

met perhaps by an appeal to the net results of Indian administration. But he brings certain peculiarities, and the circumstances which produce them, distinctly under our view.¹

We have renounced for the present purpose

¹ "Society everywhere in India labors under very great disadvantages, and varies very much according to the character of its ever-changing leaders. Sir Emerson Tennent has observed that it is, 'unhappily, the tendency of small sections of society to decompose when separated from the great vital mass, as pools stagnate and putrefy when cut off from the invigorating flow of the sea;' and he adds that the process is variable, so that a colonial society which is repulsive to-day may be attractive to-morrow, or a contrary change may take place with one or two departures or new arrivals. The same holds good in India; and though Indian society can boast of some superiority to colonial (a superiority which is amusingly asserted on board mail-steamers), it has very great defects of its own, and in certain circumstances degenerates into the intolerable. One tendency of life in India is to create an immense amount of conceit, and to make men assume airs of superiority, not because of any superiority of mind or character, or on account of great services rendered to the state, but simply because long residence in the country, or in some particular district of it, has given them high appointments, or the advantage as regards local knowledge. Then, though military society has many good points, 'discipline must be observed,' and it was in perfect good faith, and expressing his own opinion as well as that which he believed to be generally entertained, that an old Indian remarked to me, 'We don't think much of any one's opinions here until he is a lieutenant-colonel at least.' Of course, in all countries opinions are often measured by the position of the spokesman, but in Europe that is not so much the case as in India, and in our happier climes it is easy to shun the society of snobs, whether social or intellectual, without becoming a social pariah. This social tendency is not corrected, but developed rather than otherwise, by a close bureaucracy, such as the Indian Civil Service—and there is no other element in the community sufficiently strong to correct it—while it is almost justified by the extraordinary effect India has in rapidly producing intense conceit and insufferable presumption among Europeans of a low order of mind and character, whatever classes of the community they may belong to. Nothing struck me more in that country than the contrast between its elevating and even ennobling effects on those Europeans whose minds were above a certain level, and its exactly contrary effects on almost all those who were below that level. What, then, Indian society has specially to struggle against are two apparently opposite tendencies, a slavish respect for mere position, and for exceptional power and knowledge in particular directions; and, on the other hand, excessive individual conceit and presumption. But these evil tendencies (which, curiously enough, belong also to the Indian native character) are not opposed in any such way as to counteract each other. On the contrary, they are apt to foster and inflame each other, because the old Indian justly sees that he has opposed to him an immense deal of ignorant presumption, which ought to be severely repressed, while the democrat and the griffin instinctively feel that they are oppressed by an amount of tyrannical old-fogysm which would not be allowed to exist in any other country."—"Abode of Snow," by Andrew Wilson, p. 56.)

the consideration of morality, but we must be allowed to consider the influence of empire on the political character of the imperial country. Our free institutions with the character on which they rest, and the corruption of which they would not survive, are supposed, apart from sentiment, to be objects of paramount importance. The addition of an unconstitutional title to the constitutional titles of the British sovereign seems aptly to symbolize a tendency already perceptible, and which that measure was perhaps partly intended to assist. Dependencies, even under the mildest system, must be governed on principles wholly different from those of a constitutional polity, and, though superior minds may be able to keep the distinction between the two spheres always before them, and to don the despot without doffing the citizen, in ordinary minds the lines of separate allegiance will become more or less blurred and the indefeasible sanctity of freedom will be lost. The effect will be intensified by every rebellion which breaks out in a dependency, and, after exciting the passions of the imperial nation, is quenched in servile blood. It was for this reason that many people who were by no means admirers of the East India Company deprecated its abolition, and the political identification of India with England which necessarily ensued. The company being under the control of the British Government, the responsibility under the old system was the same, but the danger of political contagion was not so great.

Anglo-Indians, as a body, return rich; they must therefore have some political influence, and it would be interesting to know what their political tendencies are, and what sort of citizens India sends back to England. In former days, before the dependencies were controlled, both East Indian nabobs and West Indian planters avenged the oppressed native upon the dominant race by playing a leading part in the corruption of the English Parliament. It was on the East India Bill and with the support of the nabobs that George III. gained the victory over the constitution which established his ascendancy, and enabled him to bring a train of calamities on the country.

But the reflex influence may go deeper still and affect not only those sentiments which lie at the root of political liberty, but those which lie at the root of all civilization. A conqueror necessarily persuades himself that his yoke is righteous, that submission to it is loyalty, that insurrection against it is the worst of treasons. He forgets that, as Pym said when Strafford pleaded that