

‘Narrow-majority’ and ‘Bow-and-agree’:
Public Attitudes Towards the Elections of the First Asian
MPs in Britain, Dadabhai Naoroji and
Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownagree, 1885-1906. □

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One black man may be as good as another, and even better; that is
the MARKISS’s affair. As VIRGIL wrote of *Trojan* and *Tyrian*,
BHOWNAGGREE NAOROJI mihi nullo discriminate agetur.
Punch, 17 Aug. 1895

The election of Dadabhai Naoroji for the Liberal Party in 1892, and the subsequent victories of Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownagree for the Conservative Party in 1895 and 1900, have often been relegated to passing remarks in the histories of race and racism in Victorian Britain. It is noteworthy that following the election of Sharpurji Saklatvala for Labour in 1922, the next MP of Asian origin in Britain was Keith Vaz in 1987, sixty years later. In the same election, the first black MPs for Britain were elected: Paul Boateng, Bernie Grant, and Diane Abbott. In 1996, ‘Operation Black Vote’ was launched, a national initiative focusing both on attracting candidates from ethnic minorities and on encouraging black people to vote. In the nineteenth century there was no such policy and a tiny immigrant population in comparison to today, yet a British electorate was willing to allow two men from India to represent them in Parliament. Naoroji and Bhownagree were the first elected MPs of colour in a time when the British Empire ruled over and subjugated many peoples of Asia and Africa. Their victories were important for Indians studying and living in England, as well as their countrymen in India, and yet there is little acknowledgement of their contributions to British and Indian politics in historiography.¹

This article seeks to place Naoroji and Bhownagree within the context of the discourse of race at the turn of the twentieth century. The term ‘race’ is in itself problematic as it is a biological term for a group of people with distinct physical characteristics. In modern times, ‘race’ has become synonymous with culture, nationality and skin colour, and is a highly charged term. However, there is a large historiography on race and attitudes towards race in the Victorian period, due to the possession of the British Empire, and the propagation of scientific and anthropological theories on evolution and race. Panikos Panayi has argued that, regarding attitudes to non-Europeans, ‘we are dealing with views which we can comfortably describe as racist in a nineteenth century pseudo-scientific and ideological sense of the world.’² However, Matthew Sweet has recently tried to

debunk some of the myths about Victorians such as their prudishness about sex and their religiosity. He points out that, 'We think of the Victorians as racist, yet they had no anti-immigration laws and elected Britain's first Asian Members of Parliament.'³ That is the purpose of this investigation: attempting to challenge myths of a monolithically racist Victorian era, but also to acknowledge the prejudices that were present during their campaigns.

As the first MPs in Britain of Indian descent, Naoroji and Bhowmagree also had importance for Indian politics, and for the relationship between the colony and London, the home of the Imperial Parliament. Naoroji is a significant figure in Indian history as he was a President of the Indian National Congress (INC). His political role in India is referred to in the histories of early Indian Nationalism, but the elections of neither Naoroji nor Bhowmagree have been studied as particular influences upon the British Empire or Indian politics. Naoroji had also been the first Indian professor of mathematics at the Elphinstone Institute in Bombay in 1853, and was appointed Prime Minister of Baroda in 1874. Bhowmagree's career highlights included being called to the Bar in 1885, and he was one of the Commissioners of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition at South Kensington in 1886.⁴ The first Indian to attempt to stand as an MP was Lal Mohun Ghose in 1885, the same year the INC was founded. Ghose had been vocal in support of the Ilbert Bill from 1883 – a bill that would create racial equality in the judiciary, by allowing senior Indian magistrates to preside over cases involving British subjects in India. At a time of political pressure for equality in India, Naoroji and Bhowmagree were able to achieve political power in Britain.

The issues surrounding the campaigns, and attitudes towards the Asian candidates (including other unsuccessful Indians such as the Liberal Ghose), can be gleaned from local and national newspapers.⁵ The language of the press is indicative of public opinion about the candidates and Indians in general. Many papers were also distinctly political; for example, *The Star* presented a radical viewpoint, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* supported the Liberal Party.⁶ It is difficult to judge the effect of newspapers upon public opinion; as Lord Salisbury commented in 1883, the press had 'become absolutely useless as an indication of opinion'.⁷ However, Stephen Koss argues that politicians were certainly mindful of the press, and actively contributed towards newspapers in matters such as publishing election addresses.⁸ Aled Jones believes that public meetings and speeches exerted a greater influence over the mass of opinion, especially by the end of the nineteenth century,⁹ but newspapers are undoubtedly useful in gauging reactions towards Naoroji and Bhowmagree.

Many historians have dismissed Bhowmagree as a mere tool of the Conservative Party, used to counteract the influence of the Liberal Dadabhai Naoroji, a belief which earned him the nickname 'Bow-and-agree' or 'Bow-the-knee-and-agree',¹⁰ but he was the more successful in terms of election victories. However, both are hardly mentioned in the political biographies of the leading politicians of the time, or in books about British politics in this era. Both Indian candidates were successful in

largely working-class constituencies in London. Although Imperial sentiment was running very high during the Golden Jubilee in 1887, especially in the capital, working men may have been relatively unconcerned about the ethnic origin of their MP as long as their interests were served. The third Reform Act in 1884 had not given all men the vote, but had enforced single member constituencies. It would be counterfactual to ask whether Bhownagree and Naoroji would have been victorious outside the capital, but they certainly benefited from being involved in metropolitan politics.

This essay will examine the effect that political culture and attitudes to people of other ethnic origins in Britain at the end of the nineteenth century had upon the elections of the Liberal Dadabhai Naoroji and the Conservative Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownagree. It will seek to understand how these candidates became successful, and why they were eventually defeated, by studying their constituencies and parliamentary careers. Primarily through the use of newspapers, this article will demonstrate that the colour of their skin was not a great disadvantage to their campaigns, and that their political success also depended upon the popularity of the party they represented. They were both successful politicians who broke new ground through their victories; their ethnic origin was an important feature of their careers and should be recognized as such.

In December 1888, Lord Salisbury, the leader of the Conservative Party, remarked in reference to the defeat of Naoroji in the 1886 election at Holborn that, ‘However great the progress of mankind has been, and however far we have advanced in overcoming prejudices, I doubt if we have yet got to the point of view where an English constituency would elect a Blackman.’¹¹ Salisbury further qualified his remarks:

All I did was point out that you could not understand the meaning of the Holborn election in 1886 unless you remembered that the Liberal candidate was not only of a different race – widely separated from us – but that it was marked by his complexion ... and that, in the existing state of English opinion was a very strong factor.¹²

These comments caused offence not only to Naoroji, but also more publicly within sections of the press. Attention was focused on the fact that Naoroji was not ‘black’, rather than on Salisbury’s assertions of English racial prejudice.

After Salisbury’s comments, Naoroji became permanently labelled as ‘Salisbury’s Black Man’; even when he was victorious in 1892, *Punch* published a cartoon of Naoroji as Othello saluting the Doge of Westminster, Salisbury.¹³



Figure 1. Naoroji compared to Othello, another infamous ‘blackman’. *Punch*, 23 July 1892, p. 33. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. (Shelfmark: N.2706 d.10).

This notoriety helped Naoroji in his campaign for Central Finsbury and, in private correspondence with Dinshah Wacha, the secretary of the INC, he was reassured that he would ‘now draw greater sympathy than before from the British electors’.¹⁴ The *Liberal Weekly Dispatch* was indeed sympathetic, and proposed the solution that ‘some British constituency ... send Mr Naoroji to Parliament by acclamation, then the Indian people would see that Lord Salisbury spoke not the voice of England, but merely expressed his own caddish contempt.’¹⁵ Naoroji’s election in 1892 disproved Salisbury’s theory that the English would not elect a man of colour, but many members of the British public did share prejudices about him. It had only been in 1858 that the first professing Jew, Lionel de Rothschild, was allowed to sit in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell had proposed, in 1847, to allow Jews to sit in Parliament, but had faced considerable opposition; David Feldman has described how ‘opponents of Russell’s Bill warned repeatedly that admitting the Jew would open the way to the “Hindoo”, the “Parsee” and the “victory of the Boodh”.’¹⁶ These critics’ fears were realized less than fifty years later with the elections of Naoroji and then Bhownaggee, who were both Parsees.

Naoroji's fair skin was often described as an advantage, as it meant that voters did not associate him with Africans. The *Weekly Dispatch* felt that 'The sting of the insult lies in the fact that a "black" means in ordinary parlance a "Negro",'¹⁷ and the *Pall Mall Gazette* pointed out that 'he is not black nor anything like it, and we shall be surprised if he is the darkest member in the new House of Commons'.¹⁸ The press in India were aware of events and were also critical. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* criticized the Prime Minister for calling 'one of India's leaders a nigger';¹⁹ and the *Hindu Punch* produced a cartoon in 1889 of Naoroji and Salisbury, in which the Prime Minister was painted in black, suggesting that Salisbury actually had darker skin.²⁰ Naoroji's facial appearance had also been important before Salisbury's remarks. The *Christian Million* in 1886 commented that his 'name – so English is his look – might be Brown or Jones, did it not happen to be Dadabhai Naoroji'.²¹ Over twenty years later, Naoroji's appearance was still an issue, as expressed in *The Graphic*: 'marked by a Grecian classicness of feature and fairness of skin which gave particular inappropriateness to the late Lord Salisbury's "blazing indiscretion" in describing him as a "black man".'²² Salisbury's asides had become crucial to the public imagery of Naoroji. Fortunately for Naoroji, he had fair skin to contradict Lord Salisbury, and to encourage the British to see him as not too 'different'.

Naoroji's background and religion were also important for the assessments of his character made by the press. Lal Mohun Ghose faced prejudice on account of his cultural and regional ancestry. Ghose came from Bengal, and therefore was labelled a 'Baboo' by many sections of the press, and was derided for his Hindu faith. In response to a criticism that it supported the Jewish candidate in Woolwich, Baron de Worms, but opposed Ghose, the *Kentish Mercury* replied that there was 'no comparison between the debasing idolatry of the Hindoo and the religion of the Jew'.²³ Naoroji and Bhowanagree, both Parsees, did not face the same prejudices as Ghose; however, they too faced distrust. Parsees were monotheistic, in contrast to polytheistic Hindus, and they worshipped and revered fires in their temples. The *St. Stephen's Review* was thankful in 1892 that a 'Bengali Baboo' had not been elected,²⁴ but on the other hand suggested that Finsbury 'should be ashamed of itself at having publicly confessed that there was not in the whole of the division an Englishman, a Scotchman, a Welshman or an Irishman as worthy of their votes as the fire-worshipper from Bombay'.²⁵ The *Evening News and Post* also expressed surprise at the election of Naoroji, describing him as having 'the deep eyes of the Hindu' and 'considerable learning in the mystic lore of the East'.²⁶ These were uninformed stereotypes published in national newspapers, and demonstrate the obstacles faced by Indian candidates.

Many people argued that the Parsee Naoroji was not representative of all Indians, suggesting that both his religion and social background were untypical. A pamphlet produced under the pseudonym of 'Fair Play' took issue with Naoroji's candidature and his claims to stand on behalf of all Indians. Fair Play claimed, using the example of Naoroji, that Parsees were more Europeans than Indians, due to their relatively

recent settlement of India and their European manners.²⁷ *The Spectator* argued that ‘a Parsee is not more a representative of Indians, than a Nestorian Christian would be of Ottomans’;²⁸ and in a letter to the editor of the *Morning Post*, Major-General Dashwood wrote: ‘Mr Naoroji is a Parsee, a race as alien to India as a Russian Jew in Whitechapel is to England – a race of mere traders, none of whom ever drew a sword or pulled a trigger, either for us or against us.’²⁹ The *Bengal Times* of Calcutta believed that the election of Dadabhai Naoroji was not an event to be lauded, and pointed out that ‘a Hindu, Mussulman or Parsee representative of a British constituency is a contradiction in terms. It would be as absurd as an English President of an Indian Congress.’³⁰ Just as Naoroji’s race was important to British voters, it was also a concern among Indians. Despite the interest in and controversy about the elections of Naoroji and Bhownagree, these issues have not survived in the historiography of race.

Race was an important issue, and so it is surprising, considering the intolerance of many newspapers, that Naoroji and Bhownagree were elected to represent English constituencies in Parliament. However, it would be naïve to regard all of the British public as disapproving of the candidates. The *Newcastle Leader* reminded Lord Salisbury that ‘by far the larger proportion of the British subjects are black men’, and to condemn a man merely for his colour was reminiscent of the ‘very worst days’ of slavery.³¹ Yet there appeared to be a general acceptance of racial difference and xenophobia, as questions were often raised about the Irish and Jews assimilating into British culture. Indians faced overt discrimination; for example, Oxford colleges would not admit more than two Indians at a time.³² It could be argued that the British Empire was based upon the belief of Anglo-Saxon superiority. Ghose’s rival, Evelyn, reasoned to his supporters that in the case of India, ‘it is not by our 60,000 bayonets that we keep all those people in subjection to us, but it is by the great reputation of England, and the feeling of superiority of the British race over the native population’.³³ Once Naoroji was elected, more possibilities opened up for men of different ethnic backgrounds to fight for a seat in the House of Commons, and it was no longer possible to argue that the British electorate was not ready to elect ‘black’ men.

Christine Bolt has argued that colour prejudice was reinforced by class-consciousness in the Victorian era.³⁴ David Cannadine agrees that the British ‘were more likely to be concerned with rank than with race, and with the appreciation of status similarities based on perceptions of affinity’.³⁵ The greater the assimilation with British manners and customs, the more comfortable the British public felt about electing these candidates from India. *The Star*, although critical of Naoroji, praised Ghose, describing him as ‘an orator of extraordinary power’.³⁶ The *Eastern Argus and Borough of Hackney Times* called Bhownagree ‘a true British citizen – acquainted with all those varied conditions of administration which makes the name of Britain great throughout the world’;³⁷ and Javeril Umiashunkar Yajnik, speaking in Bombay, praised Naoroji in that ‘though an Indian in blood and colour, and though a “Black

Man”, he was every inch an Englishman in point of character, in pluck, and perseverance, and in courage and self-reliance’.³⁸ The *Daily Graphic* argued that it was necessary to have representatives from the British colonies in Parliament:

It is surely a good Liberal principle to desire the presence there not only of South Africans, but of Canadians, Australians, and Indians capable of affording us guidance of real value upon questions involving the needs, wishes, or aspirations of their respective parts of the Empire.³⁹

Therefore, it was not such an absurd idea for an Indian to stand for election in Britain, as policies regarding India were debated at the House of Commons, and they were governed by the same Parliament. The fair skin of Naoroji and the education of the candidates ensured that voters could feel that they would be able to represent their concerns.

However, many questioned whether these candidates were appropriate representatives for British constituencies. The *Kentish Mercury* criticized Ghose because he was an ‘Indian Baboo, who comes to the locality a total stranger, without a single tie of sympathy with the people of whose political, social and religious interests he aspires to be the guardian and representative’.⁴⁰ The *Evening News and Post* advised their readers to vote against Naoroji in the 1892 General Election, asking ‘What can a Parsee merchant know about the wants of a London workingman?’⁴¹ The *Eastern Argus* noted the ‘sheer bigotry’ of members of the crowd upon hearing of Bhownaggee’s victory.⁴² George Howell, who was defeated by Bhownaggee in 1895, wrote in a letter in 1905: ‘I was kicked out by a black man, a stranger from India, one not known in the constituency or in public life.’⁴³ Once again, an Indian parliamentary candidate had been described as ‘black’, seventeen years after Lord Salisbury’s infamous comment had pushed Indian candidates into the limelight.

Jonathan Schneer considers that ‘Englishmen valued Bhownaggee because he personified the image of India they wanted to see, loyal, assimilated, obsequious’.⁴⁴ Naoroji shared these characteristics, and both candidates were respected by the British electorate as ‘gentlemen’. Parsee partisans are keen to point out that both Naoroji and Bhownaggee were Parsee, and believe that this may have been an advantage in gaining support in Britain. Although there were negative reactions towards Lal Mohun Ghose because he was a Bengali ‘Baboo’, and although W. C. Bonnerjee was another Bengali who was unsuccessful in the 1892 election, the victories of Naoroji and Bhownaggee were generally a result of their characters and policies. They had overcome opposition that pointed out that Parsees were not representative of all Indians. Naoroji had an advantage in possessing fair skin, but this was beneficial in contradicting Salisbury’s description of Indian candidates rather than in swaying votes. However, he certainly benefited from the publicity surrounding his campaign. Bhownaggee was another novelty in representing the Conservative Party, as opposed to the Liberals (represented by Naoroji, Ghose and Bonnerjee). The success of Naoroji and Bhownaggee in working-class constituencies in London demonstrates

the lack of prejudice in those areas, and they may not have been successful elsewhere. Their campaigns and victories reveal that party politics was a genuine concern for voters in this period, and although the personal character of candidates was important, their political pledges were also influential in gaining votes.

The ethnic origins of Naoroji and Bhowmagree were not a major disadvantage, as they were successfully elected in the London working-class constituencies of Central Finsbury and North-East Bethnal Green respectively. Lal Mohun Ghose was unsuccessful in his attempts in Deptford in 1885 and 1886, as was Naoroji in 1886 at Holborn. Finally successful in 1892, Naoroji lost his seat at the next election, in which Bhowmagree was victorious at his first attempt; Bhowmagree went on to win again in 1900, but lost his seat in 1906. The Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 and the increased organization of the Liberal and Conservative hierarchies had contributed to the ongoing development of party politics. The significance of the independent member had been reduced, but both candidates wrested seats away from the reigning party. In their defeats, they reflected the national fortunes of their respective parties, but their victories were the results of a combination of local and personal factors.

Although Naoroji was beaten in 1886 in the strongly Conservative seat of Holborn, he blamed the defeat primarily on himself for placing too much emphasis on India in his campaign, and on a lack of sufficient time to canvass.⁴⁵ The Conservative candidate in Central Finsbury in 1886, Duncan, had won by only five votes and Naoroji took that seat by five votes in 1892,⁴⁶ thereby gaining the nickname ‘narrow-majority’ from his detractors.⁴⁷ In being selected as the official Liberal candidate for Central Finsbury, Naoroji faced severe opposition. His victory over Eve in 1887 to become the Liberal candidate was challenged unsuccessfully by Eve’s supporters. Then, in 1891, a new candidate, Ford, put himself forward. The Liberal Association had rallied round Naoroji after the comments made by Lord Salisbury, as Naoroji himself wrote:

When the Marquis of Salisbury made a remark about me in connection with the Holborn contest, the whole Liberal Party – including our Great Leader – the Press, and the National Liberal Club ... showed generous sympathy towards me.⁴⁸

However, he lacked party support when battling against Eve and Ford for the candidature of Central Finsbury.⁴⁹ Ford eventually withdrew to prevent a split vote and Naoroji was endorsed as the official candidate, but meanwhile he had gained considerable press attention. A letter was published in the *Weekly News and Chronicle* that read: ‘I am only a working man, and have perhaps little or no influence in Central Finsbury, but I am ready and willing to give up a considerable portion of my time to promote the interests of the properly selected candidate, Mr Naoroji.’⁵⁰ *The Star*, a radical newspaper, urged Naoroji to withdraw from the competition to allow a new, fully approved candidate to stand. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, an independent Liberal paper, was shocked by this position, and stated that ‘[to] undermine the position of the duly selected Liberal candidate is treason to the Liberal

cause'.⁵¹ *The Star* believed, however, that the party was gifting the seat to the Conservative candidate by allowing Naoroji to stand, and did not believe that an Indian candidate could be elected to Parliament:

The experiences of good Mr Lal Mohun Ghose in Deptford should be a standing warning against Baboo candidatures among English working men. Home Rule for India may give these gentlemen a chance, but they must bide their time, for English electors will [have] none of them.⁵²

Lal Mohun Ghose had demonstrated that at the least there were Liberal Associations willing to appoint an Indian as their candidate, and he received unanimous backing from the Liberals in Greenwich in 1885. John Bright commented at the time that he had 'thought it impossible that any constituency would have selected much less unanimously a native of India as a Parliamentary candidate'.⁵³ Ghose's failure at the General Election in the constituency of Deptford was largely due to the strength of the Conservative opposition and the unpopularity of Liberal policy on Home Rule.⁵⁴ His Conservative rival, Evelyn or the 'Squire', was a well-known benefactor of the constituency. Deptford was largely working class, but had a greater mix of middle-class professionals than Central Finsbury or Bethnal Green.⁵⁵ When Ghose was defeated in 1885 and in 1886, many commentators argued that this demonstrated that the English were not willing to elect an Indian to Parliament, despite Gladstone's support for Ghose (giving him a carriage to use in the 1886 election).⁵⁶ In fact, Ghose's defeats were due not only to his ethnic origin, but also to his policies and to the strong support for Evelyn in Deptford.

Bhownaggee was, like Evelyn, a philanthropic figure in London, as he had founded a training home for nurses and a public gymnasium. In competing for the seat of North-East Bethnal Green, Bhownaggee was opposing the Liberal candidate, George Howell. Howell, an important trade unionist, had been successful in the previous three elections in this constituency, implying that he represented labour in Bethnal Green, where the electorate was poor and predominately working class.⁵⁷ In a close contest in 1895, Bhownaggee received 51.6% of the votes cast, but even in 1892 Howell had only secured 54% of the votes. During the 1895 campaign Bhownaggee directly criticized Gladstone's government, pointing out that it had concentrated too heavily on Home Rule to the detriment of domestic reform. Many Liberals and labour supporters were also disillusioned with Gladstone; Howell was defeated partly due to this reaction, but also due to his lack of campaign funds and his criticism of the 'new unionists'.⁵⁸ In Bhownaggee's obituary, *The Times* pointed out that his 'victory in the Conservative interest at N.E. Bethnal Green in the 1895 election was remarkable, for up to that time the representation had been uniformly Radical'.⁵⁹

Bhownaggee wished to represent the Conservative Party in Britain, and supported their strong Imperial policies. In 1894, in correspondence with Sir George Birdwood, a former sheriff at Bombay who then worked in the India Office, Bhownaggee argued that India was conservative in her traditions, institutions and customs, and it

was therefore necessary for a Conservative candidate to represent that tendency.⁶⁰ It was Naoroji's success that spurred Bhownaggee to refute the notion that India was uniformly radical. The Conservative Party was also receptive to an Indian candidate who could counteract the influence of Naoroji and the Indian Parliamentary Party. There were few calls for outright independence at this time, and even Naoroji wished to preserve British control of India. Bhownaggee's adherence to Conservative Party policies reassured voters that they were voting for a Conservative first and an Indian second.

Naoroji was encouraged to enter politics in Britain in order to give Indians an effective voice in Parliament. With the foundation of the INC, it was realized among his peers that Indian affairs and opinions needed to be vocalized in the Imperial Parliament, in order to encourage greater welfare for Indians and political involvement on their behalf. Naoroji, during his 1886 Holborn campaign, had claimed to be standing on behalf of 'the two hundred and fifty millions of India'.⁶¹ At a speech in Holborn Town Hall on 27 June 1886, he asserted that India regarded him as a 'fair representative', and that even if he were not successful, 'India ought to have some representation ... in your British Parliament'.⁶² Pherooshan Mehta, a colleague of Naoroji in the Bombay Presidency Association, spoke aggressively at a public meeting in Bombay in 1892 about the reasons behind the drive for political involvement in Britain: in 1885 they had 'resolved to inaugurate the policy of carrying the war, as it were, into the enemy's country, of making a direct appeal to the British electors by means of leaflets and delegates, and of asking them to discriminate between the white sheep and the black sheep'.⁶³ Both candidates had political roots in India and saw their elections as a means to publicize Indian affairs in Britain. The British electorate was aware that they were responsible for the Empire and India, and so were willing to give the MPs a chance.

Both candidates emphasized their qualifications and ability to represent the English. Naoroji's visit to Hyndman in 1886 was recollected in his diary:

He was of opinion that we should be able to convince the general English public, the working man particularly, that the reforms that I advanced would be far more beneficial to the English nation, particularly to the working man ... If India is prosperous and rich, she would buy far more English produce and give work proportionately to the working man.⁶⁴

Naoroji had the support of prominent public figures such as Florence Nightingale, who encouraged him during the elections in Holborn and Finsbury, and Josephine Butler.⁶⁵ Gladstone, speaking at West Calder, commented after the 1892 success that 'what Lord Salisbury called a black man has just been returned, to my great satisfaction'.⁶⁶ Gladstone, however, did not mention either Ghose or Naoroji in his personal diaries or correspondence beyond one letter written to Ghose and one meeting with Naoroji in 1893, suggesting that he did not attach much importance to the novelty of Indian candidates.⁶⁷ Naoroji was a Gladstonian Liberal who stood on

the Newcastle Programme platform. He proposed measures such as free education and the extension of the Factory Acts, supported Home Rule for Ireland in 1892, and also wished to introduce reforms for India, particularly to the Indian Civil Service and legislative councils.⁶⁸ Bhownagree, by contrast, actively defended the British Empire, and supported the Boer War. He was awarded the rank of Knight Commander of the Indian Empire in 1897; Schneer argues that this contributed to an image of ‘personifying the empire’.⁶⁹ J. W. Ward, chairman of the Bethnal Green Conservative Association, was ‘proud’ of Bhownagree as he ‘not only represented Bethnal Green but the great Empire of India’.⁷⁰ Britons and Indians were both subjects of the Crown, and many wished to allow Indian representation in Parliament out of sympathy for what were seen as ‘their oppressed fellow-citizens in India’.⁷¹ As Naoroji commented, perhaps naïvely, at a public reception in Bombay in 1887 after his defeat at Holborn:

The elections clearly showed me that a suitable Indian candidate has as good a chance as any Englishman, or even some advantages over an Englishman, for there is a general and genuine desire among English electors to give to India any help in their power.⁷²

Naoroji had been elected on a very slight majority in 1892, but by 1895 his popularity and novelty had worn off, leading to a loss by 805 votes. This was a considerable defeat in the constituency, when compared with the close results of the previous two elections. R. H. M. Griffiths, the Liberal Secretary to Central Finsbury, argued that defeat was due to failures in the voter registration process: the residence qualification of twelve months discouraged many workers from registering, and some tenements in the constituency had been demolished during the year. He also said that Liberal voters had to walk to the polling station, whereas the Conservatives had transport and a large army of canvassers to intercept the ‘chance voter in the street’.⁷³ *The Independent in India* agreed that his defeat was related to the general failure of the Liberal Party.⁷⁴ Naoroji expressed his views in an interview with the *Sunday Times*: ‘I have just been carried away by the wave of Conservatism that has for the time being wrecked British Liberalism. No doubt, a good many who are less well informed, will regard it as a matter of racial prejudice.’⁷⁵ The Central Finsbury voters, according to the *Weekly News and Chronicle*, had not thought that they had made a mistake in electing an Indian;⁷⁶ they had voted for the Conservative candidate on matters of policy.

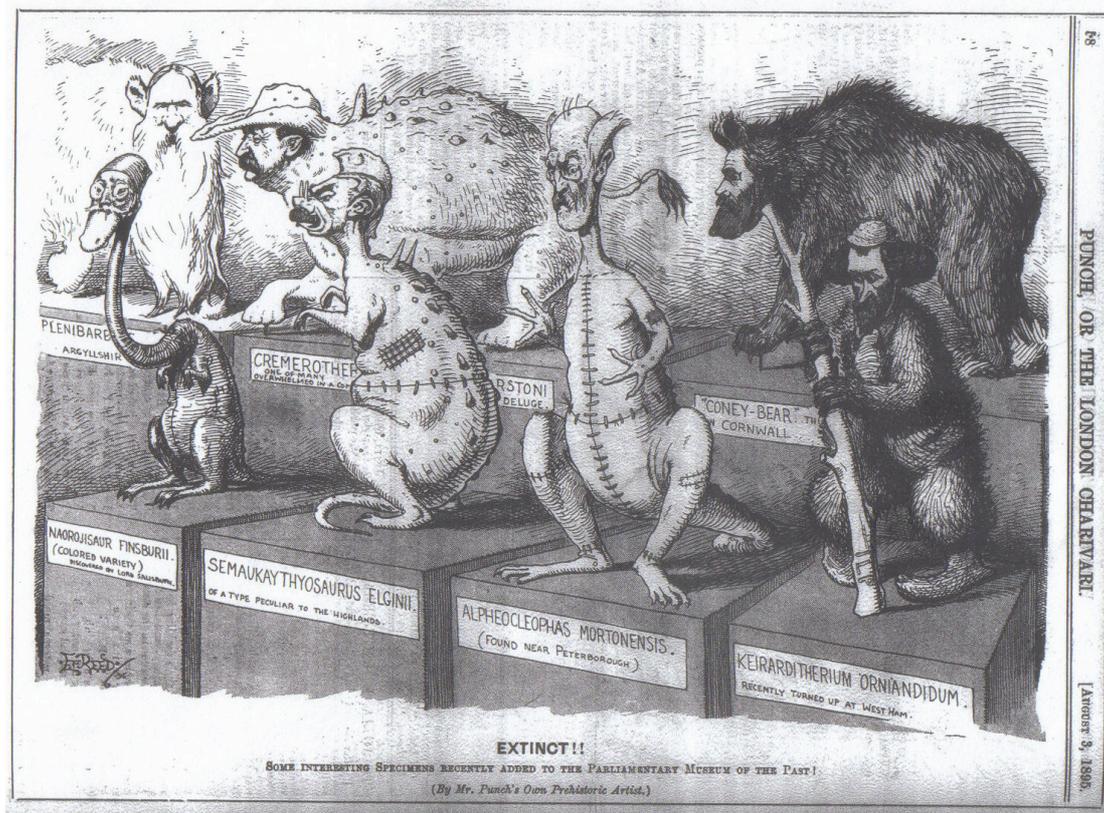


Figure 2. Naoroji, among the notable defeats in the 1895 election, continues to be identified by Salisbury's comment. *Punch*, 3 August 1895, p. 58. Reproduced by the permission of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. (Shelfmark: N.2706 d.10).

Naoroji's defeat occurred in the same General Election in which Bhownagree was elected for the first time. In 1900, Bhownagree again had a small majority, with 53.4% of the total votes, but in securing this victory demonstrated that his success in 1895 was not based on luck alone. His second victory was based upon a good record in his first term in addressing local issues in Parliament, and on his own donations to Bethnal Green. He was not merely a tool of the Conservative Party. The independent paper, the *Daily Graphic*, pointed out that 'he has given generous assistance and kindly interest to all the local philanthropic associations, working men's societies, hospitals, dispensaries, and so on.'⁷⁷ In 1906 Bhownagree was defeated by a very large margin: he gained only 34% of the total votes against Sir Edwin Cornwall during the Liberal landslide victory in that General Election. Once again it would appear, with no evidence to the contrary, that the Indian MP had been voted out of his seat due to general discontent with his Party, rather than with the man himself.

Although both Bhownagree and Naoroji were Indian, they had different policies and different attributes that appealed to voters, and comparisons reveal more contrasts than similarities. It would not be fair to them to associate their fates only with their Party results, without taking into account their personal qualities. Bhownagree was successful in a constituency that previously had been permanently Radical and that

returned to Radicalism after his defeat. However, Naoroji unsuccessfully attempted a return to British politics in the 1906 election as an Independent Liberal candidate at Lambeth North, so clearly his personal appeal was not enough. Nor did their ethnic origin cause their victories or defeats, and the electorate was willing to allow these men to represent their constituencies as well as India. The work of electoral sociologists has demonstrated that it is 'impossible to know what facet of identity is uppermost in a voter's mind at the decisive moment the vote is cast';⁷⁸ but as will be shown, their parliamentary careers are significant in explaining Bhownaggee's consecutive successes, and the eventual defeats of both candidates.

The debates in the House of Commons demonstrate that politicians had prejudices about their Indian colleagues even after their victories. Some MPs commented that Naoroji was not fit to represent India, due both to his long stay in Britain and to his Parsee background. Sir George Chesney, the Conservative member for Oxford, argued that other colleagues had more recent experience in India, and 'would remind him that as regards the people of India he belongs to an alien race which has spread over that country solely and only as a result of British occupancy'.⁷⁹ When the Under-Secretary of State for India defended Naoroji, *Hansard* reported the murmurs of opposition in response to George Russell: 'He is very anxious as the Representative of our fellow-subjects in India. [Opposition of "No, no!" and Ministerial Cheers].'⁸⁰ Naoroji faced direct criticisms about his emphasis on the poverty of Indians and India's fraught economic relationship with Britain. On his proposal that financial relations between India and Britain should be adjusted, he was vehemently denounced by Sir Richard Temple. Temple had entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1846, was Finance Minister of India in 1868 and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1874, and demonstrated the prejudices of those in power:

He was astonished that the hon. Member should make such a proposition as that contained in his Amendment and could suppose that it could be seriously regarded either by a British House of Commons or by a British electorate. [...] The people of India owed their lives to us, their homes, hearths, freedom, rights and liberty. It astonished him when he considered the way in which his country-men had given their lives in the service of India that such scant justice should be shown them by the hon. Member for the Central Division of Finsbury.⁸¹

Sir William Wedderburn, the Banffshire Liberal, on the other hand, regretted the election of Bhownaggee. In reply to Bhownaggee's maiden speech, he remarked that he 'was sorry that Mr. Naoroji had not been returned to the House, as he could speak more authoritatively on behalf of the Indian people'.⁸² The issue of whether Bhownaggee was capable of representing India came to the fore again two years later, in relation to Wedderburn's proposal for an inquiry into the Indian famine. Charles Schwann, a Liberal MP from North Manchester, compared Bhownaggee's popularity in India to Naoroji's, arguing that Bhownaggee had recently returned from India expecting 'that he would be received with the same outburst of popular enthusiasm that had greeted Mr Naoroji, but his mission had been a complete

fiasco'.⁸³ The Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, defended Bhownaggee, pointing out that he had 'the confidence of many sections of the Indian community', and that Bhownaggee did not claim to represent them all.⁸⁴ Although Naoroji and Bhownaggee had been criticized during their campaigns for not being able to represent their constituencies, in Parliament they were questioned on their ability to represent Indians.

Naoroji was prominent in the formation of the Indian Parliamentary Party (IPP) in 1893. Sir William Wedderburn became the chair of this pressure group, which campaigned for sympathetic policies towards India and greater publicity of Indian views. Many British politicians took little interest in Indian matters and attendance at debates was sparse, which meant it was difficult to make an impact on Indian issues.⁸⁵ Sir Henry Fowler, a Liberal from Wolverhampton, defended his colleagues and believed that, although few MPs attended debates on the Indian budget, on questions 'affecting the administration, the policy, or the interests of India, the House was scarcely ever more crowded.'⁸⁶ Mary Cumpston has argued that the IPP was one of the more remarkable achievements of Gladstone's last Parliament, as it had 154 members by the end of the term, and 200 members by 1906.⁸⁷ Naoroji's most pressing concerns were with the Indian economy and his 'drain theory', and he became a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1895. The fact that Naoroji had only won his constituency by five votes did not prevent him from becoming involved in numerous Indian matters.

Bhownaggee was opposed to the IPP, as he believed its members were not properly informed about India and the Indian way of life.⁸⁸ Although he had not campaigned as a representative of India, he was very keen to bring Indian issues to the Commons, particularly those relating to finances and immigrants in Africa. He was concerned about education in India, and wished to encourage technical rather than literary education, in order to promote economic growth and political consciousness among the younger generation.⁸⁹ He was particularly noted for his attention to Indians in South Africa, and worked with Mahatma Gandhi even after he had left the Commons. However, during interest in him at the start of his career in Parliament, the Indian press criticized him for his 'silence' on Indian issues, and for distancing himself from Naoroji's emphasis on the drain of national wealth.⁹⁰ Eckehard Kulke studied the Parsees in India, and agreed with the Indian newspapers that had concluded that Bhownaggee 'had been pushed into the Parliament as a Trojan horse for the Conservative while the true representative of India in London was still Naoroji even if he was momentarily not a Member of Parliament'.⁹¹

Bhownaggee also highlighted local issues during his time in Parliament. He encouraged the foundation of the Bethnal Green museum, expressed concerns about the dangers of drowning in the Regent's Canal, and highlighted issues about Bethnal Green schools and vaccinations in the Commons.⁹² His balance of Indian and local issues was appreciated, and contributed to his re-election in 1900. This election is

often known as the Khaki election, because of the importance of the Boer War in the national campaigns. Bhownagree supported the Boer War and British imperialism, despite his concerns about the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Although Schmeer describes him as a rabid imperialist, McLeod believes that Bhownagree had a more individual outlook. He desired an Empire governed by a federal body with an elite of ruling classes from all the races.⁹³ He certainly expressed offence at the grouping of Indians with Africans in South Africa. Once again this demonstrated the indignation caused by associating Indians with ‘blacks’, as Naoroji had been by Salisbury.

It is difficult to assess the views of Naoroji and Bhownagree held by their colleagues beyond the parliamentary debates, especially as the two MPs were only backbenchers. They were not unique in bringing Indian issues to the Commons, as India was in any case an important concern for the Imperial Parliament, as demonstrated by the IPP. Candida Monk argues that by 1906 Indian nationalists no longer saw the need for parliamentary representation in Britain, focusing their attention on reform and agitation in India itself. She argues that the lack of results from Naoroji’s and Bhownagree’s parliamentary careers helped fuel discontent in India, and encouraged the use of non-cooperation as propagated by Gandhi.⁹⁴ Although they may have made little contribution to Indian reform, there does not appear to be a direct link between their careers and the rise of nationalism in India (as Monk contests), especially as Naoroji stood again in 1906. Naoroji’s emphasis on India may have lost him support in Central Finsbury in the 1895 election, and by 1906 Bhownagree was also directing more attention to Indian issues, particularly in South Africa, which could have had an effect on his popularity. In terms of racial prejudice, especially in the light of Salisbury’s comments about Naoroji, and the animosity towards both candidates during their campaigns, they both faced degrees of hostility from their colleagues in Parliament. However, they were not discriminated against to the extent that they could not contribute to national debates. They were generally appreciated as representatives of India, contributing their personal insights into Indian affairs, but interest in India also died down after the initial excitement of their elections.

Punch observed in August 1895 following the defeat of Naoroji and success of Bhownagree, that there was little difference between them as they were both ‘black’.⁹⁵ As Bhownagree came into Parliament just when Naoroji was leaving, they were bound to elicit comparisons. They invite study together, especially because they were the first MPs of colour in Britain in a time where racial prejudice was generally accepted. Another point of curiosity is that Naoroji was a Liberal in contrast to Bhownagree, who represented the Conservative Party – a party that had questioned the willingness of the British to elect Naoroji, and defended a British Imperial rule that did not grant equality to men of different races in their home country. However, it should be remembered that the majority of the British public appreciated the Empire and wished to maintain it; Naoroji himself was loyal to the Crown and did not desire outright independence for India. Unfortunately, Naoroji could not rid himself of

variations of the nickname ‘Salisbury’s Blackman’ and, ironically, his success could be partially attributed to Salisbury’s infamous comments.

In India, comparisons were also made between Naoroji and Bhownagree. The *Hindu Prakash* remarked of Bhownagree:

In no sense can he be said to be the ‘man of the people’ – we mean the people of this country. In that respect he is the very antipode – as he is often an antagonist – of Dadabhai Naoroji. However, he is our countryman, and on that one single ground, we have reason to be proud of him – as he is the second Indian gentleman who has won a seat in the House of Commons.⁹⁶

Their terms in the House of Commons reveal that Bhownagree was not really the ‘antipode’ of Naoroji, and they shared similar concerns for the welfare of their compatriots. Although the Indian Press showed mixed reactions towards the election of Bhownagree, in many ways he represented Indians in Parliament more than Naoroji was able to, especially because he was a MP for nearly eleven years as opposed to three. As Mohandas Gandhi wrote, on behalf of Indians in South Africa, following Bhownagree’s defeat in 1906, ‘it deprives us in South Africa of our greatest champion in the House of Commons’.⁹⁷

Could they have been expected to create political change? They were only backbenchers, and had already dispelled some racial prejudices. The *Biographical Magazine* believed in 1888 that many voters had looked upon Naoroji ‘as the incarnation of some Oriental mysticism, with a personality and political intentions as strange as his name’.⁹⁸ Through contact with politicians and his constituents in Central Finsbury he would have hoped to dispel some of these preconceptions, and both MPs may have done so on a small scale, but racism still existed. In particular, the prejudice directed against Naoroji demonstrated ignorance about Parsees and Indians in general, and also the lack of distinction between people from the Indian subcontinent and other people who had dark skin, such as Africans. They did not really open up the way for more MPs of different ethnic origins either, as the next Asian MP was elected sixteen years later when Saklatvala became an MP for the Labour Party; thus, by 1922 all three major political parties had been represented by Asians, but only once each. Naoroji’s defeat in 1906 demonstrates that his personal appeal was not enough to get him elected. Naoroji and Bhownagree are more useful for historians today in dispelling some of the myths of late Victorian England, and in understanding the degrees of racism that were prevalent within different levels of society.

Danny Reilly’s review of Omar Ralph’s biography on Naoroji warned that ‘attempts to bury him in the political graveyard as just another “first” will fail if sufficient attention is given to the story of his life’.⁹⁹ This theory can also apply to Bhownagree. Biographical accounts of the two politicians necessarily emphasize the

rest of their lives beyond their campaigns in Britain, and do not concentrate on the importance of their careers in Parliament. Reilly goes on to say: 'at times the detail obscures the larger political picture, and it is only in context that the great significance of the event can be fully appreciated.'¹⁰⁰ In the cases of Naoroji and Bhownagree, the wider context was the prevalence of racial prejudice in Britain and growing demands for equality in India. The details of the personal motivations and reactions of Naoroji and Bhownagree would add to an understanding of their careers. Both spent time in Britain pursuing careers outside Parliament, and it would be interesting to discover how 'British' they felt, and how they personally overcame obstacles. For example, Naoroji was keen to point out that he attributed his defeat in 1895 to a national Conservative landslide victory rather than racial prejudice, which he would have been aware of.¹⁰¹ They are also fascinating characters, and provide avenues for study of the rhetoric of imperialism, government policy on India, and the political careers of men such as Hyndman, who supported Naoroji, and Wedderburn, the chairman of the IPP. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as a student, was involved in Naoroji's campaign in 1892.¹⁰² It is interesting that Naoroji and Bhownagree had personal contact with Jinnah and Mahatma Gandhi, who were both so influential in the fight for India's independence.

Naoroji and Bhownagree should not be forgotten or seen as anomalies of the late Victorian era. Although studies of Victorians and racism emphasize scientific racism, xenophobia, class and assimilation, Naoroji and Bhownagree are clear examples of the range of racial attitudes in existence, and of the high regard many British people had for their Indian colony. Their election in predominantly working-class constituencies demonstrates that racism was not a prejudice held by all uneducated Britons. Moreover, racial prejudice was very apparent in those who were MPs and had power over the Empire; Salisbury's comments increased interest in Naoroji and other Asian candidates, but voters were not going to elect a man merely for his skin colour. The re-election of Bhownagree demonstrates that these votes were not merely sympathy votes. The British electorate welcomed men who could represent India, demonstrating imperial solidarity. The nicknames 'narrow-majority' and 'bow-and-agree' belittle their achievements. Naoroji did win by only five votes, but his influence over the IPP and INC was important for Indian politics. Bhownagree was not merely a tool of the Conservatives; he was a successful constituency MP, and chose the Conservative Party for personal ideological reasons. The political convictions and party sympathies of both MPs are important in understanding their successes and defeats. Although Naoroji is lauded as the first Asian MP, it should be remembered that he was not the first to attempt to stand for Parliament; it should also be noted that it was the second Asian MP, Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownagree, in tandem with Naoroji, who dispelled prejudices and demonstrated the diversity of Indian politics and attitudes. The balance should be redressed, and both should be more noted for their achievements and significance.

NOTES:

□ Thanks to Alan Heesom and James Gregory for their supervision at the University of Durham, and John McLeod for his correspondence.

¹ For example, Shompa Lahiri's recent study on Indians in Britain during the period 1880-1930 only mentions the MPs in footnotes; S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain. Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1930* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 79, n. 65.

² P. Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity, Racism in Britain, 1815-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 119.

³ M. Sweet, *Inventing the Victorians* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001), p. xi.

⁴ J. R. Hinnells, *Zoroastrians in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 175.

⁵ Many local newspapers in the period 1900-06 were unfit for use at the time of research, as the British Newspaper Library is attempting to preserve them on microfilm as part of the Newsplan 2000 programme.

⁶ *Newspaper Press Directory* (1886).

⁷ S. Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, (London: Hamilton, 1981), i. 254.

⁸ Ibid. See introduction and conclusion.

⁹ A. Jones, *Powers of the Press* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), p. 95.

¹⁰ E. Kulke, *The Parsees in India* (Delhi: Vikas, 1974), p. 227.

¹¹ C. J. Monk, "“Member for India?” The Parliamentary Lives of Dadabhai Naoroji (MP: 1892-1895) and Mancherjee Bhowanagare (MP: 1895-1906)", M.Phil Thesis (Manchester University, 1985), p. 2.

¹² Monk, p. 13.

¹³ *Punch*, 23 July 1892, p. 33.

¹⁴ R. P. Patwardhan (ed.), *Dadabhai Naoroji correspondence* (Bombay: n.p., 1977), ii. 139.

¹⁵ *The Weekly Dispatch*, 9 Dec. 1888, p. 1.

¹⁶ D. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 33.

¹⁷ *The Weekly Dispatch*, 9 Dec. 1888, p. 1.

¹⁸ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 July 1892, p. 3.

¹⁹ Cited in D. Mellor, 'The Parliamentary life of Dadabhai Naoroji, the great "Parsi Patriot" between 1885-1895', *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 52 (1985), pp. 1-113 at p. 28.

²⁰ *Hindu Punch*, Jan. 1889, cited in O. Ralph, *Naoroji* (London: Hansib, 1997).

²¹ *The Christian Million*, 1 July 1886, p. 3.

²² *The Graphic*, 17 Jan. 1914, quoted in K. Vadgama, *India in Britain* (London: R. Royce, 1984), p. 156.

²³ *Kentish Mercury*, 16 Oct. 1885, p. 5.

²⁴ *The First Indian Member of the Imperial Parliament* (Madras: Addison & Co., 1892), p. 114.

²⁵ Cited in R. Visram, *Asians in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 2002), p. 133-4.

²⁶ *The Evening News and Post*, 7 July 1892, p. 2.

²⁷ Fair Play, *India and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji MP* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1893).

²⁸ Cited in *The First Indian Member*, p. 111.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

³⁰ *The Indian Spectator and Voice of India*, 14 Aug. 1892, p. 15; although the INC did appoint an Irish president, Annie Besant, in August 1917 at the Calcutta Session.

³¹ Visram, p. 133.

³² Ibid., p. 55.

³³ *Kentish Mercury*, 6 Nov. 1885, p. 3.

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- ³⁴ C. Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge, 1971), pp. 210-4.
- ³⁵ D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 123.
- ³⁶ *The Star*, 18 Aug. 1888, p. 1.
- ³⁷ *The Eastern Argus and Borough of Hackney Times*, 6 July 1895, p. 3.
- ³⁸ *The First Indian Member*, p. 9.
- ³⁹ *The Daily Graphic*, 3 Oct. 1900, p. 4.
- ⁴⁰ *Kentish Mercury*, 16 Oct. 1885, p. 5.
- ⁴¹ *The Evening News and Post*, 6 July 1892, p. 3.
- ⁴² *The Eastern Argus and Borough of Hackney Times*, 20 July 1895, p. 3.
- ⁴³ F. Leventhal, *Respectable Radical* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971), p. 212.
- ⁴⁴ J. Schneer, *London 1900* (New Haven: Yale University, 1999), p. 245.
- ⁴⁵ 'The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji', *Biographical Magazine* (London, 1888), p. 6.
- ⁴⁶ *The Holborn and Finsbury Guardian*, 9 July 1892, p.5.
- ⁴⁷ Ralph, p. 106.
- ⁴⁸ D. Naoroji, *Mr D. Naoroji and Mr Schnadhorst* (London: Chant & Co., 1892), pp. 1-2.
- ⁴⁹ Naoroji published a pamphlet about his struggle with Schnadhorst, secretary of the National Liberal Federation: *Mr D. Naoroji and Mr Schnadhorst*.
- ⁵⁰ *The Weekly News and Chronicle*, 15 Sept. 1888, p. 3.
- ⁵¹ Quoted in *The Weekly News and Chronicle*, 1 Sept. 1888, p. 6.
- ⁵² *The Star*, 18 Aug. 1888, p. 2, see also 17 Aug. 1888.
- ⁵³ *Mr Lalmohun Ghose* (Madras: G. A. Natesan & Co., 1903), p. 18.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ⁵⁵ H. Pelling, *Social Geography of British Elections 1885-1910* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 37-9.
- ⁵⁶ *The Graphic*, 10 July 1886, p. 1.
- ⁵⁷ Pelling, p. 43.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.48, and Leventhal, p. 212.
- ⁵⁹ *The Times*, 15 Nov. 1933, p. 9.
- ⁶⁰ London, British Library, Birdwood Collection, IOR: MSS EUR F 216/65 (B), Bhownaggee to Sir Birdwood, 9 Mar. 1894.
- ⁶¹ C. L. Parekh (ed.), *Essays, speeches, addresses and writings of the Honourable Dadabhai Naoroji* (Bombay: Caxton, 1887), p. 308.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 309.
- ⁶³ M. H. Saiyid, *Mohammad Ali Jinnah* (Lahore: Sh. M. Ashraf, 1970), p. 7.
- ⁶⁴ R. P. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji. The Grand Old Man of India* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1939), p. 87. The Hyndman visited was the founder of the (Socialist) Democratic Federation in 1881.
- ⁶⁵ See the *Suboda Patrika* in *The First Indian Member*, p. 103, and *The Holborn and Finsbury Guardian*, 2 July 1892, p. 6 for a published letter of support from Nightingale.
- ⁶⁶ *The First Indian Member*, p. 97.
- ⁶⁷ H. C. G. Matthew, *The Gladstone Diaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), ix. 413, and xiii. 276.
- ⁶⁸ *The Daily Graphic*, 9 Aug. 1892, p. 9.
- ⁶⁹ Schneer, pp. 243-4.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.
- ⁷¹ *The Holborn and Finsbury Guardian*, 2 July 1892, p. 6.
- ⁷² Parekh, p. 317.
- ⁷³ *The Sunday Times*, 4 Aug. 1895, p. 4.
- ⁷⁴ Cited in *The Indian Political Estimate of Mr. Bhavnagri, M.P. / The Bhavnagri Boom Exposed* (Bombay: n.p., 1897), p. 80.
- ⁷⁵ *The Sunday Times*, 4 Aug. 1895, p. 4.

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- ⁷⁶ *The Weekly News and Chronicle*, 25 May 1895, p. 2
- ⁷⁷ *The Daily Graphic*, 3 Oct. 1900, p. 4.
- ⁷⁸ J. Lawrence, 'The dynamics of urban politics, 1867-1914' in J. Lawrence and M. Taylor (eds.), *Party, State and Society* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997) pp. 79-105 at p. 90.
- ⁷⁹ *Parliamentary Debates, Series Four (Hansard) XVII*, 20 Sept. 1893, col. 1773.
- ⁸⁰ *Hansard X*, 28 Mar. 1893, col. 1395.
- ⁸¹ *Hansard XXX*, 12 Feb. 1895, cols. 600-1.
- ⁸² *Hansard XXXVI*, 3 Sept. 1895, col. 1639.
- ⁸³ *Hansard XLV*, 29 Jan. 1897, col. 531.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 533.
- ⁸⁵ Schneer, p. 193; Hinnells, p. 170.
- ⁸⁶ *Hansard XLIV*, 13 Aug. 1896, col. 779.
- ⁸⁷ M. Cumpston, 'Some early Indian Nationalists and their allies in the British Parliament, 1851-1906', *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), pp. 279-97 at p. 296.
- ⁸⁸ Monk, p. 189.
- ⁸⁹ *The Mercury*, 18 May 1895, p. 6.
- ⁹⁰ *Madras Standard*, 25 Oct. 1896 and *The Champion*, 20 Sept. 1896 in *The Indian Political Estimate of Mr. Bhavnagri*, p. 52 and p. 5.
- ⁹¹ Kulke, p. 227.
- ⁹² See *Hansard* LII, LXV, LXXVI, LXXXVII, C (indexes).
- ⁹³ From correspondence with J. McLeod, Jan. 2003.
- ⁹⁴ Monk, p. 252.
- ⁹⁵ *Punch*, 17 Aug. 1895, p. 77 (see opening epigraph). Latin translated reads 'Bhownagree or Naoroji should make no difference to me'. This is a play on the verse from Virgil, 'Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur'.
- ⁹⁶ *Hindu Prakash*, 26 Oct. 1896, cited in *The Indian political estimate of Mr. Bhavnagri*, p. 66.
- ⁹⁷ Cited in Hinnells, p. 188.
- ⁹⁸ *Biographical Magazine*, The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, p. 6.
- ⁹⁹ D. Reilly, 'Naoroji, the first Asian MP', *Race and Class*, 40 (1999), pp. 96-8 at p. 96.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- ¹⁰¹ *The Sunday Times*, 4 Aug. 1895, p. 4.
- ¹⁰² Saiyid, p. 7.