

DISCONTENT AND DANGER IN INDIA

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BY

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'The temper of the people, amongst whom he presides, ought to be the first study of a statesman.'—BURKE.

'οι μὲν γὰρ νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι δεξιὴν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖσαι ἔργα
ὃ ἂν γινώσκωσι, οἱ δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγινώσκωσι μηδὲν
καὶ ἔργα οὐδὲ τὰναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι.'—THUCYDIDES.

'As a rule, a stationary state is by far the most frequent condition of man, as far as history describes that condition; the progressive state is only a rare and an occasional exception.'

BAGEHOT.

'Alle Verhältnisse zwischen den Einzeln haben nur Werth, sofern sie Verhältnisse zwischen bewussten Wesen sind, und eben deswegen nicht blos *zwischen* ihnen im Leeren, sondern auch *in* ihnen bestehen, in dem lebendigen Gemüth ihrem Werthe nach gefühlt und genossen werden.'—LOTZE.

PREFACE.

IN ORDER to show that I have not ventured without due preparation to envisage the complex problems presented by our Indian Empire, I must mention a few personal details. I was in Northern India from March 1879-80, and having during that time complete leisure, and being for some months at one of the centres of Administration, I took the opportunity of gaining as much insight as possible into the mysteries of our Indian bureaucracy. I devoured and in part digested the *pabulum* provided so lavishly by the Governmental presses in the shape of Gazettes, Famine, Settlement, Administration, and Deccan Riots Reports, &c.; but the opinions of experienced Anglo-Indians with whom I came in contact, and whom I mercilessly button-holed, were a more invaluable source of information. In spite of special obligations I intend to mention no names, as a Government conducted on strictly con-

fidential principles does not like *its* servants (they are of course in India not the public's servants) to talk freely about its private affairs. Perhaps I am generalising too hastily from the sacrosanct secrecy of the late *régime*, when, as we now know, nine crores of rupees, taking advantage of official reticence and financial superabundance, calmly walked away; but I think it best to take the safe side.

I may add that being out in camp during the cold weather, in an ordinary rural district, I had the—for an outsider—unusual opportunity of seeing how the administrative machinery works and affects the native's daily life.

As some set-off against my gloomy tone, I feel bound to express my deep admiration for the hard-worked district officers, whether civil or military, who are the true pillars of the British Empire. Separated for months, if not for years, from wives and children, deprived of any congenial society for the greater part of the cold weather, struggling against *ennui* during the hot weather (they do not, like some great officials, receive travelling allowances to go to the hills, after being paid high salaries to stay in the plains), plagued in the performance of their proper duties by needless paper work, these men have in mind and body to bear the

burden and heat of the day. They may not receive any mark of approval, they may lie in 'unvisited tombs'; but if there is any virtue, if there is any strength, in our Indian Empire, it is *their* self-sacrificing zeal, *their* courageous and independent spirit, that has called it into being. 'Verily they have their reward'—not, it may be, in the plaudits of their countrymen, but in the deep gratitude of an alien people, whose childlike emotions they have touched by their fatherly care. To those among them whom I am proud to call my friends, I dedicate this book, in the hope that their protests may reach a wider and more powerful audience, and that they may not be invalidated by any shortcomings on my part. If I succeed in enlightening those who already take a real interest in the welfare of India, and in adding to their number, I shall not consider my labour misspent.

LONDON: July 1880.

