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## Introduction

Popularly known as the ‘Grand Old Man of India’, Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917) was, during his extremely long lifetime, many things to many people. For a small but growing band of educated young men in western India during the middle of the nineteenth century, he represented a wave of social and religious reform that contributed to a new urban political discourse in cities like Bombay (now Mumbai). To acquaintances in Liverpool and London in the late 1850s and 1860s, he was a business contact in the lucrative Indian cotton trade who also became an increasingly vocal participant in debates in Britain over Indian policy. By the next decade, Naoroji had become a veritable thorn in the side of India Office bureaucrats after authoring a damning set of papers on the extent of Indian poverty, charging the British Indian administration with presiding over a fantastic drain of wealth from the subcontinent (Naoroji’s most famous work, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, first published in 1901, is a compendium of writings, essays, and speeches from this period through the year 1900). Anglo-Indians<sup>1</sup> started warily referring to him as a political agitator and propagandist, and railed against claims they found potentially treasonous. For the subjects of the *gaekwar* of Baroda, he was—albeit briefly—their prime minister, frantically attempting to reform the corrupt state administration

that lay astride an incompetent maharaja and a paranoid British resident. By the mid-1880s, Naoroji was recognized across India as one of the country's leading nationalists, a major force behind the newly established Indian National Congress. And by 1886, he was recognized in Britain as an authority on Indian affairs who, in the constituencies of Holborn and Central Finsbury, sought election to the British Parliament. To Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, and a persistent band of xenophobes, Naoroji was a 'black man' who did not deserve an Englishman's vote or the right to speak on behalf of India in the debates on imperial policy in Britain. Defying this first pronouncement, at least, Naoroji became, in 1892, the first Indian to sit in the House of Commons, an object of curiosity and fascination in Great Britain and a hero in India. G.P. Pillai, editor of the *Madras Standard*, remarked that, 'If India were a Republic and the Republic had the right to elect its own President, the man who by the unanimous voice of his countrymen would be elected its uncrowned king is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. No Indian is more loved, more honored, more esteemed throughout the length and breadth of India than he.'<sup>2</sup> Naoroji continued to be held in great esteem but, by the first years of the twentieth century, when he was out of Parliament and gravitating to the political left, moderate Indian nationalists were finding him too radical, while radical nationalists judged him far too moderate. Finally, in his last years of political activity, Naoroji became to his Indian countrymen—as well as to an increasingly suspicious British political establishment and a growing band of anti-imperialists worldwide—the primary advocate of Swaraj or Indian self-government.

Today, Indians remember Naoroji for his pioneering economic critiques of colonialism, while Britons recognize him as the first Asian in Parliament, a symbol of that community's evolving political empowerment. But little else is remembered about a man whose public life spanned five decades; someone who, early in his career, butted heads with a bigoted self-styled orientalist named John Crawford, one of the participants in Lord Lake's 1803 capture of Delhi, and, by the end of his career, was mentoring Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and others who led India to independence. Numerous volumes of collected speeches and writings, brief biographies, and hagiographies of Naoroji were published during his lifetime.<sup>3</sup> In 1939,

Rustom P. Masani authored a comprehensive but uncritical biography, *Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India*. Little has been produced since. Naoroji has featured in academic works on Indian nationalism, political economy, imperialism, and South Asians in Britain, but, with some clear exceptions, this scholarship has made use of only a tiny fraction of Naoroji's voluminous writings. It is with this situation in mind that the editors have laboured to produce the current volume. The Dadabhai Naoroji Papers, housed in the National Archives of India, represent a large and relatively untapped source of information on India's preeminent political leader during the second half of the nineteenth century, early Indian nationalism, and the world that Naoroji and his colleagues inhabited. Due to its sheer size and the fragile state of most of its papers, scholars have found it very difficult to work with this collection. It took R.P. Patwardhan, a retired educational official residing in Poona (now Pune) in the 1950s and 1960s, around 15 years to comb through the papers in order to produce what were hitherto the only two published volumes of selected Naoroji correspondence.<sup>4</sup> Patwardhan died before he could publish two additional manuscripts. The editors have relied on one of these manuscripts and have made significant modifications, additions, and revisions—while scrupulously tracking down and consulting original letters—in order to craft the current work. It is for this reason that the editors have dedicated this volume to Patwardhan's memory.

This introduction includes a biography of Naoroji as well as a history of the Naoroji Papers, explaining why and how the collection has shrunk in size over the past century. In the following chapters, readers will find correspondence with some individuals who are well recognized and others who have been largely forgotten by history, such as Aziz Ahmad (Chapter One), a Muslim convert to Christianity who ran two newspapers in Glasgow, and Shankar Abaji Bhisey (Chapter Three), a brilliant Maharashtrian inventor shuttling between Bombay, London, and Connecticut in the early twentieth century. One observation will immediately strike the reader: a general paucity of letters written by Naoroji himself. The editors have tried to locate, decipher, and include in this volume as many of Naoroji's own letters as possible. However, as is explained fully in the section ahead on the Naoroji Papers, the vast majority of such letters

have been lost and the remaining few are difficult, and occasionally impossible, to read due to their present condition. The historian is thus forced to reconstruct Naoroji's ideas and opinions through responses penned by his correspondents. Many of the surviving Naoroji letters reproduced here are also extremely brief: his busy schedule, and the mass of incoming correspondence that he daily received, left Naoroji with little time for detailed responses aside from those penned to close confidants such as Allan Octavian Hume, Behramji M. Malabari, Dinsha Wacha, and William Wedderburn. Even Wacha realized that he could not count on receiving regular replies. 'It is not expected of you to indulge in lengthy correspondence,' he wrote in July 1887. 'Because I know too well that for one long letter I indite you have to indite twenty short ones. Your time is most valuable to you. So it would be wrong of you to waste more time than necessary in answering correspondents.'<sup>5</sup> Consequently, material in this volume often tells us more about a particular correspondent than Naoroji's own life and career. Naoroji's few surviving notes to Aziz Ahmad are very brief, but Ahmad's replies paint a vivid portrait of a well-travelled, well-informed immigrant keen on using his resources for India's political benefit. They also provide some unique insights into the microscopic Indian community in Scotland. This volume, therefore, is much more than just a tome on Naoroji: it is best read and utilized as a resource for understanding a particular juncture in time for India, the British Empire, and the United Kingdom; a time when debate and criticism of British Indian policy transformed into political movements that started hammering away at the edifice of imperialism.

## **Dadabhai Naoroji: A Biography**

### *Reformist Roots of a Political Career*

Dadabhai Naoroji was born on 4 September 1825 in Khadak, a locality in Mandvi on the northern fringes of what was then known as the native town of Bombay. Here, his relatively impoverished family had settled into a 'lowly house', as Masani described it, after migrating from their native town of Navsari, a Parsi stronghold south-west of Surat in Gujarat.<sup>6</sup> We have no records of precisely where Naoroji's birthplace stood; today, Khadak is a busy and rundown warren of

streets in the throes of the redevelopment mania gripping much of Mumbai, and any reminder of its early nineteenth-century history disappeared long ago. Naoroji's father, Naoroji Palanji Dordi, descended from a prominent line of Zoroastrian priests. The young Naoroji was therefore destined to take on the family profession and dedicate his life to carry out Zoroastrian rites and rituals. His father's sudden death when Naoroji was only 4, however, disrupted these plans, and Naoroji's mother, Manekbai, soon availed of an opportunity to enrol her only child in a free school run by the Bombay Native Education Society. It was a fortunate turn of events. Here, Naoroji first showed signs of unique academic promise. In 1840, he received a scholarship to attend Elphinstone College, western India's premiere institution of higher education, where he was identified as the 'most promising pupil' in mathematics and also earned plaudits for his performance in chemistry, natural philosophy (physics), history, and political economy.<sup>7</sup> While hardly any records from this time of his life survive, it is clear that Naoroji's student years at Elphinstone College were formative. In the commercial city's solitary bastion of advanced western education, Naoroji learnt from an impressive array of bright minds: progressive Scotsmen like John Bell and John Harkness; Navrozji Fardunji, the so-called 'Tribune of the People' who was active in Parsi religious reform and the promotion of education; and Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar, a respected assistant professor considered the father of social reform in Maharashtrian society. These individuals, no doubt, helped mould Naoroji's liberal, reformist instincts which became apparent by the early 1850s.

In an autobiographical article that Naoroji wrote in 1904, he recalled that his lifelong impulse towards public service derived from the debt he felt to society upon receiving a free education. 'The thought developed that I was educated at the expense of the people, I must make a return to them with the best I had in me, I must devote my life as far as I can in the service of the people,' he noted.<sup>8</sup> After Erskine Perry (see Chapter Ten), then a judge of the Bombay supreme court, failed in his attempt to send the young graduate to England to qualify for the bar, Naoroji resolved to pay off this debt by becoming an educator at Elphinstone College, securing the post of assistant master in 1845 and then assistant professor

by 1849. In 1854, at the age of 28 or 29, Naoroji became a full professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, the first Indian to achieve such a position (printed copies of the examination papers in physics and astronomy he gave his students survive in reports of the Bombay Board of Education). Along with Navrozji Fardunji and Ardeshir Framji Moos, a fellow instructor, Naoroji played a pivotal role in the growth and development of ‘Young Bombay’, a generation of students exposed to Western ideas and keen to challenge traditions and orthodoxies. But Naoroji’s work extended beyond the classroom as well. He played an active role in a proliferation of new journals and organizations in Bombay in the late 1840s and the early 1850s. In 1848, for example, he helped found the Students’ Literary and Scientific Society, which debated matters of social reform and published its proceedings in Gujarati and Marathi for wider circulation. Within the Parsi community, Naoroji assisted Navrozji Fardunji in 1851 to establish the Rahnūmae Mazdayasnan Sabha, a vehicle for active religious reform, and a few months later, began publishing *Rast Goftar*, a reformist organ that took swipes at the community leadership and advocated then-controversial measures such as female education. Indeed, it was his advocacy of this critical social reform that marked Naoroji for much of the 1850s and 1860s. Relying upon friendly English officials such as Perry and liberal-minded co-religionists such as the Cama family and Manockji Cursetji, Naoroji ploughed against a storm of opposition in the Parsi community and helped establish three girls’ schools, personally supervising one that lay just beyond the Fort walls. Amid this flurry of civic activity in Bombay—Naoroji also served on the Board of Education and joined a society for the promotion of Parsi theatre—he shocked both his supporters and detractors in early 1855 by announcing his decision to move to the United Kingdom in order to help members of the Cama family establish a trading firm. ‘Dadabhai, what a fall!’ Elphinstone’s principal was rumoured to have said when he heard the news.<sup>9</sup> Naoroji, however, had broader reasons beyond commerce to make the abrupt transition: as he revealed in an interview in 1895, he sailed to Great Britain partly out of a desire to supervise young Indians taking the Indian civil service examinations.<sup>10</sup> Naoroji would campaign on behalf of the Indianization of the civil service for the rest of his life.

On 27 June 1855, Naoroji left Bombay aboard the steamer *Madras*. It was the first of many such voyages he would take: he sailed back from the United Kingdom in 1858 after resigning from the Camas' firm; returned to London in 1859 to set up his own trading house in the City, Dadabhai Naoroji & Co.; passed nearly two years at home in Bombay between 1863 and 1865; and then once again shifted to London. On this last voyage, Naoroji brought along his aged mother, wife Gulbai, son Ardeshir, and daughter Shirin; the family settled into a house in Hornsey Rise that Naoroji christened Parsee Lodge (another daughter, Manekbai or Maki, was born in Bombay in 1868). Between 1856 and 1866, he also dabbled in teaching as a professor of Gujarati at University College in London. From scattered correspondence and chancery court records, we are able to piece together a little of Naoroji's business career in the late 1850s and 1860s. His firm rode high on the cotton boom that coincided with the American Civil War and supplied equipment to some of the first Indian mills, such as Ranchhodlal Chhotalal's in Ahmedabad. But Naoroji appears not to have been the shrewdest of businessmen: partly due to his eagerness to bail out friends affected by the ensuing cotton bust, Dadabhai Naoroji & Co. collapsed in June 1866.

Another factor behind these business troubles might have been Naoroji's increasing preoccupation with political issues. It was during the late 1850s and 1860s—while shuttling between Bombay and London—that Naoroji developed some of his most significant political and economic ideas. He took a strong view against the pervading attitudes of British racial superiority over Indians. In March 1866, for example, he launched a lengthy broadside against the president of the London Ethnological Society, John Crawfurd, who had regaled society meetings with papers on topics such as 'Colour as the Test of the Races of Man' and the general civilizational backwardness of all Asians. Naoroji pilloried the octogenarian Crawfurd's 'superficial observation' and assembled a formidable body of Indian tradition, Zoroastrian theology, and contemporary scholarship to rubbish his claims, additionally pointing out the many social ills he observed plaguing Western society.<sup>11</sup> It was a fairly audacious act for a young Indian. A year later, while addressing the East India Association—an organization he helped found in London in December 1866 to cobble together support for Indian administrative reform—Naoroji warned

Britons to moderate their condescending attitudes towards Indians. 'The natives have had enough of abuse and reviling. [...] The natives are as much human beings as others,' he observed.<sup>12</sup> Naoroji's refutation of racial hierarchy provided the foundation for another central thesis: that Indians were worthy of administering at least part of their own administration. To this extent, Naoroji joined other early political reformers in rallying to the cause of Indian princes, who exercised—theoretically, at least—a degree of autonomy over a substantial portion of the subcontinent. With enlightened leadership and constitutional reforms, Naoroji and his colleagues felt, princely states could become model Indian polities, facilitating good governance under Indian administration. This was not a new line of thinking: it had been championed by Britons such as John Dickinson and Evans Bell (see Chapter Two), who had railed against the Indian government's policy of annexing princely states under various pretexts. Significantly, both Bell and Dickinson were involved in starting the East India Association. During his stints in India, Naoroji strengthened his ties with various princely states, especially those in Gujarat and Kathiawar. Aside from supporting princely states, Naoroji began advocating reforms that would allow more Indians to join the civil service. In 1859, he urged the newly formed India Office to reconsider the case of Rustamji Hirjibhai Wadia, who had come to England as the first Indian to sit for the civil service examination, only to be unceremoniously barred from taking it by a sudden reduction in the examination's age limit. In May 1867, while delivering a paper on 'England's Duties to India' to the East India Association, Naoroji gave his formal endorsement to an idea that early nationalists would thereafter take up with gusto: simultaneous civil service examinations in both England and India. He followed up the paper by proposing a memorial to the secretary of state for India on such a scheme. When this memorial was met with derision and harsh criticism—Indians were, after all, 'not fit, on account of their deficient ability, integrity, and physical power and energy' and 'Europeans would not like to serve under the natives'—Naoroji addressed the East India Association once more, hammering against such prejudicial attitudes. He reminded his English audience that the Company *nabobs* of days past had not set the highest of standards for incorruptibility and integrity; he also asked Londoners to 'observe a little

more around themselves, observe the amount of fraud and “doing” in this metropolis.’ The ‘intellect of the natives of India is equal to that of any other people,’ he observed, while citing some examples of Britons already working harmoniously under Indian supervision in courts, businesses, and dockyards.<sup>13</sup> In his subsequent work, Naoroji would continue to draw a link between racial equality and the need to employ Indians in the administration of their own country.

### *The Drain of Wealth*

But Naoroji’s most significant intellectual contribution in the 1860s was his work on Indian poverty and the drain of wealth India suffered under British imperialism. As scholars such as J.V. Naik have noted, Naoroji was not the first Indian to put forth the drain theory; furthermore, several British statesmen and East India Company administrators had previously observed the steady impoverishment of the subcontinent. Nevertheless, Naoroji played the greatest role in popularizing the argument and making it a central tenet in the emerging nationalist movement. Due to the loss and disappearance of so many of his papers from this period, we have little idea of how and why Naoroji became increasingly absorbed with calculating the extent of Indian poverty. Similarly, there are few clues available to us indicating how Naoroji devised his unique sets of statistics, aside from taking those contained in official government reports and subjecting them to severe scrutiny. Naoroji first publicly outlined his drain theory in the course of his paper on ‘England’s Duties to India’. This paper and subsequent lectures served the purpose of actually quantifying the scale of India’s material degeneration. Around one-fourth of India’s revenues, Naoroji asserted, went ‘clean out of the country’ and was ‘added to the resources of England’. Great Britain, he calculated, had over the course of a century amassed more than £1.6 billion from its Indian Empire. While acknowledging as a factor India’s lopsided trade balance with the United Kingdom, Naoroji put particular emphasis on the wealth that was being carried out of the subcontinent by the British-dominated civil service. Even though the salaries of these civil servants were extracted from Indian taxpayers, they were not being recycled into the Indian economy: instead, British civil servants remitted large portions of their salaries to Great

Britain and continued to draw Indian pensions after they retired and sailed home, which were wholly expended far beyond India's shores. Naoroji estimated that a civil service and army overwhelmingly dominated by foreigners drained over £4 million a year; once other charges were added, India's annual loss stood between £8 and £10 million, not including interest on revenue and booty previously spirited out of the country, which pushed the total annual drain up to something further like £33 million. India, therefore, was being 'continually bled' by its imperial masters. Naoroji highlighted the unique nature of this economic system in India's history. 'When all other foreign invaders retained possession of the country, and became its rulers, they at least became *of* the country,' he remarked. 'If they plundered the rich and screwed the ryot, the wealth was still *in* the country. If the individuals were plundered or oppressed, the country remained as rich as ever. But entirely different has been the case with the foreign rule of the British.' Over time, Naoroji developed this link between the drain and a British-dominated administration as a powerful argument in favour of employing more Indians in government posts.

Having put forth his drain theory, Naoroji, by the 1870s, began his work on calculating the precise nature of impoverishment that the average Indian faced. This entailed challenging the body of statistics that the Indian administration collected and presented to Parliament annually in order to prove the 'moral and material progress' of the country. More formidably, this task involved demolishing the general consensus in London that India was becoming evermore prosperous—an impression reinforced by the increasing numbers of wealthy Indian princes and commercial barons who travelled to Britain every year. Data on commodity prices, agricultural yield, and even population, Naoroji contended, was often deeply flawed, and the inflated average commodity prices that the government utilized for calculating gross production was 'not only worthless, but mischievous'.<sup>14</sup> In 1870, Naoroji surmised that the produce of India per head could be no more than 80 shillings; by 1876, while presenting in Bombay the first part of his study on 'Poverty of India', he dropped this figure to an even more precarious 40 shillings for an average good season. As Naoroji pointed out later in his career, by means of comparison, the average income per head in Great Britain was £33.<sup>15</sup> But precisely how debased was life on the equivalent of 40 shillings per year? In

order to answer this question, Naoroji compared the figure unfavourably with the costs expended for bare subsistence diets and provisions for coolie emigrants and Bengali prisoners. Thus, 'even for such food and clothing as a criminal obtains there is hardly enough of production even in a good season, leaving alone all little luxuries, all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and any provision for bad season.'<sup>16</sup> Bad seasons, of course, led to the cycles of famine that killed millions of people who otherwise had barely been able to survive. The persistence of such famines, Naoroji argued, seriously called into question assertions that India was better off under British rule. 'Security of life and property we have better in these times, no doubt, but the destruction of a million and a half lives in one famine is a strange illustration of the worth of the life and property thus secured,' he had asserted back in 1867, shortly after a famine had wreaked havoc in coastal Orissa.<sup>17</sup>

Naoroji's trenchant criticism of British rule raised eyebrows in the corridors of power in London and Calcutta (now Kolkata). Given the narrow confines of acceptable political opinion in India at the time, some Anglo-Indians perceived seditious sentiments in Naoroji's allegations of British plunder and administrative incompetence as well as in his predictions of 'rebellion against the foreign rule' if the government did not redress particular grievances. But, at this stage of his political career, if Naoroji raised the spectre of future disturbances, he did so as a professedly loyal subject who wished to bring about limited reform that would ensure the British would be able to 'perpetuate their rule'.<sup>18</sup> Naoroji regularly prefaced his lectures with expressions of loyalty to the Raj, assuring his British audiences that their Indian subjects were grateful for the 'blessings' they enjoyed under imperialism. In 1871, he drew up a detailed balance sheet of the advantages and disadvantages of British rule, concluding that it was 'morally, a great blessing; politically, peace and order on one hand, blunders on the other; materially, impoverishment'. In order to rectify the shortcomings, he advocated a determined policy of British investment in Indian public works. Approving of the expansion of the Indian railways network, Naoroji went on to call for vast irrigation projects, funded by cheap loans repayable over a very long term, that would promote commerce, even out the distribution of food and other commodities, increase agricultural production, and thus

buttress the foundations of the Raj by augmenting ‘the contentment and loyalty of the people’.<sup>19</sup>

### *Baroda Durbar to the Congress Pandal*

Public works investment, however, was not the only answer. Naoroji remained deeply interested in Indian princely states. Aside from the opportunities they afforded for raising skilled, modernized Indian bureaucracies—something that would help challenge prejudiced British notions that Indians were incapable of ruling themselves—Naoroji had pointed out that these states suffered much less from the drain of wealth, raising the tantalizing possibility that they might be more prosperous and economically robust than British India.<sup>20</sup> While touring the princely states of Gujarat and Kathiawar in 1872, Naoroji met the new gaekwar of Baroda, Malharrao. Impressed by Naoroji’s counsel with regard to a dispute between Baroda and the Bombay government, Malharrao, in 1873, invited Naoroji to be his diwan, or prime minister. The gaekwar’s request marked an important turning point in Naoroji’s career. No longer relegated to the academic tasks of writing on and analysing policy, Naoroji now had an opportunity to put his ideas into practice and actually shape the administration of one of India’s most significant princely states. But the offer of diwanship was fraught with significant hazards. Baroda was, by the early 1870s, in a state of political chaos. The previous gaekwar, Khanderao, had locked up his brother Malharrao in jail and allowed corruption to fester. After Khanderao’s death in 1870, Malharrao was elevated from the gaol to the *gaddi* where, according to contemporary observers, he further entrenched corrupt *darbaris* who ran amok over the state’s financial institutions and bureaucracy. Two other factors made the situation in Baroda even more complex. First, as Ian Copland has noted, the state became a major flashpoint in a long-running dispute between the imperial government in Calcutta and the Bombay government.<sup>21</sup> Second, authorities in Bombay appointed a new British resident in Baroda, Robert Phayre, a bombastic, self-righteous ex-colonel with an almost messianic zeal to ferret out new allegations of corruption and thereby bring about government intervention against Malharrao. By simply wiring his acceptance of the diwanship in the fall of 1873, Naoroji was inextricably drawn into the vicious politics

of Baroda. Phayre refused to let him enter the city, arguing that Naoroji was one of a band of ‘political adventurers’ creating mischief in the princely states. Furthermore, he alleged that Naoroji had been the gaekwar’s paid agent in London and was solely motivated by the prospect of further enrichment while at the court.<sup>22</sup> After acquiescing to the Bombay government’s instructions and allowing Naoroji into Baroda in late December, Phayre steadfastly refused to recognize Naoroji as diwan, thereby triggering a constitutional crisis. It was the beginning of an eventful year.

During his short diwanship, Naoroji had little opportunity to reflect on the political and economic ideas that had originally motivated his interest in princely states. In early 1874, a special commission—appointed by the Government of India at Phayre’s request—threatened Malharrao with deposition unless he moved quickly to stamp out corruption and institute sweeping administrative reforms. Naoroji swung into action on behalf of the gaekwar by recruiting some of the brightest minds from Bombay—men like Bal Mangesh Wagle, Kazi Shahabudin, and Hormusjee Ardeseer Wadya (see Chapter Twelve)—to lead various government departments. Wagle and Naoroji worked to eradicate the practice of *nazarana* in the courts, whereby parties bought justice through open payment of bribes. Wadya began prosecuting corrupt officials and helped draft new civil, penal, and criminal procedure codes based on English equivalents. Kazi Shahabudin faced one of the most fearsome tasks in the state: averting the prospect of mass peasant rebellion by reformulating the land revenue system. But these reforms earned Naoroji and his colleagues bitter enemies in the form of the old *darbaris* who had profited handsomely by the previous workings of the court. Exercising their influence upon Malharrao, these officials hung onto power by convincing the gaekwar to institute a ‘duplicate cabinet’ system whereby each department had two ministers—a reformist appointed by Naoroji and an old *darbari*. Key reforms, consequently, began grinding to a halt. Naoroji faced further trouble from the Bombay government, which refused his requests for transferring skilled administrators to Baroda, and Phayre, who produced increasingly fantastical reports of misrule and court intrigue while continuing to refuse official recognition of Naoroji’s diwanship. By September 1874, the Gujarati press was becoming deeply

sceptical of the diwan's leadership abilities and whether he had the full confidence of Malharrao. Naoroji and his colleagues finally tendered their resignations in December. Aside from citing Malharrao's unwillingness to let go of the old *darbaris*, they offered little explanation for their abrupt departure, although one contemporary source proffered that Malharrao had vetoed Naoroji's plan to replenish the exhausted public exchequer at the expense of the *gaekwar's* privy purse.<sup>23</sup> Events in Baroda were, in any case, spinning out of control and Naoroji ended up timing his departure well. On 9 November, someone had attempted to poison Phayre by lacing his morning glass of pomelo juice with arsenic. A few days after tendering his resignation, Naoroji learnt that Malharrao himself was now a prime suspect in the poisoning case. Naoroji's hopes of instituting liberal reform in princely India appeared to come crashing down in early 1875 as a special tribunal deposed Malharrao and banished him to Madras (now Chennai).

Baroda was a major setback for Naoroji and a source of enduring disappointment; it also wreaked havoc with his health, forcing him to spend several months recuperating in the Gujarati seaside village of Tithal. But these experiences did not dampen his interest in princely states: along with an English friend, W. Martin Wood, Naoroji began taking up causes of several princes and lobbying the India Office on their behalf. Between 1875 and 1885, Naoroji also entered Bombay politics—serving as a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, the town council, and eventually as a member of the legislative council of the Bombay Presidency—and continued to write on Indian poverty. In 1883, he published his *Condition of India*, a lengthy pamphlet containing his correspondence with Lord Hartington, the secretary of state for India. It included his sharpened assaults on official statistics, the drain, and Indian economic policy. From the standpoint of his subsequent career, however, Naoroji's most significant achievement in the decade after his diwanship was gathering around him a group of friends and political allies, who, in Britain, would lead an assault on official Indian policy and, in western India, would help lay the foundations of the Indian National Congress and the wider nationalist movement. In London, for example, the socialist Henry M. Hyndman (see Chapter Eight) began correspondence with Naoroji in 1878 after chancing upon a

copy of 'Poverty of India' at a parliamentary bookseller's premises. Hyndman adopted Naoroji's drain theory and subsequently became one of the India Office's most bitter foes. William Wedderburn (see Chapter Thirteen), a popular civil servant with an independent streak, drew closer to Naoroji and other Bombay leaders by condemning the Indian government's apathy towards poverty and famine and praising the relatively liberal viceregal administration of Lord Ripon. By the early 1880s, Naoroji established a solid friendship and working relationship with Behramji M. Malabari (see Chapter Nine), a rising star in Bombay who published the *Indian Spectator* while beginning his social reform campaigns against Hindu child marriage. In 1883, they established the *Voice of India*, a journal meant to counter the reactionary Anglo-Indian press by giving a British readership a digest of opinions and news from Indian-owned newspapers. A desire for major political reform, whetted by Ripon's liberal rhetoric and his proposals for 'local self-government' at the provincial level, firmed ties between Naoroji and a younger generation of political leaders in Bombay including Pherozeshah M. Mehta, Mahadev Govind Ranade (see Chapter Eleven), Dinsha Wacha, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, and Badruddin Tyabji. Allan Octavian Hume (Chapter Seven) linked together all of these leaders with a wider network of reformers across the subcontinent. Hume, who had worked alongside Naoroji in organizing nationwide testimonials to Ripon upon the viceroy's retirement, began by late 1884 discussing the creation of a coordinated, countrywide 'National Indian Association', something that soon emerged as the Congress. Now a 'grey-haired' veteran of 60, Naoroji lent his political heft and acumen to the proceedings of the first Congress in December of that year. A correspondent of the *Calcutta Reis and Rayyet* noted that, 'With rare fluency of speech and curt expressions, he harmonized all conflicting points raised in the discussions and gave nerve, tissue, and fibre to the wordings and tone of the Resolutions.... It was Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee who thus put the object of the conference in a nutshell: "To demand for the rights of British subjects, as British subjects".'<sup>24</sup> The Congress no doubt also helped in re-energizing Naoroji's political interests and ambitions. Earlier, in 1881, he had shuttered his London business and sailed back to India contemplating retirement and further academic study of Indian poverty. However, by the beginning of 1886, Naoroji cast

his sight on the imperial capital once more, this time with a new professional goal in mind—entering the British Parliament.

*Candidate for the Commons: Holborn and Central Finsbury*

Naoroji had long championed Indian representation in Parliament and, as early as 1872, had considered his own electoral prospects for the House of Commons.<sup>25</sup> For many early nationalists, Parliament was the only hope for achieving meaningful political reform: confident that imperial authorities in Calcutta and the British-dominated civil service would strangle any movement aimed at disrupting the status quo, and similarly pessimistic about the India Office and the rest of Whitehall, they attempted to influence their superiors in Westminster. In September 1885, while speaking before the newly formed Bombay Presidency Association, Naoroji borrowed an Irish tactic by urging Indians to actively support and oppose particular parliamentary candidates depending on their record on Indian issues. ‘Almost entirely we have to depend upon the people and Parliament of England to make those great reforms which alone can remove the serious evils from which we are suffering,’ he declared. ‘It is in Parliament that our chief battles have to be fought.’<sup>26</sup> Naoroji shared with his nationalist peers a rosy optimism that once the British electorate had overcome its ignorance of Indian affairs and was informed about the dire position of its Indian Empire, it would put pressure on Parliament to legislate away the most pernicious aspects of British imperial rule. The presence of Indian members of Parliament (MPs) was, therefore, doubly important: a representative from the subcontinent could use Parliament as a pedestal for broadcasting Indian viewpoints to the British public while spearheading critical reforms.

After observing Lalmohan Ghosh’s unsuccessful 1885 campaign in Deptford, Naoroji watched for signs of a fresh election and sailed for London at the end of March 1886. Free from both commercial obligations and duties in the East India Association (which had been largely captured by Anglo-Indian interests), he plunged into Liberal Party politics, forging ties with some of the leading progressive and radical figures of the late Victorian era as well as a host of other characters. Naoroji reconnected with Hyndman; breakfasted

with Alfred Milner, then a rising figure in the civil service; paid a visit to Florence Nightingale; conversed with Richard Congreve, a positivist who took a radical line on Indian policy; and journeyed to Manchester in order to meet individuals connected with the *Guardian* and the Reform Club. He reached out to Irish home rulers such as Michael Davitt and Thomas Power (T.P.) O'Connor. William Digby, who became an indispensable ally to Naoroji in his workings with the Liberal Party establishment, and Francis Schnadhorst, secretary of the National Liberal Federation, offered their help in searching for a suitable constituency. After two months of exhaustive networking—and after William Ewart Gladstone's Liberal ministry fell with the defeat of the first Irish home rule bill—Naoroji was finally faced with the prospect of a general election. As a constituency, he settled on Holborn in central London, a solidly Conservative district that nevertheless had a significant Irish population. 'The contest at Holborn is considered naturally a forlorn hope,' he freely admitted to Wedderburn, but defeat would bring him recognition and campaign experience, both valuable for a future campaign (see Letter 12, Chapter Thirteen). During his brief campaign—slightly more than two weeks lapsed between his nomination as the Liberal candidate and polling day—Naoroji emphasized his long residence in London and his grasp of British political issues. He identified himself as a staunch supporter of Irish home rule and sought to connect Indian and Irish grievances: to the electors in his constituency he made 'an earnest appeal on behalf of the five millions in Ireland and 250,000,000 of India'.<sup>27</sup> As expected, Naoroji lost Holborn to the incumbent Conservative MP, but he reaped two major benefits from the campaign. Firstly, he emerged as the one political leader in India to enjoy a truly nationwide appeal. Meetings were held in Agra, Karachi, Calcutta, and across the Bombay Presidency in order to support Naoroji's bid for Parliament, while letters and telegrams poured in from other parts of the subcontinent. During its second annual session held in Calcutta in December 1886, the Congress acknowledged Naoroji's popularity by electing him president. Secondly, Holborn put Naoroji in a good position to wage another campaign from a more winnable constituency.

Between 1886 and 1892, Naoroji became the chief exponent of the nationalist strategy of achieving Indian reform via Westminster. Not all

nationalists supported this tactic: Mehta, Telang, and Wedderburn all implored him to return to Bombay and work in India. But Naoroji was insistent on staying put in the imperial capital. 'Every day advices and conviction force themselves upon me that my work is here, and more so because there is nobody else here, European or Indian, to do this work,' Naoroji wrote to Wedderburn. 'The labours of the last National Congress of Bombay, or of any other similar Congress, cannot bear any fruit unless there is somebody here to work for and support them' (see Letter 3, Chapter Thirteen). What, precisely, did all this work entail? Aside from scouting out potential constituencies, Naoroji laboured to construct a broad, progressive alliance of British political figures sympathetic to Indian demands. This necessitated going well beyond the circle of Liberals acquainted with India—men such as Digby and Ripon. Naoroji deepened his ties with Irish leaders, speaking at Hyde Park political demonstrations and becoming more vehement about the need for home rule. Taking up the cause of labour, he addressed union audiences, contributed liberally to strikers' relief funds, and declared his support for eight-hour workdays. Labour organizations and unions, he argued, must be strengthened until they were 'irresistible'.<sup>28</sup> Naoroji also befriended several prominent suffragists and women's rights activists: he joined Josephine Butler's crusade to repeal contagious diseases acts in India and other countries. Added to this mix of political contacts and allies were socialists, religious non-conformists, atheists, anti-imperialists, and 'imperial sceptics'.<sup>29</sup> All of these individuals were pushing for broader definitions of political, economic, and social rights. Naoroji, therefore, easily won them over to the cause of Indian political reform, gaining India new advocates from sometimes unexpected quarters and neatly fitting in India within the agenda of progressives and radicals. In 1889, Naoroji, Wedderburn, and Digby helped form the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, which, in many ways, institutionalized this progressive alliance and provided nationalists with money and manpower for lobbying both Parliament and the wider British public. Naoroji, Womesh Chunder Bonnerji, and Digby subsequently embarked on speaking tours across Great Britain in order to make Indian reform a mainstream political issue before the next general election.

Naoroji still needed to secure a constituency. In February 1888, Liberal friends directed him to Central Finsbury, a working-class

neighbourhood north of the City of London that enjoyed a long tradition of political radicalism. On 15 August, Naoroji garnered the most votes at a late-night meeting of the Central Finsbury Liberal and Radical Association, presumably sewing up the Liberal nomination. He awoke the next morning to find complete confusion and chaos. Inconsistencies at the meeting had inflamed long-standing factionalism within the association; consequently, a group of local party leaders challenged the validity of Naoroji's selection and instead backed the runner-up. The feud soon exploded onto the pages of London newspapers, with the *Pall Mall Gazette* lending its support to Naoroji and the *Star*, edited by Naoroji's erstwhile supporter, T.P. O'Connor, calling for his retirement from the race. Opposition to Naoroji began taking on racial tones, with his foreign name and religion becoming objects of attack. Naoroji, however, was undeterred by such barbs, maintained that he had been fairly selected as the Liberal candidate, and vowed to fight on in Central Finsbury. Then, on 30 November, Lord Salisbury, the Tory prime minister, stepped in and—momentarily—helped alter the contours of the race. Speaking to an audience in Edinburgh, the prime minister declared that Conservatives had won in Holborn in 1886 because their candidate had been 'opposed by a black man'. Even by the racist norms of late Victorian Britain, Salisbury's offhand comment was a step too far.<sup>30</sup> Masani explains the fallout: 'Those two words—BLACK MAN—simply kicked Dadabhai into fame. The name of the hitherto little-known Indian, difficult of articulation as it had so far been, was within twenty-four hours on the lips of everyone throughout the United Kingdom!'<sup>31</sup> In the weeks and months that followed, Naoroji rode on a colossal wave of sympathy, enjoying wide press coverage and receiving invitations to speak from around the country. Liberal Party leaders, including Gladstone, spoke strongly in defence of the 'black man'; in January 1889, the National Liberal Club even held a banquet in his honour. However, in spite of Naoroji's enhanced stature from Salisbury's 'blazing indiscretion', as John Morley termed it, very little changed on the ground in Central Finsbury. After Naoroji's first rival for the Liberal nomination, Richard Eve, withdrew in June 1890, the anti-Naoroji faction sought out another candidate, F.A. Ford, a popular member of the London County Council. Digby reached out to Schnadhorst and the National Liberal Federation for high-level intervention, but

Schnadhorst, claiming that the party leadership could not interfere in local association matters, began returning Digby's letters unopened (see Letter 163, Chapter Nine), and soon turned hostile. Desperate for assistance, Naoroji now turned to his political allies and friends in Britain and India. In Bombay, Malabari cobbled together financial resources for burgeoning campaign expenses; Indian princes such as Bhagvatsinhji, the thakur of Gondal, were among the contributors. Workingmen's associations, Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation, and suffragist groups like the Women's Franchise League invited Naoroji to speak at high-profile events. Indians living in Britain, such as Aziz Ahmad and Mancherji M. Bhowndagree, volunteered to help with campaigning, while Mynie and Tina Bell, the widow and daughter of Evans Bell, respectively, busily canvassed door to door, also bringing along—in the words of Naoroji's indefatigable election agent, R.M.H. Griffith (see Chapter Six)—an 'army of ladies' (see Letter 21 in the chapter). Meanwhile, Ripon and other sympathetic Liberal leaders, such as Lord Reay and L.V. Harcourt, quietly laboured to resolve the impasse in Central Finsbury. All of this work paid off. Ford retired from the race in June 1892 and, with a tenuously reunited local Liberal association behind him, Naoroji defeated his Conservative opponent by a margin of just three votes in the July election, widened to five in a recount. His supporters thereafter dubbed him 'Dadabhai Narrow-majority'.

### *Dadabhai Naoroji, MP*

As the first Indian elected to Parliament,<sup>32</sup> Naoroji created headlines across India and Britain. Gladstone celebrated the success of the 'black man' as a rebuff to Salisbury; Liberal British papers commented on the election's significance in consolidating goodwill between Britons and Indians; and even *The Times* conceded that it was 'an interesting and almost romantic event'.<sup>33</sup> In India, the mood was understandably jubilant and, as telegrams and letters in the Naoroji Papers testify, Indians overseas in Guyana, South Africa, Zanzibar, and China had also closely monitored the Central Finsbury race and then rejoiced at its outcome. A young Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi referenced the election in one of his first letters of protest against racist legislation proposed in Natal: if Indians

were capable of winning a seat in the British Parliament, then surely they did not deserve disenfranchisement in this corner of South Africa.<sup>34</sup> But Naoroji probably only reached the height of his fame—especially in India and among the Indian diaspora—in December 1893 when he returned home to preside over the Congress in Lahore. His homecoming was marked by massive demonstrations from the moment he stepped on Indian soil at Bombay's Apollo Bunder. From the Bunder, Naoroji was taken by carriage through Bombay streets decorated with flowers and posters and thronged by well-wishers from various communities and social classes. In the course of the two-hour procession, Naoroji was blessed by Parsi priests in front of a Zoroastrian fire temple as well as by Brahmins in front of a Hindu temple. After Bombay, Naoroji travelled by train through west and north India, stopping at Poona, Surat, Ahmedabad, Ajmer, Delhi—where an estimated five to eight thousand people waited for him on the platform—Ludhiana, and elsewhere. In Amritsar, Sikhs presented Naoroji a robe of honour at the Golden Temple, while at Aligarh—during an extended return journey to Bombay via Allahabad—Syed Ahmed Khan, who had earlier steered large-scale Muslim opposition to the Congress, greeted the Indian MP at the station.<sup>35</sup> These demonstrations and ovations had an explicit political purpose: countering opinion in Britain that Naoroji, as a Parsi, was not a true representative of India and that Naoroji's views on Indian reform had no popular support.<sup>36</sup>

Naoroji also crafted his address to the Lahore Congress with a British audience in mind. Here, he enunciated the programme of reform he wished to bring before Parliament. Of preeminent concern was wholesale reconstruction of the civil services through simultaneous examinations: he proposed broad Indianization of the bureaucracy, leaving aside, 'necessarily' for Europeans, the highest posts such as the vicerealty and governorships. Legislative councils needed to become more empowered and representative, while the government's executive and judicial functions required proper separation. It was of 'extreme importance', Naoroji declared, that India have several representatives in the House of Commons; these MPs must be selected by Indians themselves rather than 'the generosity of English Constituencies' such as Central Finsbury. And then there was the all-encompassing issue of Indian poverty. Naoroji once

again denounced misleading official statistics and placed the blame for India's woeful economic straits on an 'unnatural and suicidal system of administration'. Remedying Indian poverty, he pointed out, would benefit both the colony and Great Britain, as a resultant trade boom with a prospering India would mean that 'the United Kingdom would not for a long time hear anything about her "unemployed"'. Throughout his speech, Naoroji declared his bedrock confidence that the solutions to India's ills could be found through Parliament once the British public instinctively rose to the occasion and demanded changes in imperial policy. 'If we are true to ourselves and to our country and make all the necessary sacrifices for our elevation and amelioration,' he concluded, 'I, for one, have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving, fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain.'<sup>37</sup>

In reality, Naoroji's rosy and somewhat naive optimism was already fast fading. Despite speaking frequently and emphatically on India's behalf in the House of Commons, Naoroji roused little interest from his fellow MPs. Conservatives retorted and denounced his ideas, while fellow Liberals mostly remained silent and uninterested. In the latter half of 1893 and early 1894, Naoroji watched helplessly as Liberal leaders, the India Office, and the Government of India smothered a parliamentary resolution—which he had orchestrated along with a sympathetic MP, Herbert Paul—in favour of simultaneous examinations. His speeches in the House took on a much sharper and defiant tone following his return from India in February 1894. India, he declared, was 'the most extremely poor country in the world' and was only being governed in the interest of 'British professionals, traders, capitalists, planters, shipowners, railway holders, and so on'. Replying to the Queen's Speech opening the 1895 parliamentary session, Naoroji asserted that, 'In a way a great mass of the Indians were worse off than the slaves of the Southern States [of America]. The slaves being property were taken care of by their masters. Indians may die off by millions by want and it is nobody's concern.'<sup>38</sup> Aside from helping secure the appointment of a royal commission to investigate Indian finances and administration (the Welby Commission), most of Naoroji's remarks and entreaties fell upon deaf ears. Then, in the summer of 1895, came a string of humil-

iations and setbacks. Naoroji staged a re-election bid in Central Finsbury and lost to a wealthy Tory. Mancherji M. Bhowndree, who had campaigned for Naoroji during his first Central Finsbury run—but had since distanced himself from Naoroji's views on Indian poverty and reform—was returned by Bethnal Green on a Conservative ticket, providing India with a voice in the Commons of a markedly different temperament and political outlook. 'A reactionary Indian is in the House,' Naoroji complained to Davitt.<sup>39</sup> Finally, the new Conservative ministry began taking an extremely illiberal line on Indian affairs.

Naoroji reacted to these events in numerous ways. Realizing his limited ability to constructively work with arch-Tories now in command in Westminster and Whitehall, he sought to at least expose the hypocrisy and racism that undergirded British Indian policy. In his recent work, C.A. Bayly has written about the Indian nationalist technique of 'counterpreaching' whereby Indians assaulted British imperial self-confidence and self-assuredness through 'emphasizing their moral failure as colonial rulers and the degeneracy of British and European domestic society'.<sup>40</sup> Naoroji had adopted the technique as early as his paper on 'The European and Asiatic Races' in 1866. He perfected it in a series of correspondences at the turn of the century. Writing to the War Office, he assaulted clauses that debarred non-Europeans from rising in the ranks of the British army, contrasting such regulations with the royal proclamation of 1858 that declared Indians to be equal with other British subjects. To George Hamilton, secretary of state for India, Naoroji sent off a battery of letters alleging a deliberate policy of 'race distinction' that kept Indians out of the highest ranks of the bureaucracy.<sup>41</sup> These missives provoked irate responses from the War Office and the India Office, which Naoroji promptly published to great effect. In his evidence and activities for the Welby Commission, Naoroji further highlighted the stark differences between imperial rhetoric and reality, drawing witnesses from India such as Wacha, Surendranath Banerjea, G. Subramania Iyer, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (see Chapter Eleven) to buttress his claims of Indian poverty and gross misrule. Politically, Naoroji also began turning further to the left. As famine began stalking northern and western India—and as authorities dithered on what to do—Naoroji joined Hyndman and his Social Democratic Federation in

launching a speaking tour and programme of agitation across Britain. Through his friendship with Hyndman and James Keir Hardie, as well as a growing sense of disillusionment with the Liberal Party, Naoroji was increasingly drawn into socialist and early Labourite circles. In 1904, he attended the International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam. Meanwhile, Naoroji widened his contacts with anti-imperialists, this time looking beyond the peripheries of the British Empire. One of his regular correspondents in America was George Freeman, a *New York Sun* reporter with Progressive political leanings. While Naoroji sent him his literature on Indian poverty, Freeman dispatched a stream of newspaper cuttings on the Spanish–American War and the groundswell of support for the United States’ own imperial expansion. It was through Freeman that Naoroji began corresponding with the American anti-imperialist Edward Atkinson; it was also with Freeman’s assistance that Naoroji’s pamphlets and writings reached William Jennings Bryan. While consorting with anti-imperialists, socialists, and Labourites, Naoroji did not entirely cut himself off from the Liberal Party: he harboured hopes of waging a final campaign for Parliament. Similarly, Naoroji kept open enough lines of friendly communication with the Conservative ministry in order to transmit accounts from South Africa—penned by Gandhi and his colleagues—of continued discriminatory practices against Indian residents.

### *Swaraj*

The course and tenor of Indian nationalism changed dramatically in the period between 1895 and 1906. This was well reflected in Naoroji’s more radicalized political discourse. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Naoroji was openly calling for Indian self-government, placing all other components of the nationalist programme behind this single demand. Only self-government, he declared, could stop the drain of wealth through the elimination of a European-dominated civil service and the creation of a representative and accountable administration that would serve Indian interests rather than those of the British. In June 1903, for example, he upbraided Romesh Chunder Dutt (see Chapter Five) for dwelling on comparatively minor issues instead, such as land revenue reform. Such issues,

Naoroji argued, drew 'a red herring across the *real evil* at the bottom'. Moreover, Naoroji repudiated his earlier views, expressed in papers such as 'On the Commerce of India' (1871), that major public works investment would alleviate the country's woes. Once India rallied behind self-government and realized that the drain was the ultimate cause of its miseries, 'the British will have either to leave precipitately, or be destroyed in India, or if they see the danger of the disaster in good time and apply the remedy, to save the Empire by putting an end to the Drain' (see Letters 12 and 14 in the chapter). Such language disturbed the moderate standard-bearers in the Congress, who also saw self-government as something possible only in the distant future. At the same time, Naoroji became the object of criticism from a new wing of so-called extremist nationalists, men who took issue with moderate political techniques—techniques that Naoroji still advocated—as well as Naoroji's insistence on qualifying Indian self-government as being 'under British Paramountcy' (his reluctance to talk about a future for India outside of the British Empire similarly caused a stir at the 1904 Socialist Congress). As Bengal reeled from Curzon's partition, Bal Gangadhar Tilak pleaded with Naoroji to see the futility of petitioning and resolution drafting and instead throw support behind the Swadeshi boycott movement and 'national education'; furthermore, he questioned the Congress' focus on work in Britain, pointing out the limited concessions that India had won from Westminster.<sup>42</sup> Other radicals issued much sharper denunciations. In the pages of the *Indian Sociologist*, Shyamji Krishnavarma charged Naoroji with gross inconsistency—condemning British rule, on the one hand, while maintaining a belief in British justice and fair-mindedness, on the other—and pronounced his political career 'a sad failure'.<sup>43</sup> As Naoroji entered the eighth decade of his life, he increasingly found himself somewhere in between the moderate and radical streams of Indian nationalism.

In many ways, the year 1906 was a culmination of Naoroji's political career. He waged a parliamentary campaign in North Lambeth—standing as an independent candidate in favour of a Labour programme—and lost. He cheered the appointment of John Morley as secretary of state for India—echoing moderate nationalist hopes of a new enlightened era at the India Office—and then recoiled as Morley announced in Parliament that he saw no prospect

for Indian self-government in the foreseeable future. Finally, as divisions in the Congress between the moderates and the extremists widened and threatened to cause an irreparable split, Naoroji, as the only leader amenable to both camps, received frantic requests to preside over the organization's Calcutta session in December 1906. That November, just days after accompanying Gandhi and other representatives of the Transvaal Indians to meetings at the India Office and Colonial Office, the 81-year-old political veteran sailed eastward in order to take up the Congress presidency for the third time. It was here that Naoroji—although too frail to read out his own speech<sup>44</sup>—publicly established self-government or Swaraj, as he deliberately termed it, as the Congress' central and ultimate goal. 'Self-government is the only and chief remedy,' he declared. 'In self-government lies our hope, strength and greatness.' Responding to the prevarications of both Morley and the Congress moderates, Naoroji dismissed the idea that India still had to undergo a significant degree of political maturation before Great Britain could endow it with the privilege of responsible institutions. Instead, he framed self-government as a question of rights—affirming that Indians were 'British citizens' entitled to 'claim all British citizens' rights'. He also declared self-government to be an appropriate form of reparation for the injustice and economic depredation that India had suffered under the Raj. But how could such rights be achieved? Here, Naoroji confronted the thorny issue of nationalist methods. While praising the swadeshi movement in Bengal, Naoroji nevertheless urged delegates to persist in petitioning and other forms of constitutional agitation. These methods, he acknowledged, had reaped India many failures and frustrations. 'Since my early efforts,' Naoroji stated, 'I must say that I have felt so many disappointments as would be sufficient to break any heart and lead one to despair and, I am afraid, to rebel.' Yet, he urged the Congress to retain faith in the new Liberal ministry in London and resist temptations to adopt extralegal tactics.<sup>45</sup> Naoroji's address was unique in the sense that it elicited praise and criticism from both moderates and radicals: the *Jam-e-Jamshed* of Bombay, for example, shuddered at the thought of Indian self-government, while the Bengali daily *Sandhya* found Naoroji's definition of Swaraj too timid.<sup>46</sup> Tilak and his allies, meanwhile, expressed measured

satisfaction with Naoroji's performance. The *Kesari* only took issue with his continued faith in British justice, asserting that 'if he had spent the last few years in India, he would have come to a different conclusion altogether'.<sup>47</sup>

The Calcutta Congress was Naoroji's last major political undertaking. Returning to London in early 1907, after a hectic few weeks in India, Naoroji's health collapsed and he spent the next several months in convalescence. By August, he had resolved to retire from public life and return to India for good. George Birdwood (see Chapter Four), a Conservative hand at the India Office who was nevertheless one of Naoroji's oldest and warmest friends, approved of the decision, declaring that 'it is in India you should die. That will give the necessary dramatic unity to your life' (see Letter 34). Naoroji sailed into Bombay harbour one last time on 7 November 1907, too sick and enfeebled to comply with the requests for a public welcome similar to that of December 1893. Instead, he retreated to a seaside bungalow in the then-faraway village of Versova where he commenced a quiet retired life interspersed with fits of activity. After years of speaking on Indian economic matters, Naoroji was faced with the dire state of his own finances, something that caused him great distress and occasional bouts of worsened health. While refusing to comment on Congress politics, Naoroji occasionally issued public statements that continued to put moderates and radicals on edge. In January 1912, he expressed gratification to King George V and Queen Mary for visiting India, but implored Indians to respond to the visit by pushing more strongly for self-government.<sup>48</sup> In September 1915, shortly after his 90th birthday, Naoroji caused consternation among Bombay moderates by accepting the presidency of Annie Besant's new Home Rule League.<sup>49</sup> After a full life of nearly 92 years, Dadabhai Naoroji passed away on 30 June 1917. He left behind a maturing political organization with machinery on two continents, a nationalist ideology that centred on India's impoverishment and emphasized self-government as the only means of resolution, and a generation of Indians drawn into nationalist activity. Writing in *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi declared Naoroji to be both 'the author of nationalism' and 'the Father of the Nation'. 'Had not the Grand Old Man of India prepared the soil,' concluded Gandhi, 'our young men could not have even spoken about Home Rule.'<sup>50</sup>

## The Naoroji Papers<sup>51</sup>

### *Consultations by Masani and Wadia*

In the course of nearly six decades of active public life, Naoroji amassed a voluminous correspondence with individuals in India, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere. The Dadabhai Naoroji Papers, which are today housed in the National Archives of India in New Delhi, consist of around 25,000 catalogued letters and other documents, with the earliest item dating from 1851 and the last—presumably added by Naoroji's descendants—being newspaper articles and memorial programmes from the early 1920s.<sup>52</sup> These items range in size and scope from brief one-line notes to a diary and published booklets. While the overwhelming majority of material is in English, there is also a substantial Gujarati correspondence as well as a handful of letters and other items in Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Persian, and French. It appears that, from a very early age, Naoroji was conscious about collecting incoming letters and making copies of any outgoing correspondence. He was not unique in this sense: contemporaries such as Navrozji Fardunji, Pherozechah M. Mehta, Malabari, and Wacha all kept their papers. Unfortunately, the condition of these valuable collections deteriorated over time and nothing or next to nothing survives today. Naoroji's earliest surviving outgoing letters, addressed to Erskine Perry, are carefully executed handwritten copies. Once he moved to the United Kingdom, Naoroji fell into the habit of keeping tissue-thin press copies of any note that he penned. To this growing trove of papers, he added newspaper clippings, drafts of speeches and papers, accounts and balance sheets, and, eventually, anything else that passed his desk. As a result, a researcher examining the Naoroji Papers has an extraordinarily detailed picture of the life of one of India's most prominent early nationalists. Amid weighty correspondence on Indian political matters are miscellanea, such as Naoroji's eyeglass prescriptions, a hand-drawn map giving directions to his house in suburban Anerley Park in London, programmes for concerts and charity benefits, Parsi wedding invitations and Navroze (Parsi new year) greeting cards, floor plans for the Naoroji family house in Bombay, doodles from his grandchildren, a map of the Buenos Aires tram system, a newspaper cutting on the

resourceful South American llama, and even correspondence with his plumber.<sup>53</sup>

Naoroji stored his correspondence at his residences and, probably during his retirement in Versova, began organizing and numbering components, such as letters from George Birdwood.<sup>54</sup> After his death in 1917, it seems that the Papers were entrusted to the newly formed Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Fund, but it is likely that they remained in the family's Versova bungalow. Since Masani was one of the Naoroji family's neighbours in the Saat Bangla vicinity of Versova—and most likely a trustee of the prize fund (he was definitely a trustee by the early 1950s)—he would have had easy access to the Papers while writing Naoroji's biography in the late 1930s. In this biography, Masani tells us that some of the correspondence began to disappear during the lifetime of his subject. The earliest material in the collection was 'found to be worm-eaten' when the Bombay Improvement Trust acquired Naoroji's house while he was away in London; this was presumably his Khetwadi residence, which was in the vicinity of the proposed east–west arterial that is now Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Road (Sandhurst Road). This material was subsequently destroyed. Thus, the historian is denied correspondence and papers from some of the most interesting phases of Naoroji's life: his academic career at Elphinstone College, his social and religious reform activities, early forays into business, the Baroda diwanship, and, most lamentably, his early research into Indian poverty. Only a handful of letters from the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s survive; Naoroji might have kept these letters with him in the United Kingdom or the family might have salvaged these select items from the worms. In the preface to his biography, Masani writes that he had access to material from 1876 onwards 'but it had suffered from the ravages of time and transport'.<sup>55</sup> Today, there is limited material from between 1876 and 1886 and we must, therefore, conclude that Masani's handling of the papers further added to these ravages. But a much greater range of damage, well beyond correspondence in this 10-year period, must have resulted from Masani's research. Numerous letters that Masani quotes are no longer to be found in the Naoroji Papers. His biography makes extensive use of Naoroji's letters to individuals such as Hyndman and Wacha; today, there is not a trace of these items. Similarly, Gandhi's first letter to Naoroji, written on 5 July 1894 and excerpted in Masani's chapter on

Indians in South Africa, does not survive in the Naoroji Papers or in any of Gandhi's collections. While Masani did an enormous favour to researchers by putting lengthy passages of important letters into print, he unfortunately might have lost, destroyed, or misplaced the original copies, leaving major gaps in the surviving correspondence.

A series of letters from the 1940s give us a detailed picture of the state of the Naoroji Papers shortly after Masani published his biography. In 1943, the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Fund engaged a Bombay Parsi, Jehangir P. Wadia, to comb through the correspondence and compile a 'bibliography' of the most important items. After working for six months, Wadia dispatched to the trustees of the Prize Fund the following overview of the Naoroji Papers:

As you are probably aware there are about 35 press-copy books (each of 500 pages) containing copies of letters written by Dadabhai since 1886 upto the date of his retirement from England. Portions of some of the press-copy books were in a completely damaged condition, while in certain cases pages were partially damaged and letters were thus in a mutilated condition. Some of the valuable letters written by Dadabhai are thus probably lost to us, while in the case of mutilated letters I have taken as much advantage as I could from portions which remained, while preparing my notes for the Bibliography. Another difficulty was that the ink had faded very much on several pages. Sometimes pages crumbled into pieces while being turned, and great delicacy had to be exercised even in turning the pages. In some cases pages had stuck to each other. Some of the books partially eaten up by worms emitted a bad stink.<sup>56</sup>

Wadia's narrative index, which runs nearly 200 typed pages in length, includes excerpts from and descriptions of numerous letters that no longer survive, such as correspondence with Evans Bell and his wife from the 1870s and letters exchanged with Ranade in the early 1880s. Most of Naoroji's replies to Wacha, Wadia noted, had already disappeared. In all, Wadia estimated that he had gone through 15,000 letters—while acknowledging that he had left aside a heap of less-important items—and promised that a 'substantial number' of these would appear in the completed index. He furthermore suggested to the trustees that material from the letters could be culled into 'a series of interesting articles or radio talks'.<sup>57</sup> Unfortunately, the trustees appear to have not taken up the proposal, nor did they accede to Wadia's request for more time in order to complete his

index. As a result, the Naoroji Papers were once more consigned to a forgotten godown or storage space where they continued to moulder away in the tropical heat.

### *From Patwardhan to the National Archives of India*

Nine years later, in 1952, Masani approached R.P. Patwardhan, formerly the director of public instruction of the erstwhile Bombay Presidency, with regard to editing a series of selected correspondence from the Naoroji Papers. Masani, in his capacity as a trustee of the Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Fund, advised Patwardhan that the task might take ‘a couple of years’; in reality, it would take the remainder of Patwardhan’s life. Over the next several years, Patwardhan transported small packets of letters from Bombay, where they had been kept in cupboards in the Bombay Presidency Association office in Fort, to his native Poona. As the packets stacked up into formidable jumbles of papers, Patwardhan began recognizing the enormous challenges—and the great responsibility—he had taken on:

The paper of some letters had become so brittle, through lapse of time, that the least touch broke it into little bits. On some the writing had grown faint, and it was necessary to handle them very, very delicately so as to straighten them and then to put them in hard-board covers, before any attempt could be made to read them. And after all this labour the paper might turn out to be quite worthless, though it is true that at times it would turn out to have been well worth the trouble. Above all, there seemed to be no end to Mr. Bhende’s parcels [V.B. Bhende, secretary to the Prize Fund, was the individual who handed over the parcels of letters to Patwardhan whenever he visited Bombay]. All this produced at times a feeling of despondency, and I wondered whether I should not give up the job, as Sir Rustam [sic] had told me others had done before me.<sup>58</sup>

By this point of time, one of the greatest challenges had become deciphering press copies of Naoroji’s outgoing letters: in some letters, handwriting had become blurry or washed out, while in others, the high acid content of the ink began eating holes through the paper. Naoroji’s handwriting, already difficult to decipher, became, in some cases, completely unreadable.

Around 15 years after he first agreed to Masani’s proposal, Patwardhan finished reading through the entire correspondence,

preparing typed copies of letters of interest. In his estimation, Patwardhan had consulted 'about 40,000 papers'. He now began the task of organizing the papers for publication. Patwardhan chose to divide the selected correspondence into two volumes, each consisting of two parts. In the first part of the first volume, Patwardhan grouped together correspondence from different phases of Naoroji's life, such as his youth, business career, early agitation for the Indianization of the civil service, the East India Association, Baroda diwanship, the Congress, and so on. The second part of the first volume consisted of letters organized by correspondents. Dinsha Wacha's voluminous correspondence with Naoroji, broken into two parts, made up the second volume. Following the wishes of the trustees of the Prize Fund, Patwardhan chose to publish the second volume first. But his work was far from finished. Samuel Israel, then of Somaiya Publications and later director of the National Book Trust, suggested that the correspondence needed detailed notes, a task that took another six to seven years to complete. Finally, in 1974, Patwardhan handed his publishers the finished draft, and after a few more years of editing, parts one and two of the *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence, Vol. II* rolled off the press in 1977. Patwardhan then laboured to put the finishing touches on the manuscripts for parts one and two of the first volume.<sup>59</sup> However, he died in 1980 and these manuscripts, the product of so much exhaustive—and exhausting—work over nearly three decades, never made it to the press. Indeed, no one was able to trace them among Patwardhan's possessions.

Our story now shifts to Delhi. In November and December of 1968, the Naoroji Papers were transferred from Poona to the National Archives. They arrived in an even more fragile state than had been previously described by Wadia or Patwardhan. In the early 1960s, the trustees of the Prize Fund allowed a University of Cambridge scholar to microfilm selected letters, a process that undoubtedly caused further wear and tear. By the winter of 1962–3, when Mehrotra visited Poona, he realized that any further consultation of the Naoroji Papers would cause immeasurable and irreparable damage and, therefore, decided to forego working with them. After the Papers were shifted to Delhi, staff at the National Archives began repairing the most brittle items while devising a system of organization and drafting

an index. Unfortunately, the Naoroji Papers had reduced in size by the time the collection was deposited in Delhi. The current index, prepared by the National Archives, includes around 25,000 items—around 15,000 less than what Patwardhan claims to have consulted. This difference can be partly explained by the fact that Naoroji's papers in Gujarati, Hindi, and other languages, along with numerous letters and notes in English, have never been indexed. This cannot explain all of the loss, however. Numerous letters that Patwardhan transcribed in the 1960s, including correspondence with Malabari, Wedderburn, Wood, and Allan Octavian Hume, can no longer be located in the Naoroji Papers.<sup>60</sup> The editors have included many such letters in this volume. It is very likely that some of these were destroyed or misplaced while Patwardhan consulted them. Tellingly, Patwardhan was only able to transcribe brief snatches of some letters, indicating that the material was already in a highly damaged state. Within the collection, the greatest loss has been sustained among the letters that Naoroji himself authored. Around 3,200 letters by Naoroji are listed under series number N-1 in the index; to this total, we can conservatively add 500 more to account for other letters that have been miscatalogued, uncatalogued, or filed in a separate series of family correspondence. This still leaves us with only 3,700 letters authored by Naoroji versus approximately 20,000 from his correspondents (newspaper cuttings, random notes, and other miscellanea account for approximately 1,000 items). Assuming that Naoroji wrote and saved a response to all of these 20,000 incoming letters, we can conclude that around 16,300 of Naoroji's own letters have been lost between the late nineteenth century and today. This is not a naive assumption: Naoroji noted in the margins of most of his incoming correspondence when he penned a reply; in a few lucky instances, he also included a summary of his response. The loss has been particularly staggering in a few series of correspondence. The Naoroji Papers today contain over 700 letters from Wacha to Naoroji, but no more than 30 from Naoroji to Wacha. Consequently, Patwardhan's volume of Naoroji–Wacha correspondence included 644 letters by Wacha, but only 11 from Naoroji: the lopsided nature of this correspondence is due to gaps in the Naoroji Papers that Wadia observed as early as the 1940s. There are 143 letters from Hyndman to Naoroji, but only 7 from Naoroji to Hyndman. Given the almost certain loss of

Hyndman's own papers in the United Kingdom, Naoroji's responses will probably never be known. Seventy-one letters from George Freeman, the *New York Sun* journalist who was Naoroji's most regular correspondent in the United States, are in the collection. In spite of Freeman's references to Naoroji's letters and Naoroji's own notes in letter margins indicating the day he responded, not a single letter from Naoroji to Freeman survives. All of this represents a colossal loss to the historian and a missed opportunity to understand the relationships that propelled both Naoroji's career and early Indian nationalism.

### *Publication and Preservation: Challenges for the Future*

The letters included in this volume represent several years of work beyond the enormous tasks that Patwardhan accomplished. After over 10 years of constant searching, Mehrotra, in the early 1990s, located Patwardhan's unpublished manuscripts for the first volume of the Naoroji correspondence. He relied upon these manuscripts in order to complete his *History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. I*, which was published in 1995, and subsequently began editing the manuscripts, searching the Naoroji Papers for additional letters of interest, and consulting with the National Archives about starting a new selected correspondence series. He also tracked down Naoroji's outgoing letters in other collections at the National Archives, such as the papers of Romesh Chunder Dutt and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Mehrotra's responsibilities as co-editor for the *Selected Writings of Allan Octavian Hume* series, another multivolume project that has been decades in the making, left him with very little opportunity to continue this work. In 2011, Patel—beginning his research for a dissertation on Naoroji's political evolution—joined the project at the invitation of Mehrotra and Mushirul Hasan, then-director general of the National Archives. Patel relied on the manuscript of the second part of Patwardhan's first volume—containing letters organized by Naoroji's principal correspondents—as a template for the current publication, cutting down the manuscript to a more manageable size, adding and taking out numerous letters, double-checking the manuscript against original letters (wherever such original letters remained in the Naoroji Papers), writing new sectional introductions, and

providing detailed endnotes. The volume in your hands, therefore, represents a portion of Patwardhan's unpublished work as well as substantial new research and material. In terms of source material, there is, within Patwardhan's unpublished first volume, a large remainder of the first part—including family correspondence, letters exchanged with Wood, and an extensive trove of miscellaneous letters—and all of the second part. Additionally, the editors have identified numerous other items of interest within the general correspondence as well as among Naoroji's bulky collection of newspaper cuttings, notes, Gujarati and Hindi correspondence, a sole surviving diary, and assorted pamphlets. The vast nature of the Naoroji Papers and the difficulties of deciphering material ensure that several more years of rigorous work remain before these are published.

The Naoroji Papers are not simply a resource for the study of one particular individual or of Indian nationalism. They have a definite *global* importance, containing vast, unique material on social and political developments across the Indian subcontinent, the high noon of the British Empire, Great Britain in the late Victorian era, the British Liberal Party, the growth of socialism and anti-imperialism, and the networks that Indians forged across their own burgeoning diaspora and among anti-imperialists worldwide. The editors believe that it is imperative for the Naoroji Papers to undergo urgent and professional repair utilizing the best available standards and practices of preservation. International assistance will be necessary. Furthermore, they believe that this collection—which has been so strangely neglected and underutilized by historians both in India and abroad—needs to be made more accessible and user-friendly. To this end, they recommend the comprehensive digitization of the Naoroji Papers, a project that will be similar in nature to what has been recently undertaken with some of Gandhi's collections at the National Archives. Digitization will limit the need for scholars to handle fragile original documents while ensuring that, regardless of any future damage, high-quality copies will remain of letters and other material.<sup>61</sup> Irrespective of whether such a project materializes, the editors will continue working with the National Archives to publish select material from the Naoroji Papers, allowing scholars and the general public to sample the rich and hitherto lightly explored trove of information that Dadabhai Naoroji assembled during his lifetime.

## Notes and References

1. Here and throughout this volume, the term Anglo-Indian refers to a Briton resident in India.
2. G.P. Pillai, *Indian Congressmen* (Madras: Price Current Press, 1899), p. 1.
3. For compilations of Naoroji's speeches and writings, see Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh (ed.), *Speeches, Addresses and Writings (On Indian Politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji* (Bombay: Caxton Printing Works, 1887) and G.A. Natesan (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji* (Madras: G.A. Natesan & Company, 1910 [?]).
4. R.P. Patwardhan (ed.), *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence*, vol. 2, parts 1 and 2 (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1977).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 16. Biographical essays were published in numerous sources including the *Biographical Magazine* and *Justice* in the United Kingdom, and the *Bombay Samachar*, the *Bombay Gazette*, and the *Hindustan Review*.
6. Indicative of the obscurity of biographical details on Naoroji's early life, there remains to this day a popular belief that Naoroji was actually born in Navsari. Indeed, a humble structure in the town's Tarota Bazaar quarter is still commonly known as the Naoroji birthplace. All evidence, including Naoroji's own testimony, points towards Bombay as the city of his birth. See Rustom P. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939), pp. 20–1.
7. Transcribed excerpt from the *Report of the Board of Education for the Year 1843*, Dadabhai Naoroji Papers.
8. This article appeared in the magazine *Mainly about People*, edited by the politician Thomas Power (T.P.) O'Connor. A rough draft of this article can be found in the Naoroji Papers.
9. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 71.
10. Isidore Harris, 'An Indian Reformer on Indian Affairs', *Great Thoughts*, 31 August 1895.
11. 'The European and Asiatic Races', in Parekh, *Speeches, Addresses and Writings*, pp. 1–25.
12. 'England's Duties to India', in *ibid.*, p. 43.
13. 'Admission of Educated Natives into the Indian Civil Service', in *ibid.*, pp. 80–2 and 84–5.
14. 'Poverty of India', part 1, in *ibid.*, p. 162.
15. 'Poverty of India', part 1, in *ibid.*, p. 183; 'The First Indian National Congress', in *ibid.*, p. 327.
16. 'Poverty of India', part 1, in *ibid.*, p. 190.
17. 'England's Duties to India', in *ibid.*, p. 29.

18. 'Wants and Means of India', in *ibid.*, p. 98.
19. 'On the Commerce of India', in *ibid.*, p. 126.
20. 'Poverty of India', part 1, in *ibid.*, p. 194.
21. See Ian Copland, 'The Baroda Crisis of 1873–77: A Study in Governmental Rivalry', in *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1968), pp. 97–123.
22. Naoroji to Erskine Perry, 2 November 1873, Naoroji Papers; Robert Phayre to C. Gonne, 29 April 1873, British Library, India Office Records, R/2/481/55.
23. Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan, *The Revolution at Baroda, 1874–75* (Bombay: Hormusjee Sorabjee & Co., 1875), pp. 17–18.
24. Quoted in S.R. Mehrotra, *Emergence of the Indian National Congress* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1971), p. 416.
25. Patwardhan, *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence*, vol. 2, part 1, p. xxix. In 1867, Naoroji asked members of the East India Association, 'Why should not 200 millions of your fellow-subjects who contribute so largely to your wealth and prosperity, and who form an integral part of the British empire, have a few representatives in the Imperial Parliament to give their voice on imperial questions?' See 'England's Duties to India', in Parekh, *Speeches, Addresses and Writings*, p. 31.
26. 'India's Interest in the General Election (1885)', in *ibid.*, pp. 292–3.
27. 'The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji at the Store-Street Hall', in *ibid.*, p. 311.
28. 'The Split in Clerkenwell', *Finsbury and Holborn Guardian*, 14 June 1892, p. 5; 'Central Finsbury Radical Club', *Holborn and Finsbury Guardian*, 27 February 1892, p. 6.
29. See Gregory Claeys, *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
30. See Antoinette Burton, 'Lord Salisbury's "Black Man" and the Boundaries of Imperial Democracy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 42, no. 3 (July 2000), p. 639. Burton offers some analysis of how this slight was perceived in late Victorian British society. 'In addition to the class valences which helped to shape the public debate around Naoroji and Salisbury, the discourses which emerged depended on the triangular relationship between Englishness-as-whiteness, Indianness-as-brownness, and blackness-as-Africanness. Africa was, in other words, the unspoken "Other" not just of Englishness but of Indianness as well.'
31. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji*, pp. 263–4.
32. As Michael Fisher and others have pointed out, Naoroji was not technically the first Indian elected to Parliament: in 1841, Sudbury returned David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, who was of mixed Indian and European ancestry. Sombre, however, identified as a European and his election was

invalidated the following year. See Michael Fisher, *The Inordinately Strange Life of Dyce Sombre: Victorian Anglo-Indian MP and Chancery 'Lunatic'* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).

33. See a compilation of Indian and British press opinion in 1892, *The First Indian Member of the Imperial Parliament: Being a Collection of the Main Incidents Relating to the Election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to Parliament* (Madras: Addison & Co., 1892).

34. Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi before India* (Delhi: Allen Lane, 2013), p. 76.

35. For a detailed compilation of English and Gujarati newspaper reports from Naoroji's return visit to India, see *India & Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji: An Account of the Demonstrations Held in His Honour as M.P. for Central Finsbury during His Visit to India for the Purpose of Presiding at the Ninth Indian National Congress, Lahore, December 1893–January 1894* (Bombay: Commercial Press, 1898).

36. For example, George Chesney, the Conservative MP for Oxford, described Naoroji as a member of an alien race in India.

37. G.A. Natesan, *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*, 2nd edition (Madras: G.A. Natesan & Company, 1917), pp. 48, 34, 39, 41, and 63–4.

38. Dadabhai Naoroji, *Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)* (House of Commons), col. 1067, 14 August 1894; and col. 570, 12 February 1895.

39. Naoroji to Michael Davitt, 15 January 1896, Michael Davitt Papers, Trinity College Dublin.

40. C.A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 105.

41. See Naoroji's correspondence in British Library, India Office Records, L/PJ/6/555, File 2168.

42. Bal Gangadhar Tilak to Naoroji, 21 September 1906, Naoroji Papers.

43. 'The Indian National Congress and Its President: A Professional Politician once More to the Front', *Indian Sociologist*, November 1906, p. 41.

44. His speech was read out by Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

45. Natesan, *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji*, 2nd edition, pp. 95, 67, 71, and 82.

46. *Jam-e-Jamshed*, 27 December 1906, quoted in Native Newspaper Reports, Bombay; *Sandhya*, 1 January 1907, quoted in Native Newspaper Reports, Bengal.

47. *Kesari*, 1 January 1907, quoted in Native Newspaper Reports, Bombay.

48. Uncatalogued item in Naoroji Papers.

49. Patwardhan, *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 652–3.

50. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan, 1938 [reprint]), pp. 17–19.

51. This section draws heavily on S.R. Mehrotra's paper, 'The Dadabhai Naoroji Papers', *Indian Archives*, vol. LIV, nos 1–2 (2006), pp. 1–18.

52. Curiously, there are also some completely unrelated documents from the 1950s; these might have been Patwardhan's documents that were mixed up with the Naoroji collection.

53. See Dinyar Patel, 'The Grand Old Man & His Miscellanea', *Hindu*, 20 October 2012.

54. Patwardhan, *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence*, vol. 2, part 1, p. viii.

55. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 11.

56. Jehangir P. Wadia to president of the board of trustees, Dadabhai Naoroji Memorial Prize Fund, April 1943. Mehrotra located Wadia's correspondence in the papers of the Bombay Presidency Association. These letters have now been donated to the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi.

57. Wadia, 12 April 1943, *ibid.*

58. Patwardhan, *Dadabhai Naoroji Correspondence*, vol. 2, part 1, pp. vii–viii.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. ix–xi.

60. These letters do not appear in the Naoroji Papers index under headings for respective correspondents. There is a chance that some of these letters might have been misfiled or incorrectly indexed; therefore, some might be located after an exhaustive search through the entire collection. While the editors have painstakingly combed the index for potentially mislabelled letters and, in many instances, manually sifted through hundreds of catalogued and uncatalogued letters, it has been beyond their capabilities and means to perform such an exhaustive search.

61. The Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute helped microfilm the Naoroji Papers in the early 1980s: one copy of the microfilm is kept in the National Archives and another copy is at the Robarts Library at the University of Toronto. The quality of the microfilm, however, is extremely poor and large segments are completely unreadable. The microfilm, furthermore, does not cover the entire extent of the Naoroji Papers.