced the

38. Ibid.
39. The Tribune, September 7, 1892.
members who pledged to support the Indian cause there.

The support to the Indian cause came from disparate elements cutting across party and ideological lines. All those members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee were acquainted with Indian grievances through petitions, memorandums, addresses and letters. By the end of 1895, the committee was in receipt of fifty-one petitions with forty thousand signatures from various parts of India in support of holding Indian civil Service examinations in India and England simultaneously.

The Civil Service question was an important one intimately related to the Congress demand for the political advancement of the country. The Congress had been demanding the Indianisation of the Civil Services examinations and to holding in India since its inception. It kept on repeating year after year in its annual session in order to influence the British opinion on the issue. Naoroji even before his entrance into Parliament worked hard for its true implementati

40. Herbert Paul proposed the move of Indianisation of Civil Service and Naoroji suggested the increasing of Fowler though agreed but sent it to Indian Government for its approval. *India*, September, 1895.
in Indian administration. He also decided to raise this important issue on the floor of the Parliament. In close association of his friends such as Wedderburn, Caine, Herbert Paul, T.H. Roberts, Alfred Webb etc., Naoroji greatly agitated for the civil service question. He moved a bill for holding of Civil Service Examinations in India and England on 1 March, 1893 but he failed to do so as this question could not enlist the support of the Commoners. He again tabled the same bill on 13 April, 1893 but in vain.

Naoroji continued to make efforts in this concern. He made persuasive appeals to the members of Liberal Party and others to take-up this issue. Thus Herbert Paul moved a resolution on 2 June, 1893 about holding the Civil Service examinations in India and England simultaneously. This question secured a large support of the members of Parliamentar Committee. Naoroji charged the government of 'having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart' the words of promises and pledges announced from time to time. He clearly remarked: "The application to natives of the

41. *India*, March 1, 1893.
competitive system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age.... are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges."

The strenuous efforts made by Naoroji on the question ultimately came to fruition when the resolution was passed by a narrow majority. Eighty four members of the House of Commons voted in favour of the resolution while seventy six members voted against it. The House then resolved: "That all the competitive examinations, heretofore, held in England alone for appointment to the Civil Services of India, shall, henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such examinations, being identical in nature, and all who complete being finally classified in one list according to merit."

This was, inspite of the efforts, made by the government to prevent its supporters from voting for the motion. George Russell, under Secretary of State for India, kept on opposing the resolution and declaring at length on the depressing effects. He cautioned that it was not

44. Ibid.; Vol. XIII, p. 113.
45. Ibid.; p. 64.
a judicious step in regard to a sound administration. Lord Cross observed that the government should have at once taken step to revoke the resolution. Salisbury expressed the opinion that he could not imagine any project more fatal to the India Empire than that of identical examination.

It can fairly be said that it was very difficult to procure the concessions and reforms which were just in nature. It was the most opportune time chosen by Naoroji and his supporters to get it through the Parliament. It was deemed a victory of the principle for which the congress had been struggling hard for a long period. The passing of the resolution was deemed as a crowning personal triumph, for Naoroji and his friends who fought with unflinching zest. Since the attitude of the British was of opposition, the resolution did not get the assent of H.H. Fowler, Joint Secretary of State for India. When the resolution was sent to Government of India for its careful consideration and report, it outrightly termed it as 'ill-admired and dangerous.'

47. *Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons) Vol XIII, p.11
49. *India*, January 1, 1894.
50. Lord Elgin to H.H. Fowler, Simla, July 17, 1894; *Fowler Papers* (NAI).
Naoroji and others denounced the British policy and attitude of bureaucracy in India and accused all of them for adding "insult to injury. After stultifying our growth, our mental and moral capacity we are told that we are not capable". All the Congress leaders vehemently decried with great anxiety and discontentment over such a vital question. They were asked to hold large public meetings in order to pass resolution "expressing gratitude at the decision of the House and praying to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to give early practical effect thereto". Thus the numerous meetings took place in the whole of India where numerous resolution were passed.... and submitted fifty-one petitions with forty thousand signatures to the Secretary of State for India to implement the resolution passed by the House of Commons for holding Indian Civil Service examinations in England and India simultaneously.


52. Circular letter of Naoroji addressed to Indian leaders on 20 July, 1895 F.N.I (647); Naoroji Papers.

53. Lord Elgin to H.H. Fowler, Simla, July 17, 1894; Fowler Papers.
The early Congressmen criticised the attitude and policy of the British Government on economic issues and protested against the growing impoverishment, excessive taxation, wastage on military establishment, drain of wealth, unjust charges and other burdens. Naoroji not only mastered political aspects but also economic matters which ultimately became the creed of his political programme. He solely held the British policies responsible for the overall decay of the economy of the Indian people. When he entered the House of Commons, he raised the problem of poverty of the Indian masses. He showed extensive interest in asking multiple questions, giving notices of motions and moving several resolutions in regard to the poverty of the Indian people. He was greatly annoyed when his motions were not given due weight by the British political party in power. However, he continued to display the case of India's impoverishment presenting facts and figures to establish his argument. Hence, he moved a resolution on this important aspect in August 1894 in which he forcefully said: "That,


55. Tribune August 4, 1894.
in the opinion of this House a full and independent Parliamentary inquiry should be made into the condition and wants of the Indian people and their ability to bear their existing financial burdens, the nature of revenue system and the possibilities of reduction in the expenditure, also the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom, and generally the system of government of India."

When Samuel Simith moved a resolution in the course of Indian budget on the question of poverty of the Indian masses. Naoroji not only seconded the resolution but presented a horrible picture of the poverty of the country. In the course of his speech, he expressed that the poverty of India had become chronic; that it was growing acutely amongst the bulk of the people; and that a reduction in the civil and military expenditure was essential. Economics policies, he argued, adopted by the government of India were solely responsible for the acute poverty of the masses.

Naoroji argued that the transfer of power from East

57. *Indian Parliamentary Debates* (Commons) August 14, 1894, pp. 197-98.
India Company to the crown was made for the advancement of the Indians but their position became bad to worse. In support of his argument, he quoted letters of the Directors to Bengal Government, letters of Clive and Macaulay which showed the most cruel operation in trade, corruption, evils in civil and military administration, free-trade etc. In regard to the relation of India with England Lord Salisbury frankly admitted that 'India must be bled'. Many of the officials of Britain accepted that it was their conquests which 'debased the whole people' of this country.

Several acts, promises and pledges obviously recognised the equality of Indians with British but in reality the picture was quite reverse as Naoroji put in the commons that "the Indians were now just the same British slaves, instead of British subjects, as they were before their emancipation of 1833." There was an increase in drain of India's wealth to Britain which amounted to £30,000,000 without any return to this country. How severe then must be its effects in India where the wage of labour

60. Ibid.; April 10, 1893, p. 1385.
was from 2d. 3d. a day. Thus the ceaseless efforts of Naoroji, Wedderburn, Smith etc. proved extremely helpful in sustaining pro-India campaign in England.

The members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee pressed Henry Fowler, Secretary of State for India, to call a halt to the measure of raising revenue in India. Wedderburn prepared and distributed a comprehensive note among M.Ps. detailing financial situation and revenue enhancement in India. Naoroji provided voluminous documentary evidence to impress upon the House the financial drain and misdeeds of the government citing illustrations from preceding Viceroy's and retired officials. Like Naoroji Wedderburn also opposed the employment of English in Civil and military services as it swallowed a large amount of India's budget. He pleaded: "..... if we were to govern the Indian people efficiently and cheaply we must govern them by means of themselves and pay for the administration at the market rates of native labour; that the good work of the security and law had assumed such dimensions under the

63. Ibid.
64. The increased army expenditure with the revival of the 'Forward Policy' of 1876 runs thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1844-69</td>
<td>Rs. 169,638,030</td>
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<tr>
<td>1866-88</td>
<td>Rs. 204,179,340</td>
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<td>1891-92</td>
<td>Rs. 215,001,970</td>
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<td>1892-93</td>
<td>Rs. 225,547,910</td>
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<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>Rs. 225,884,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>Rs. 229,500,000; India, July, 1894.</td>
</tr>
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Queen's Government of India that it could no longer be carried on or even supervised by imported labour from England except at a cost India could sustain."

Naoroji was shocked to find that along with Conservatives several Liberals also opposed the innocuous resolution. The Government of India was a government of the officials, for the officials and by the officials. The India's policy was practically dictated by 'a small clique at Simla', 'a civil and military clique, whose tendency was that of an aggression abroad. Almost all members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee worked in unison presenting 'a united attack upon the ministerial policy'.

From the quotations and statements of British officials and leaders, Naoroji arrived at the conclusion that as to the material condition of India, "the main feature in 18th century were gross corruption and operation by the Europeans in 19th century, high salaries and heavy weight of European services.... therefore, there was no such thing as finance of India." Thus he gave an account

65. Indian Parliamentary Debates (Commons) August 14, 1894, pp. 218-19.
66. India, September, 1894.
67. Indian Parliamentary Debates (Common) August 14, 1894, p. 1068.
of India's poverty with the support of the views of Anglo-Indian officials and explained the causes of poverty and suggested for their remedial measures. First of all, he criticised the taxation system through which a large portion of India's wealth was carried away from the country by the Britishers. Taxes must be administered by and disbursed to those who paid them.

Secondly, as far as the trade of India was concerned, hitherto, it was importing more and exporting less. Naoroji suggested that there should be excess of exports over imports. If that was not done, India was bound to become bankrupt soon.

Thirdly, laws which were given to India for public works added to the drain on the country as they had to be repaid with interest. If India was left to herself to enjoy what she produced and if India had developed her own resources, she would not require any loan. Huge amount of money was taken away from the country and only a fraction of it was repayable to India in form of loans. Naoroji wanted that it must be stopped at any rate.

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69. Ibid.; p. 1061.
70. Ibid.; p. 1062-70.
Fourthly, the country had to pay nearly Rs. 200,000,000 annually. This added to the poverty of India and made the people of India the poorest in the world. Naoroji argued that the foreign dominion should be reduced to the minimum by employment of the Native Agency at the market rates.

Fifthly, The charges which were made by the War Office for European troops in India were unjust and cruel which resulted in the suffering of the Indian people. The British Government should impartially consider the relative financial capacity of the two countries and pay a reasonable proportion of charges of European army and European servants which were stationed in India for the special purpose of maintaining the power of the British Empire. Naoroji in the conclusion of his speech demanded an impartial and comprehensive enquiry into the question of financial administration in India. All the decisions taken should be based on principles and policy so that the rulers and the ruled might come to some fair and honourable understanding with each other which 'would keep them together in good faith and good heart.'

71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.; p. 1072.
Naoroji was supported by the other members of Indian Parliamentary Committee when he urged for the enquiry into the financial relations between India and Britain. On the assurance of H.H. Fowler, Secretary of State for India that he was willing to appoint a Committee in next session, Samuel Smith moved a resolution for a full and independent enquiry into the conditions and wants of Indian people and their financial difficulties. Naoroji was greatly perturbed over the spending of large amount of money on the military and civil expenditures of the European services. He pleaded to adopt a merciful view to end frontier wars and decrease the military budget of Indian Government. Most of the members of the Parliamentary Committee agreed with Naoroji as he delivered a big speech on this very important aspect. In the course of his speech, he said "I do not ask for a share of the military and civil expenditure of the European services simply as beggar on account of being poor, though there is a great hardship; but I ask it on the ground of justice, on the ground that our interests and British interests are identical."

74. Ibid.; p. 197.
Nacroji did denounce the costliness of India office, London, which ate large amount of money of Indian exchequer. He was of the view that this office should be maintained financially by the British exchequer. He asked the House of Commons that in the name of justice India should be jultly and fairly treated by the British. He expected that the Indian people would not be treated like 'conquered slaves' nor held Indians as 'oppressed'. He affirmly put into the minds of the commoners that it was the duties of the British to repose full faith in Indians and give them equal opportunity to have a share in the administration of their own country.

In spite of his brief tenure in British Parliament, Naoroji held his responsibility as a true representative of Indian people dedicating fully for their cause. He tried his best to put up and forward the Indian case whenever he got opportunity to do so. It would be proper to say that no other Indian at that time could have got that position with universal admiration as Naoroji. Both Naoroji and Indian National Congress expected that they would retain the pressure

76. Ibid.; p. 1761.
77. India, March, 1895.
for reforms. Though his period came to an end in July 1895 yet he kept on vigorously working for the Indian grievances.

Naoroji was dissatisfied with mere assurance of Fowler, Secretary of State for India to appoint a Committee to enquire into the financial administration in India. It was his ardent desire that only a big Commission would satisfy them. He forcefully moved an amendment soon after the address of Queen Victoria in budget session on 12 February, 1895 in which he mentioned the costliness of civil and military services, frontier operations etc.

The amendment recorded: "And we humbly pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct your Majesty's Ministers to adjust the financial relation between the United Kingdom and British India, with regard to all the expenditure incurred in the employment of Europeans and British Indian services, Civil and Military in this country and in India, that some fair and adequate portion of such expenditure should be borne by the British Exchequer in proportion to the pecuniary and political benefits accruing the United Kingdom from your Gracious Majesty's stay over India, and that the British

78. India, August, 1895.
79. Indian Parliamentary Debates (Commons) February 12, 1895 pp. 567-68.
treasury should sustain a fair and equitable portion of all expenditure incurred in all military and political operations beyond the boundaries of India in which both Indian British interests are jointly concerned."

The amendment he moved was purely based on the demand of justice. In his detailed speech, he dwelt upon the stoppage of drain of India's wealth for the payment of European officials - their salaries, pensions, allowances etc. without any material equivalent being received for it. The Indian people were prevented from accumulating it and a large portion of resources and industries of the countries were into the hands of the British capitalists. Moreover, India had to pay a large amount of money 300,000,000 rupees for the establishment of secretary of State for India and his India Office Council every year. It can fairly be said that the British people derived benefits from India in a variety of ways.

Narcoji denounced the taxation system of the British. In England, about seven per cent of the annual wealth was paid in the form of taxes but Indians paid fourteen per-cent.

80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.; pp.569-70.
However, the officials always claimed that India was lightly taxed was totally a force. The revenues raised in England were spent in the same country but India's money was drained to England without any return. An Englishman spent about £4 per head on drink alone while an Indian's annual income was around one and half pound. He remarked that the total expenditure spent on the boundaries of the country should be equally shared by both the countries not by India alone. But the most appropriate demand of Naoroji was that the Indians should be given all opportunity to have a voice in the administration of their own country. Naoroji pleaded that the Indians relying on the justice of their claim should contribute fair share in the proportion to army benefits which was the greatest possession of India.

During the proposed amendment, Naoroji was immensely supported by other members of the Parliamentary Committee such as Wedderburn, W.S.Caine, Herbert Paul, R. Cobble, Richard Temple, Reay and H.H.Fowler. They took active

82. Ibid.; pp. 575-76.
83. Ibid.; p. 579.
part in the session of the House of Commons. Though there was differences of opinion among them yet the entire debate carried on in cordial mood. The poverty of the Indian people, heavy taxation system, costly frontier wars, drain of wealth etc. were important themes of the discussion. The conclusion of the debate was that it was possible to eliminate a certain amount of the existing taxation and make available some funds to meet the extreme needs in the way of famine and for the advancement of the Indian People. Consequently, a Royal Commission was appointed in May 1895, "to inquiry into the administration and management of the military and civil expenditure incurred and the apportionment of charges between the Government of United Kingdom and of India for the purpose in which both were interested."

Lord Welby, an eminent Treasury Official, was made Chairman of the Commission. The other members of the Commission were L. Courtney, W.L. Jackson, R. Knox, William Wedderburn, G. Hamilton, J. Peile, D. Stewart, G.L. Ryder, A.S. Coble, W.S. Caine, T. R. Buchanan, R. Mowbray and Dadabhai Naoroji. 

Except three, all others belonged to official group.

84. Ibid.; p. 580.
86. William Wedderburn, W.S. Caine, Dadabhai Naoroji were the members of British Congress Committee and Indian Parliamentary Committee and they constituted a minority report in the Commission.
The official group was in the majority in the Commission. The Commission was asked not to take matters relating to the policy of the British Empire. However, the Congress leaders were greatly disappointed. But Naoroji and his other friends contented to concede something of what was asked for. Since July 1895, he was no more a member of Parliament. He had to devote his time and energy to the Commission so that the maximum benefit could be derived from it. He wanted some more Indians to be included in the Commission. In a letter to M.G. Ranade, Naoroji made it clear that it was most appropriate time to present India's aspirations in order to win favour of the British: "We have to remember that the Commission is of our asking, and we have to make the most of it. It has been given reluctantly by the authorities, and they will be pleased if it ends in a fiasco. It is our need and we must use it for our need .... The majority of the Commission are none too much keen to get India's endeavour. They would rather not have any and remain undisturbed in their complaining that everything is for the best, that India is happy. This is

87. Wadia, op. cit.; pp. 16-17.
a "tide in our affair" and we "like it at the flood", may lead to some little or more good fortune, we may not get this tide again for a long time". It seems that Ranade was prepared to serve the country but Indian Government did not favour the idea of a High Court Judge to give evidence before the Commission. Instead, Gokhale, D.E. Wacha, Surendranath Banerjea and G. Subramaniam Iyer were selected. He sent hundreds of letters to various leaders all over India asking them to send their views supporting him.

Before starting the business of the Commission, Naoroji prepared and submitted a detailed memorandum covering all the aspects of Indian affairs such as poverty, revenue policy, development of Indian resources and industries, injustice etc. In one of the paras, he infuriously wrote: "Do the British Indian authorities really think that the Indians are only like African savages or mere children that even after two thousand years of civilisation, when the Britons were only barbarians, after the education they have received at the blessed British hands, producing, as Lord Dufferin said, 'they do not see an".

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89. Wadia, op. cit.; p. 17.
understand these deplorable circumstances of their true position of degradation and economic destruction. Or do these authorities not care, even if the Indians did understand as long as they can mislead the British people into the belief that all is right and beneficent in British India when it is really not the case."

The sittings of the Royal Commission gave a chance to influence and convince the British Government on question of sufferings and economic plight of the people. He displayed documentary evidences and illustrations to prove the poverty and unjust financial burdens on Indian people. He tried to achieve through the Commission which he could not achieve in Parliament.

Naoroji appealed before the Commission as a witness to the ordeal of cross examination so that the Chairman could be compelled to deal with the issues raised in the


course of his evidence. Criticising the system of government, he said: "There is no proportion there. You must serve the double purpose, both maintaining the supremacy in a very remarkable and a very efficient manner and at the same time the people must feel that they are governed by themselves." Welby asked him "whether you propose to retain any part of civil service - the European service?" Naoroji replied that only the highest position such as Viceroy, provincial Governors and Commander-in-Chief might be retained by the Englishmen and other position of the civil service to be dominantly occupied by the Indian. He was of the opinion that it was not opportune time to manage the whole Indian affairs efficiently but "We may go gradually (to) higher-up(s)." He stressed that there should be much Indians in the administration of India.

In order to prove his arguments, Naoroji cited several illustrations from preceding Viceroy's and retired officials that the country could be better governed only

92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
'by the employment of the best and most intelligent of the natives in the services.' He angrily said the Indians did not enjoy the same rights and benefits of the British rule as the British themselves. Although all such gains had already been proposed by the Acts of 1833, 1853, 1858 etc. but they were not given due claim and share of public employments. He strongly urged that the examinations of Civil Service should be simultaneously held in India and England.

In presenting India's economic issues, Naoroji emphatically observed that the drain of India's wealth, taxation system, war expenditures, export of India's resources etc. made the impoverishment and degradation of British India to the advantages of Britain. He remarked further in his witness: "The British Empire in India is built up entirely with the money of India, and in the great measure by the blood of India .... hundreds of Millions of money which Britain has unceasingly, and even increasingl; drawn from British India, and is still drawing, has material:

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helped to make Britain the greatest, the richest and most glorious country in the world - benefiting her material conditions so much that even the Chancellor of the Exchequer is rejoicing that his income tax is marvellously increasing, while British India in its turn is reduced to extreme poverty and helotry."

Naoroji suggested two methods to improve the total machinery and remove its chief evils. First of all, Indians in every branch must replace the foreigners. Secondly, if any amount of foreign people was considered to be absolutely necessary for British supremacy in Asia, British Government should, in justice, pay a share for its common interest with that of India.

In reply to a question of R. Mowbray, a member of the Commission, as to the accumulation of capital in India before the advent of British rule, Naoroji firmly observed that their country had been well known as a rich country before British Rule. Its ownership of immense riches invited multiple invasions to the country. Great Britain too had


conquered India with the same purpose, he argued, "I do not think that the English would have come there, had they thought that they would get no benefit out of going to India and merely to go on a quixotic expedition in order to save India from destruction or any thing of that kind." He made it clear that India had a capacity for producing it should be allowed to enjoy what it produced and not to draw away it from the country. Hence the country would automatically be happy and prosperous.

Naoroji, Wedernurn and W.S.Caine did not like the proceedings and the final report of the Commission submitted to the government. They, therefore, prepared their own report separately which is popularly known as the "Minority Report." This Report became a very important source of information on Indian finances and general administration. Naoroji and his other two colleagues said in regard to the explaining the significance of the commission and their difference of opinion: "If the Inquiry directed by the Commis

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99. W.S.Caine did not agree with some of the arguments and conclusions brought forward in the Minority Repo. However, he agreed at later stage to the recommendat and then appended his signature.
had not been of the importance which we consider it to be, seeing that it involves the welfare of over 250 millions of your Majesty's British Indian subjects.... on careful consideration we regret to find that the differences are important, and in some respects fundamental ....... but we have a duty to discharge, and we must attempt to do so in the best of our power." 

Naoroji and their colleagues criticised the Majority Report which was based on the evidence of official witnesses especially in the case of land-revenue increase. In colonial country, there could not be natural adjustment between expenditure and public requirements. They stressed on the poverty of the people and impossibility of taxing them any more. In order to improve the state of affairs, it recommended that simultaneous examinations of civil service and larger employment of Indians should take place. As far as the protection of the boundaries was concerned, India should contribute her due share. Thus it can fairly be said that the Royal Commission became a very

valuable record for the growth of administrative machinery and of economic plight of Indian people. It provided a useful information to any scheme for future reforms. Hence many of the recommendations suggested by the Commission were incorporated in the Government of India Reforms passed in 1909. The interest, labour, pains taken by Naoroji did not go in vain.