

and the boat was carried astern by the current ; a second attempt also failed, and then the vessel broke up or sank, and Lieutenant Chapman and twenty-seven men with him were drowned. The loss of this distinguished young engineer officer, the pioneer of the future railway, was felt as a calamity by the whole province.

Eight months afterwards a public meeting was held in Kurrachee to urge upon the Government the importance of beginning the railway, and a year later a meeting with the same object was held at Hyderabad. There was vexatious official delay. In October, 1854, Lord Dalhousie writes privately to Frere—

“I have seen with great pleasure the many efforts towards progress and improvement which you have been making in Scinde. I should be better pleased if official questions took something less than a year or two before they reached this Government. It is a long road from Kurrachee to Calcutta *via* Bombay, and certainly the travelling is very slow upon it for official correspondence.”

In July, 1856, for want of a harbour pilot, and by the blunder of the officer in charge of the port—Frere being away at the time—three ships laden with railway-plant were successively interdicted from entering the harbour, which they could quite easily have done, and were sent to Bombay to be lightened. And again and again, owing to the railway officials in charge of the works being directed to take their orders from a department at Bombay instead of from the Commissioner in Sind, came confusion, disputes, and delay. Frere wrote a strong remonstrance to Bombay, not only as to the particular matter of the railway, but as to the vicious system—as he considered it to be—which was growing up, of making executive officers responsible to a head of a department at a distant centre, instead of to the local representative of the Government in the province itself.

“ January 15, 1858.

“ The question on which I have the misfortune to differ in opinion from Government lies within a very narrow compass, but it is one of immense importance in every department of the administration. It is simply whether the Government shall be centralized by giving exclusive power and responsibility to *individual officers* within given areas, or whether the centralization shall be by *departments*, all independent of each other, and owning no common authority inferior to the Government.

“ The former is the old system of Oriental and of all other vigorous despotisms ; the latter is a system generally incompatible with really vigorous government of any kind, and an almost constant source of complaint even in the free representative governments where it originated. The former built up our Indian Empire, while we maintain a really efficient chain of individual authority and responsibility from the Governor in Council down to the village Patel ; the latter paralyzes all such individual authority and responsibility by departmental wires pulled from the governing centre. It is a very recent introduction into India that already threatens speedily to destroy the whole fabric of our power. Both systems aim at centralization, but the one attains real and efficient centralization as long as there is force at the centre, the other becomes deranged by the slightest trial or shock ; and unless in seasons of difficulty some man is bold enough to break all rules, and assume at his own peril the individual local authority (which the other system spontaneously gives), the results are invariably disastrous.”

The principle which Frere here lays down, that as a captain must be master on board his own ship, so a ruler of a province must have authority over and be responsible for all departments within his jurisdiction, is one which he will henceforth be found constantly battling for as essential to all good administration. He contended for it with equal zeal on his own behalf when in charge of a province, and on behalf of others when he himself was on the Council of the Governor-General at Calcutta, Governor of Bombay and on the Indian Council in London. To his own

subordinates he extended the fullest powers and gave the amplest discretion ; he claimed like treatment for himself. Neither the work which he did nor the methods which he pursued can be understood and appreciated unless it is constantly borne in mind how his whole system of administration was pervaded by this principle of conferring on each officer a large discretion and ample freedom of action within an assigned area, thereby forging a chain of personal and individual responsibility ascending from the lowest to the highest.

The work of the Kurrachee and Kotree Railway was not actually begun till May 3, 1858, four years and a half after the correspondence about it with Lord Dalhousie. Even then troubles were not yet over. Frere writes to Colonel Trevelyan—

“ July 13, 1859.

“ For some weeks I was very ill, confined to my room by bronchitis. . . . It was as much as I could do to keep things just going and to keep down arrears.

“ Then came a railway crash. The contractor had for months been doing very badly—evidently short of capital and deficient in system and management. We bolstered him up as long as we could, and I got into some little difficulty by lending him a lac of rupees on account of Government, though ultimately Lord Stanley approved of it. However, it was clear he could not get on much longer, and one morning he sent us a telegram from Bombay to say he was off to England, leaving, as we found, thirty rupees here with his agent to pay wages to some eight thousand starving workmen, to whom he owed 125,000 rupees, for wages for two and three months unpaid. To find out what was done and to pay it, to keep the work going and the poor people quiet, and to take charge of the whole line, were all very troublesome duties ; but the Railway Company has some excellent men here, and all, thank God, has been successfully accomplished, and the works are going on with renewed vigour.”

The railway was at last opened in 1861, after Frere had left Sind.

In June, 1855, an offer by the Steam Navigation Company to establish a fortnightly packet service to carry the mails between Bombay and Kurrachee was, by the advice of the Postmaster-General, rejected by the Bombay Government. Frere writes to remonstrate :—

“ I fear the decision will prove a very serious discouragement to the development of the commercial resources of this port. For more than eight years after we obtained the sovereignty of this province, it was taken for granted that the harbour of Kurrachee was inaccessible in the monsoon. . . . After much argument and correspondence, a trial was made, in 1853, by the H.C.S. *Queen*, and it was found that the only real difficulty was for the first hundred and fifty miles off Bombay harbour, and that, as regarded the coast of Sind and the harbour of Kurrachee, there was no serious difficulty or danger of any kind to steamers passing to and fro throughout the monsoon. . . . The Bombay Steam Navigation Company, having got out a steamer capable of performing the service, offered to run her twice a month for five thousand rupees per trip, which, considering the object in view, cannot, I respectfully submit, be deemed unreasonable for a first trial. . . . The object is not simply to convey detachments of troops, or the post, though it is a great convenience and boon to all concerned to get the bulk of overland mails dry, legible, complete, and in good order, a day or two after it is known by the electric telegraph that the mail is in, instead of having to wait for many days, and then get the mail, *vid* Surat and Bhooj, by dribblets, and sometimes soaked with water, and mashed to an illegible pulp. . . . But the principal benefits to the public from a steamer running during the monsoon are, first, the opportunity of getting to and from Sind, the land-route to which is practically closed to travellers from June to October inclusive. This is often a matter of life and death to invalids, and of great importance to others. Secondly, the conveyance of overland parcels, books periodicals, and light goods of all sorts. This is speedily becoming an extensive branch of trade between Bombay

and Suez; but it is one in which Sind and the Punjab have little or no share by this route during one-third of the year. The Punjab is in consequence generally supplied *vid* Calcutta."

Another point which he pressed upon the authorities at Bombay was, that during the monsoon the mail steamers from Aden to Bombay should go by way of Kurrachee. The distance from Aden to Kurrachee is two hundred miles less than from Aden to Bombay. From Kurrachee to Bombay is four hundred miles. Thus the Kurrachee route is two hundred miles longer than the direct route from Aden to Bombay. But during the four months of the monsoon, steamers cannot go by the direct route to Bombay, and have to make a detour of about five hundred miles to the south; so that during these four months the way by Kurrachee is actually the shortest as well as the easiest passage, besides affording Kurrachee the advantage of direct communication with Aden. In a letter to Lord Elphinstone, the newly arrived Governor of Bombay, dated March 28, 1854, he says—

"I think it right to bring to your lordship's special notice a trip made by the *Dwarka*, a private steamer with pilgrims from Muscat to Aden, in August last.

"The *Dwarka* is a small iron boat of two hundred and eighty-one tons, and sixty horse power. . . . She left Muscat on the 17th of August, 1853, and anchored at Aden on the 31st. She steamed three, four, and five knots, one day doing little more than two and a half, and only two days reaching six. Her course was pretty close in shore. . . .

"Thus it will be seen that this small and underpowered vessel, which certainly could not without great risk have shown herself outside Bombay harbour during the monsoon, made the voyage from Muscat to Aden without accident or difficulty, at nearly the same time when one of the largest and most powerful vessels, commanded by one of the best officers in the Indian navy, had the utmost

difficulty in forcing her way to Aden by the southern passage.

“I have been assured on good authority that this is no exceptional or accidental circumstance ; but that the south-west monsoon does not blow home with any violence on the Arabian coast, while there are several headlands and islands under the lee of which safe shelter may be found, should the usual steady and strong monsoon breeze freshen, or any accident happen to the vessel or machinery rendering it desirable to anchor.

“This subject appears to be one of great importance to the maintenance of a regular communication between Bombay and Aden during the monsoon. . . . It is also of very great moment to the communication with the north-west frontier and the Punjab, as it would tend to show that great facilities existed for keeping up a communication with Aden *viâ* Kurrachee.”

The supreme necessity for making roads in India, where they do not already exist, is scarcely to be realized by an Englishman who has not been there. In Western Europe, not only in these latter centuries, but in all historic times since the days of the Romans, it has been always more or less practicable not only to travel, but to convey goods of all kinds on an animal of some sort, if not on wheels or in a boat, from any given place to any other given place. The old Roman roads, made once for always, and the many rivers with moderate currents lending themselves kindly to navigation, have formed the arteries of communication ; and the byways and tracks, not being exposed either to a rainless climate or to long-continued inundation, could be kept open with comparatively little trouble. Thus throughout the Middle Ages not only was trade carried on, but great buildings were constructed of stone brought many miles across country or over the sea. In India there are comparatively few dependable arteries of communication, and from various causes there were often no roads whatever from village to village. A cultivator

might have a considerable distance to go from his house to his land, and have no means of carrying manure to it, or bringing produce from it, except on his own back. Not only was he unable to get his produce to a market, but the extremity of famine might prevail for want of means of communication, by which supplies could be brought a comparatively short distance. Frere writes of Sind :—

“At the commencement of 1851 there was not a foot of made road in the whole province, with the exception of the road to the entrenched camp from Hyderabad, about three or four miles ; and this, being unmetalled and unwatered, was only kept in tolerable order by excluding from it all vehicles except gentlemen’s carriages.”

A steam flotilla then plied from Lahore and other places in the Punjab as far down as Hyderabad—three-quarters of the length of the province, and within a hundred miles of Kurrachee. Below Hyderabad the river spreads over the Delta in many streams, and their course and depth vary so much that navigation becomes intricate and dangerous. But in no part of its course through Sind is the Indus always to be depended upon as a means of transit. The “stream is continually shifting within definite but very wide limits, so that a village is one year five miles from the river, and the rest in danger of being carried away.”

Heavy boats have great difficulty in getting up against the stream ; and three months is stated to be no unusual period for a laden boat to take to reach Sukkur, a distance in a straight line of less than two hundred and fifty miles. In the hot weather the river is so swollen, and the current runs with such tremendous force, that a boat which is deeply laden or short handed cannot safely be trusted to it. The Indus, therefore, does not make roads less indispensable.

Nor does the use of camels. For—

“no one who has not witnessed it can imagine the utter helplessness of a laden camel, if required to ascend a muddy bank, only two or three feet in height; and, as such banks may occur, in the inundation season, half a dozen times between any two villages, and any slip is likely to cause the loss of the animal by injury to the hind-quarters, camels in that season are seldom seen in the cultivated country, and any one who has occasion to use a camel commonly lightens the animal's load in crossing a wet bank, and, if he can, covers any sloping muddy surface with dry earth or twigs. Of course the trouble of this operation is sufficient to put a practical stop to camel-traffic in such localities on ordinary occasions during the season in question. . . . It is hardly necessary to add that canals [in the absence of bridges over them] at all times preclude cart-traffic, which is unknown where canals are numerous or deep. That there is no other obstacle is proved by the universal use of a wretched cart during the dry months in all thickly peopled districts, where the general level of the country is so low that few canals are required, and those very shallow.”

Accordingly, in the earlier years of Frere's official correspondence from Sind, are to be found many applications by him for grants for making roads, accompanied by details and estimates. Writing to Lord Falkland in April, 1853, he mentions that 126 miles of road were made in the year 1851, at a cost of 18,525 rupees; and 207 miles in 1852, at a cost of 28,298 rupees. One of these roads was made over the Lukkee range of hills near Sehwan, which had hitherto formed an impassable barrier on the right bank of the river between Upper and Lower Sind, so that to avoid it the river had to be crossed and recrossed. By the construction of a carriage-road over this range, forty miles in distance was saved, the Indus had no longer to be crossed at all—an additional saving equivalent to a journey of fifty miles—and the only serious natural obstacle, not only between Shikarpur and

Kurrachee, but on the direct road from Central Asia over the Bolan to Kurrachee, was removed.\*

With reference to the roads in Upper Sind, he writes to Lord Falkland:—

“April 28, 1853.

“The roads are forty feet in width, and all of those constructed within the last two years generally run in perfectly straight lines from village to village.

“None are metalled; they are merely levelled and cleared of the trees and bushes, which in many parts form an almost impenetrable jungle. A trench at the side prevents carts and cattle getting off the road, and furnishes soil for filling up small irregularities. With the exception of a few localities where great traffic renders a harder surface desirable, such roads are as good and durable as the present traffic requires.

“The bridges, of which there were a hundred and fifty-nine in all, are built of burnt brick, with mud cement and semicircular arches. The largest I saw was a three-arch bridge, the centre arch of twenty-four feet and two side arches of eight feet each, and cost about twelve hundred rupees.

“All these roads and bridges have been made by such artificers and workmen as could be found in Upper Sind, without aid from any European, except Major Jacob, or any native trained in an European office. . . .

“The country is a dead level; in parts the view is much impeded by heavy jungle and sand-hills, and no really correct survey of it exists.

“In order to get the right line, the contractor on a calm day had a large fire lit at the spot to be reached, and keeping his eye fixed on the column of smoke, made his way through the densest jungle, marking trees as he went; he thus got a straight path marked and then cleared, which he afterwards widened to the necessary extent, and lined out with poles and cords, and the result is a road almost as direct as could be laid out by the best surveyor.

“The bridges were drawn on paper, in a manner intelligible to the workmen, and the dimensions were given.

\* Major Jacob to Frere, July 8, 1852. “Records of Scinde Irregular Horse,” vol. ii. p. 66.

The contractors had never seen large bridges with semi-circular arches, and at first doubted whether such arches would stand; and even now that they have built several of large span, in excellent style, they are only beginning to feel sure of the stability of that kind of arch as compared with their own pointed arches. No particular pains were found necessary to teach the workmen, except showing them how, with a line to the centre, to lay the bricks of the arch true, a matter to which they attend but little in building their own pointed arches.

"All the work, both of bridges and roads, is done by contract, and the estimates are framed by putting up the work to competition. Major Jacob sends round a notice and assembles persons willing to contract. He then thoroughly explains the work required, showing when necessary a written description or drawing of the work; when satisfied it is understood, he invites offers. The lowest offer from a good workman gives the estimate; and when such estimate has been sanctioned by Government, the contractor is there ready to take it up.

"No failure has yet occurred, though some of the works are very heavy. The work has, as far as I have seen, been well, cheaply, and quickly done. Some of the largest and best contractors cannot read or write. I, of course, do not mention this as a recommendation, but to show the disadvantages under which the work was undertaken, and also to show how a trustworthy and competent officer, who has been allowed a given sum to do a given work, can, in spite of many drawbacks, make shift to get that work well done, if permitted to use, as he best can, the appliances he finds at hand, when he would be unable to do anything if obliged to send in voluminous returns, and furnish all the usual paper checks on such expenditure."

By degrees a network of bridged roads over the province was completed.

"By simply bridging the canals and raising the road in low lands," Frere writes,\* "carts and fully laden camels can be used all the year round. The extent of internal communication, which may be secured at very small cost, is enormous. For example, in the frontier

\* Minute of August 14, 1861.

districts, General Jacob cleared and laid out 2589 miles of road between 1847 and 1859-60, and during the last seven years of that period 1872 miles were raised where necessary, and furnished with 786 masonry bridges, 88 of which, across navigable canals, were passable by boats of the largest size."

The facility and rapidity of postal communication in Sind was greatly improved by the substitution, recommended by him in an official letter in June, 1851, of a Horse and Camel Dawk for foot-runners between Hyderabad and Sukkur. The result was a saving of eleven hours in time, and a gain of seven pounds in the weight of the mail carried in the distance of two hundred miles.

One of the causes of its success lay in the system of "speed-money," introduced by Mr. Coffey, the postmaster in charge of the arrangements. Every hour that a mail was late was put down against the contractor; every hour gained was put down to his credit. At the end of the month the balance was struck, and he was fined, or paid "speed-money," as the balance might stand—so much to his credit or his debit.

"Instead of timing themselves so as just to escape fine, the sowars press on as fast as they can; the relieving horse is always ready saddled, and the sowar ready at the post-house long before the shout of the incoming rider is heard, and directly he pulls up, the bags are thrown on to the fresh horse, the rider mounts, and is off without a moment's unnecessary delay. This, which I have watched scores of times, is very different from the usual mode of procedure, where the contractor is paid well for a good average rate of speed, and has little or no inducement to exceed it. . . Hence they are always devising plans to save time; and when it is physically impossible for horses to travel, I have known part of the distance done by camel, part by foot-runners, and part by boat, to the extent of thirty miles in one line, and the whole time far from bad." \*

\* Frere to Riddell, May 7, 1855.

Another improvement in postal arrangements, which Frere introduced into Sind in 1854, was the use of postage stamps. It was not till 1856 that they came into use throughout India, and that the Sind postage stamp was superseded by the Indian.

He writes—

“The stamp of which your note of yesterday enclosed a facsimile, was the first postage stamp used in India, and this is its history. The postage arrangements in Sind were, as you may recollect, in 1850, very imperfect; the province was poor, and did not pay its local expenses; and when we asked for more and better post-offices, we were reminded of our poverty, and told that when the Government of India could afford money to spend in Sind, there were many things to be provided before post-offices could be thought of.

“So, as we believed that post-offices were not luxuries, we considered how we could make the most of such means as we had, and our postmaster, Mr. Coffey, being a man of resource, we hit upon this expedient.

“We got the stamps, of which you sent me a facsimile, manufactured by De la Rue and Co., and they were issued to stamp-vendors and Government officials much as they are in England, and every police officer and native district collector of land revenues, customs, etc., was ordered to receive, and forward with his own official papers to his immediate official superior, all letters bearing one of these mysterious stamps of the British Government, or rather of the Great Company. (The stamp, you will observe, is the old E.I.C.’s modification of the broad arrow, which the E.I.C. used, I believe, from the time of Charles II. till the Company itself was abolished. Only the copyist has omitted the E.I., which perhaps in the stamp he copied from had been obliterated.)

“Thus every Government office in Sind became a district post-office for stamped letters, and the first official who had a real post-office at hand sent to it all the stamped letters which he and his subordinates had collected.

“The system worked very well, and of course very cheaply, for we got a complete network of post-offices and postal lines all over the country without expense.

that the invitation would do the work of a couple of gun-boats."

The invitation was sent, and Seyid Burghash came to England in June, 1875, and was very well received. He was invited to visit the Queen at Windsor, and was proud of being asked to write in her album; and he went to see the Prince and Princess of Wales and their children at Marlborough House, which delighted him beyond measure. On the way to Windsor, in the train, some one remarked, "that His Highness would doubtless one day have railways in his own country." He, using an Arab proverb, answered, "Ah! we shall always be like the younger brother who said, 'In a few years I shall be as old as my elder brother.'" He more than once asked, when he saw any great proof of English power, "Why didn't you knock me on the head when I first refused to sign the treaty?"\*

Letters of warm congratulations from Frere's friends greeted him on his return home.

Sir George Clerk writes—

"Now, if you are at all the worse in health, take care to restore it. . . . And I lay stress on this because, though I have no idea that Northbrook will curtail his fixed time, I am sure he will not delay a day beyond it. . . . When that time comes, I am sure it will be best for the people of India, and for British interest in that country, that the reins should be handed over to you; and it could do you no harm—at least three years of it—provided you keep in store physical strength *quant. suff.*;—without that, as you and I know, though all Makedummehs may be A B C, one is apt to break down under the accumulation of them."

And again Sir G. Clerk writes—

"June 26, 1873.

"This morning I was looking through the Blue-book of your mission. I don't see that you attach importance to

\* Sir B. Frere to General Ponsonby, June 24, 1873.

Delagoa and Aden hereafter as watch-towers. I do. I consider that your labours and researches on the East and South Coast of Africa have done incomparably more towards real and entire annihilation of the slave-trade in the course of two or three years than would have resulted from any slap-dash seeming success displayed in a hasty assent by a Burghash—or even his ‘breesh-i-ma’—caused by the flourish of trumpets with which Lord Granville, for Cabinet tactics, sent you forth. Now, if you have not yet dropped all correspondence with the Foreign Office, contrive to leave on their records your conviction that neither Downing Street, through Kirk, nor Simla, through a Bombay Government, can efficiently work, as England ought to work, on the solid, extended foundation you have so well laid ; that it is not to be accomplished by working in those long traces ; and that there must be created some substantial appointment, having head-quarters at Aden, and held by an active man of useful experience suitable for completing the good work : to have large discretion to that end, to communicate on the subject direct with the Foreign Office and the Governor-General, to have a sloop of war at all times under his orders, and to exercise full authority over all our agents, consuls, and establishments, from Bushire to Mussowah, and from Cape Guardafui to Delagoa.

“Bear in mind that you must not expect that this Government cares, or that the next will care ‘tuppence’ for slavery out there—except for party purposes. The more need therefore that local functions should be in operation that no ministry here could restrain or treat with supineness, without affording Opposition a chance of tripping them up.”

Sir George Clerk’s last remark was only too true. The public interest in the suppression of the slave-trade roused by Livingstone’s revelations had subsided, and with it the interest of the Government. So little did Mr. Gladstone concern himself about it, that meeting Frere and entering into conversation with him shortly after his return, he never so much as alluded to the subject.

The Zanzibar Mission and the treaty with the Sultan

“But where such meeting is arranged for the benefit of two classes, it will be of no service if one only attends, and unless the Bombay merchants will come with their hardware, piece-goods, and woollens, it will be of little use for the Affghan, Sindee, and Belooch traders to congregate with their wools, furs, dyes, drugs, and raw produce. . . .

“The Bombay merchant may ask, ‘Why should I go to meet the Affghan, when the Affghan trader now comes to me?’

“I believe that if an active Bombay merchant could meet the Affghan trader on the Coast of Sind, buy the Affghan’s wool with the piece-goods he had himself brought up, and carry the wool back to Bombay, he would find that after paying himself fairly for extra risk, trouble, and expense, he had got his wool cheaper than if he had bought it from the Affghan at the lowest price the latter would accept in Bombay, because the additional journey he takes himself and which he saves to the Affghan is a matter of comparatively less risk, trouble, and expense to him than it is to the Affghan, and, therefore, what is bare compensation for it to the Affghan is comparative compensation and extra profit to him. . . .

“With regard to the steps I would propose to take, they would be all intended simply to clear away obstacles, and none to force trade. Publicity as to time and place of meeting, order, and good police regulation for cafilas after they arrive, facilities for traders to meet and see each others’ goods, and whatever else may tend to save time and trouble. . . .

“The case of any Fair in Upper Sind is somewhat different, and I see no reason whatever why one should not exist there almost contemporaneously with one at Kurrachee.

“The classes of traders who will meet at the two places will be in some respects different.

“At Kurrachee there will be on the one side Affghans, Sindees, and Punjabee traders; on the other, Bombay and other Western Indian merchants.

“In Upper Sind there will be on the one side the merchants of Khelat, Kandahar, the Punjab and Bawulpoor; on the other those of Rajpootana and Sind.”

The scheme attracted the attention of the Board of

Directors in London. One of them, Sir Henry Willock, who had been British Minister in Persia, and had acquired a knowledge of Central Asian affairs, which gave weight to his words, wrote a detailed letter to Frere, expressing warm approval of the plan.

The first Fair was held at Kurrachee, in December, 1852. Year by year the difficulties in the way of trade with Affghanistan and Central Asia were lessened or removed. The danger of robbery in passing through Beloochistan became a thing of the past. Roads were made, and resting-places for travellers. The heavy duties levied by the Khan of Kelat, the sovereign of Beloochistan, on all goods passing through his territory were modified, or during the fair-time suspended altogether, a subsidy being given him as compensation on that and other accounts. The levying of blackmail upon merchants by the wild tribes under his nominal sovereignty was stopped. As each December came round, crowds of merchants from far and near, in all the picturesque variety of Oriental costume, were to be seen encamped in gipsy tents, or sheltered by buildings erected for the purpose. There were Sindees in loose white drapery, with coloured sash, and yellow-and-red cap, shaped like an English hat, turned upside down, with the brim at the top. There were stately, unkempt Beloochees, their long tangled hair mingling with their beards, offering camels or ponies for sale; and tall, handsome, fair-haired Affghans, bringing horses, and fruits which grow in a temperate climate, apples, and apricots, and grapes; and there were Persians with cloths, and rich carpets, and dates, and with Russian chintzes, superior in colour, though not in texture, to the English chintzes—so that in Sind, to wear Russian chintz meant to be a well-dressed man. Even from Thibet and distant China traders came with the products of their country to this Fair on the

flat sandy plain by the sea—the sea which most of them had never seen before—where, in the background, rose the newly-built European-looking houses of Kurrachee, and beyond the tall masts of the ships in the harbour, cutting the blue outline of the distant Hubbee hills.

The greater part of Sind is so nearly rainless that but for the waters of the Indus it would be a desert. The north-west monsoon penetrates no farther inland than Kurrachee, and even there the annual fall of rain does not exceed six or eight inches. Agriculture is entirely dependent either on the annual natural overflow of the Indus or on artificial irrigation from it by means of canals. The bed of the Indus is at a higher level generally than the surrounding country, so that little or no pumping is necessary, only an elaborate network of channels into which the water flows at the inundation, and by which it is conducted over the country down a slight but sufficient natural incline.

Under the Meers the canals were managed in a rough-and-ready way by the cultivators themselves, who had no scientific knowledge or skill, and none but the rudest instruments, and who, where water could not be retained to show the level, or where the distance was too great for a column of smoke to indicate the bearings of a spot below the horizon, trusted for levels and direction mainly to the instinct, which is often strong in particular individuals in thinly-inhabited countries. After the English conquest the state of the canals got worse instead of better, for the English officials, who were made responsible for them, had neither scientific nor practical knowledge or skill. To remedy this state of things, Sir C. Napier organized a separate Canal Department of Engineer Officers; but wars in the Punjab and elsewhere absorbed attention and delayed the necessary works and improvements, and in 1849 the Department

was abolished. Frere found the responsibility for the canals entrusted to the collectors and magistrates, who were not only without the necessary knowledge and experience, but were unable even to speak the language of the country. Hence the work was left to an army of native Sindian officials, with the natural result that money was wasted and the canals deteriorated.

Upon Frere's representation of the necessity of a new system, Colonel Blois Turner, R.E., was, at his instance, appointed Superintendent Engineer, and directed to assist him with his advice. Under Colonel Turner's able direction a new department was organized, and competent officials appointed; and as they could not always be obtained in the country itself, some were induced to come from distant parts of the Presidency, from the Punjab, and north-west provinces, and, in one instance, from America.

In an official letter to Lord Falkland, Frere writes \* :—

“ June 10, 1851.

“ When I was at Khanghur Major Jacob brought to my notice the immense benefit that would result to all the country north of Shikarpoor, if the Begaree Canal were deepened and widened so as to enable it to convey a greater body of water.

“ The surface of this tract of country gradually slopes from the Indus, so that the water which, at the spot where the canal branches off from the Indus, is many feet below the surface, after running forty or fifty miles comes close to, or on the surface.

“ Hence the further the canal recedes from the river the nearer is the water to the surface, and the greater are the facilities for raising it, till at length, near the borders of the desert, it may, during the height of the inundation, be allowed to flow over the fields, without the expense of any wheels or other contrivance for raising it.

“ The soil throughout is naturally good, but, like most soils in Sind, it becomes intensely salt if left untilled and

\* “ Records of Scinde Irregular Horse,” vol. ii. p. 2.

unirrigated, and almost all the wells in the country become either perfectly salt or more or less brackish.

“Tillage and irrigation will, in the course of a few seasons, almost entirely free the land from salt, with the exception of occasional incurable patches; and by assiduous use of the wells, and by turning into them the water from the canals, the most brackish wells become annually improved, till in the third or fourth year they remain sweet all the year through.

“These facts have been repeatedly proved in all kinds of situations, and under every variety of circumstance by Major Jacob, since the settlement of this frontier, and there cannot be a doubt that the whole of the district between Shikarpoor and the desert might become again, as it has been in more prosperous times, a sheet of cultivation. There are men now living who remember it so cultivated, and the marks of such former cultivation are everywhere now visible. . . .

“It is not only in directly increased revenue that the benefits of the improvement will be felt. An extended and improved supply of drinking water for man and beast, and better grazing of pasture will tell indirectly, but very decidedly, on the prosperity of the cultivators throughout the district.

“Still more decided will be the moral effect on the people of the country: it will give the means of subsistence to many thousands, and thereby, like every such measure strengthen our Government, more specially the reclaimed tribes of the Hill Beloochees, whose colonies are all, with few exceptions, on the canals fed by the Begaree, will find their means of profitable cultivation greatly increased.

“Those who are under Major Jacob’s immediate influence have already shown an excellent spirit in this respect. I have now before me, in a private letter from Major Jacob, an account of some late proceedings of Jummal Khan Doombkee, once a notorious plundering leader, but since Sir C. Napier’s Trukkee campaign, in which he was made prisoner, settled near Khanghur. He last year obtained a grant of land on the Sind frontier. Here he collected all the idle Beloochees from his own village and from Janadeyra, the Jekranee colony near Khanghur, and set them to work on the old canal, which they have dug out, besides making a dam about fifty yards long, and in the

centre thirty feet high, very strong and solid, secured with trunks of large trees, etc., to prevent the water of the canal flowing into a hollow. This has been done entirely by men who, ten years ago, would have rather starved than touched a spade or hoe, and yet, when visited by Major Jacob and his officers, they seemed as proud of their work as they would have formerly been of a successful foray, and even those officers who had encouraged them to the work, could hardly have believed that it was executed by Belooch robbers, putting into their works of peace, as they did formerly into their plundering expedition, a far greater amount of energy than the Sindee cultivators."

The plan was carried out, and the Bigarri Canal enlarged at a cost of about a hundred and thirty thousand rupees, the work being completed in April, 1854, when the water was admitted into it from the Indus and reached Jacobabad, fifty miles distant, in sixteen hours. In a memorandum of March 15, 1855, Major Jacob says that the new lands thus brought into cultivation amounted to 181,747 Beegahs; and that one-third of this cultivated annually (the other two-thirds being fallow), brought in a revenue of seventy-five thousand rupees in the *frontier district alone*, the increase on the south bank being probably about half as much. New grants were being continually applied for which would further increase the revenue.

New branches and additions were made to the Bigarri Canal at different times. In March, 1855, Frere forwards, with a strong recommendation that it be acceded to, a proposal of Major Jacob's to construct a canal from the Indus near Kusmore, in the frontier district north of Sind, and to carry it along the boundary-line between the British and Kelat territory through the very heart of the desert. Major Jacob estimated that by this work about fifteen hundred square miles of land, then absolutely bare and waste, but capable of highly productive culture, would

be brought under the plough. This scheme also was carried out.

Another great irrigation work was that of restoring, as a permanent stream, the Eastern Narra, an old river-bed about three hundred miles in length, and from two hundred to thirteen hundred feet wide, which runs from a few miles east of Roree in Upper Sind to the sea, in a direction nearly parallel with the Indus. Hitherto it had received its water at uncertain times of year by overflow or soakage from the Indus, and at other times was often nearly dry. A channel was now cut to connect it with the Indus near Roree, and water-gates constructed by which water could be introduced at will, and guided to where it was wanted by a series of dams at intervals in the course of the river; and thus a great extent of country was irrigated and brought into cultivation. The engineer, who with great skill and patience planned and carried out this great work, was Lieutenant (now General) Fife, R.E. The canal was formally opened in the presence of ten thousand people on May 7, 1859.\* General Fife writes, as to Frere's part and interest in this and other works, as follows:—

“The first occasion on which I met Sir Bartle Frere was at Sukkur, in the early part of 1852. I had just made a preliminary examination of the Eastern Narra River, in Sind, a subject in which he was deeply interested. I was struck with the extraordinary quickness with which he understood engineering details, and found my own interest in them intensified by his remarks and suggestions. From that time it was always a pleasure to converse with him on engineering questions. He understood them as well as any engineer with the advantage of having no professional or departmental bias.

“Towards the conclusion of 1852, the plans for the restoration of the Eastern Narra were completed and submitted to Government. Frere left no point unnoticed

\* Frere to Tyrwhitt, May 8, 1859.

which could possibly have influence in inducing the Government to sanction the project, and it was undoubtedly owing to his strong and persistent advocacy that this great work was ever carried out. For though the subject had been considered by his predecessors and never actually rejected, there can be no doubt, judging from what had already passed, and the manner in which similar questions connected with Sind had been treated, the Eastern Narra would never have got beyond the region of discussion. Through Frere's persevering advocacy it was carried out, and many canals, large and small, were constructed in the valley, which has been changed from a wilderness to an inhabitable and profitable tract of country, to the benefit of many thousands of poor people who previously earned a precarious livelihood by grazing cattle in spots where the occasional rain caused water to collect and fertilize the desert.

"I have so far only mentioned the Eastern Narra because it was the first important public work which I saw Mr. Frere take in hand. But his advocacy and success with other irrigation works was equally great. There was no sensible proposal which came before him which did not excite his keenest interest, and receive his warmest support. There was John Jacob's improvement of the Bigarri Canal. There was Captain Ford's Canal to increase the supply of water in the Gharr Canal, a work whose whole cost was covered by the first year's increase of revenue. There were the Fullailé new supply canals, the Sukkur Canal, Jacob's Desert Canal, Sir William Merewether's further enlargement of the Bigarri, and a large number of smaller works too numerous to mention, all of which Mr. Frere advocated with success. Indeed more than advocated. It was not merely the advocacy of the projects when he sent them up to Government. His encouragement to the executive officers had the effect of inducing every one to do his very utmost in the performance of his duties. . . .

"In all departments, Frere succeeded in enlisting not merely the ordinary obedience or co-operation of the executive officers, but their most enthusiastic efforts. It was impossible to converse with him on any subject without being struck with his broad and generous views, and his far-seeing and enlightened policy. There was true

charity in his every word and act, and his accessibility at all times and his hospitality brought him in constant contact with all classes both native and European, who could not but admire the man, and feel the better themselves from having witnessed one of the most beautiful traits in his character."

There was a difficulty on the threshold of good administration of the Government of the country in the fact that the vernacular Sindi was not a written language, and had actually no alphabet or character. Merchants and others who had occasion to use it in correspondence employed systems more resembling cypher or shorthand than an alphabetical character, of which almost every large town and caste had a different and peculiar form. Hence it was a difficult matter for any one to learn the language. Frere lost no time in procuring information as to the extent to which English officials were acquainted with it. Only two English officers, he found, when he first went to Sind,\* could understand and converse in Sindi; one or two more could understand it without being able to speak it. It was, therefore, impossible that it could as yet be employed as the official language of the Courts. The usual process in all official proceedings before Europeans was that the Sindi parties and witnesses spoke Sindi, a Moonshee interpreted between them and the European officer in Hindustani, and all was written down in bastard Persian. For although the great majority of the population was Mahomedan, but few of the native Mahomedans were to be found in our service; the native official class were almost entirely Hindoos of Punjabee origin, who were acquainted with Persian, and who were in favour of Persian as the official language.

\* Frere to Lord Falkland, May 30, 1851.

Obviously it was essential, for purposes of civil and criminal administration, that Sindi should be the official language, and should be understood and spoken by the officials, native and English. And it was no less necessary for the spread of education that there should be a recognized medium of reading and writing.

A grammar and dictionary had lately been compiled by Captain Stack on a system of his own, the characters being selected from those in common use. This was generally admitted to be the best system, and it was a great assistance to have a grammar and dictionary of any kind; but unfortunately they were incomplete, and Captain Stack was away in England, and not long after died without completing them. Rather than lose time in so pressing and important a matter, Frere suggested leaving the question of the character in abeyance for the present, thinking that it would probably settle itself by the adoption of the one which on experience proved to be the most convenient. He proposed that thenceforward promotion in the Civil Service of the country should be conditional on at least a colloquial knowledge of Sindi; and that there should be two grades of examination, one for a colloquial knowledge only, and the other—a more difficult one—for an interpreter's knowledge, including reading and writing, for passing which a premium of one hundred rupces should be given. He also recommended that Government should offer to bear the expense of printing any books that should be written in Sindi, in any character.

Mr. (afterwards Sir Barrow) Ellis took the matter in hand, and successfully completed Captain Stack's grammar and dictionary, inventing characters to express sounds for which there was no letter, and thus smoothed the way for the acquisition of the language. But it was found that the

Mahomedans, who constituted about three-quarters of the population, preferred to write it in the Arabic character. Text-books were therefore prepared in that character also and introduced into the country schools; the native officials soon learned to use it; and before long it was found practicable to issue a circular making Sindi the exclusive language of record for native proceedings in all judicial cases, civil as well as military. Writing in April, 1855, within four years of his first report on the subject, Frere was able to state that all the twenty-five European officers in the three Collectorates had a more or less perfect acquaintance with the language and always employed it in their courts.

Connected with the question of language was the establishment of schools, English and native, in which Frere took a keen interest; and this department also was committed to Mr. Barrow Ellis's able superintendence. A Government English school was opened at Kurrachee, in 1853, which was subsequently divided into two, the upper one acting as a feeder to the Bombay University. And native schools of various kinds were established throughout the province and subsidized.

The library and museum established at Kurrachee by Sir Charles Napier for encouraging scientific and antiquarian researches in Sind, which had fallen into abeyance, was revived, enlarged, and opened to the public without restriction towards the end of 1851. Means of recreation is a want more felt by Europeans in a tropical than it can be in a temperate climate. To take a walk for exercise and refreshment, which under ordinary circumstances is an Englishman's unfailing resource, is practically impossible in India. Nothing perhaps more distinctly marks the difference between India and home, than the abandonment of this habit, which a new-comer in vain

tries to keep up. Frere wrote to the Bombay Government for authority to purchase a suitable building.

At Kurrachee, as formerly at Sattara, he had found no building which could be called an English Church ; and at Kurrachee, as at Sattara, he did not rest till he had succeeded in getting one built. The architect was Captain John Hill, R.E. The first stone was laid in September, 1852, and the church was finished and consecrated in 1855. Frere took a personal interest in the design and in every detail of the building. Its tower, tall and square, like an Italian campanile, is the first object in Kurrachee visible to ships as they approach the land. The natives and the strangers from the inland and from Central Asia, when they looked at its solid walls, remarked that the people that built it "meant to stop."

In June, 1854, had come the parting, inevitable to young English families in India, when the children cannot longer resist the dangers of the climate, and Mrs. Frere found it necessary to take their two little daughters home to England. Another reason for her return was the failing health of her father, Sir G. Arthur, to whom she was devotedly attached. He died in September, and Lady Arthur in the following January. Frere went with his wife and children as far as Alexandria, and then, after an absence of a few weeks, returned to his work—with a sore heart—if one may read between the lines of these letters to his little girls, to whom he used to write every Sunday in turn.

" Manora [near Kurrachee], October 29, 1854.

" Sunday morning, and I must have a talk with one of my pets, and it is Katey's turn. What shall we talk about? Well, you are too far off for me to get an answer to-day, so you must tell me what you want to hear when next you write, and in the mean time I will tell you what I have been doing this morning. I was sleeping in the room

where mamma and I used to sleep, and having no little girls to awake me, I told Peewo the peon to call me, and he came and said, 'Sahib, get up, it's six o'clock,' and I saw the sun was just going to rise behind the Clifton cliffs. So I got up and dressed, and went out, and it was a beautiful, clear, and very calm and cool morning, and I thought 'how the little girls would have enjoyed a morning like this.' Everything in the distance was very clear, the hills towards Muggur Peer, and the town, and our house, and the new church, and the school, and the fishing village, where Ali Booda lives; and the reason that it was so clear was that a fresh north-east wind was blowing off the land and blew away all the smoke and fog and sea-mist; but as it blew off the shore on to the sea, the sea was very smooth; and there was a river steamer taking advantage of the smooth water to go by sea to the mouth of the Indus, and so escape the creeks which we came through with Mr. MacNeil. As she passed under the rocks, where our house stands, I could hear the man with the lead calling out as they used to do in the river, 'Char bāām,' 'Taree char bāām:' 'four fathoms, four fathoms and a half.' Then I went to look at mamma's favourite caper, which grows just at the edge of the cliff beyond the kitchen—there were some beautiful flowers on it, smelling very sweet, and I took one and sent it in to May's friend, General Ashburnham, who was not well enough to come out, and is as fond of flowers as ever. Then I went and walked round the cliff, and on the sheltered side I found a very pretty little hawk, and a large white-headed fishing eagle, who both flew away when they saw me. In a sheltered nook were three boats, fishing so close that I could see the fish they pulled up nearly as fast as they threw in their lines. After that I met Colonel Turner, and a young officer, Mr. Hicks, whose father was once a Colonel at Sattara, and a great friend of May's friends, Dr. and Mrs. Murray. He went with some of his soldiers to fight against some rebels who were in a hill fort, and one of them fired off a cannon at him as he was standing below with a spy-glass in his hand looking at the fort, and the ball struck his leg and cut it off, and a few hours after poor Colonel Hicks died; so now this young friend of Colonel Turner's has got no father. All this happened before we went to Sattara and before you were born.'

The following is a story which he wrote down and sent home to one of his children—

“When the young Khan of Kelat reached Jacobabad, the gardener was ordered to send him some English vegetables—fine cauliflowers, peas, beetroot, etc. In the evening Major Green asked ‘whether they had been received, and how they were liked?’ Old Nusservolla, the Khan’s master of the ceremonies, assured him that the Khan greatly admired them; ‘but,’ he added, ‘your flowers are very different from ours; yours are very large, but not so sweet-scented or finely coloured as ours are, and as for some of them, we could see very little beauty in them.’ Green found out that it was supposed the nicely-arranged baskets were meant as ornaments. He explained they were to be eaten, and next day asked how they were liked. Nusservolla said His Highness tasted some of every kind, and was much pleased; ‘but,’ said the old man, ‘they are not so good as our Kelat apples, and pears, and grapes.’ ‘How did you cook them?’ asked Green. ‘Oh, we never cooked them, we ate them as they were sent, all beautifully arranged in baskets.’ They had eaten them all raw. Green sent his own cook over, and you will be glad to hear that His Highness highly approves of boiled peas and cauliflowers; but some of his court think them better uncooked.”

Here is another letter to his little daughter, dateless, but probably written some time in 1855, as it refers to his son, who had been born in England in October, 1854, and whom he had never seen—

“I want you to send me some of your drawings. The other day when I was over at Manora the sea was very rough, and at night when I went to bed the sea made a very loud and continued roaring, and I thought to myself, What does the roaring say? But I could not make any meaning out of it. So I wrote some lines for little Bartle, which you can give him when he can understand them—and you must tell me whether you think he will like them. I thought, people send messages by electric telegraph through the air, why should not the sea help us in the same way? Perhaps now, while it’s midnight here, my

pets are enjoying the sunset, and picking up shells on the shore of the same sea somewhere at Brighton, and thinking of papa at Manora. Perhaps mamma is teaching little Bartle to walk on the sands, or threatening to toss him into the water to go and look for papa in Sind. Now if, instead of that continued roar without any meaning, the sea would only tell me what he sees on the shore at Brighton, what very pleasant dreams I should have! And while I was so thinking I fell asleep, as you will see by some of the lines, which are rather drowsy."

About four years later, after he had been to England on sick-leave, and at the end of less than a year had returned to India, alone, he writes from Kurrachee, to his old friend Mr. G. T. Clark—

"August 7, 1859.

"You would not reproach me with not writing to you before I left England if you had ever had to pack your overland trunks, leaving your wife and little ones behind you, and feeling that however you might prosper, you could never see those same children again—that even if you returned in a very few years, they would be so altered that you would have to guess their names, and to discover, as in a stranger, tempers and dispositions with forming which you have had nothing to do.

"You know what the first uprooting from home is in youth, but the wrench then is a trifle to what it is when you are yourself the head of the home. You may satisfy your reason that it is on the whole the best thing for the poor children themselves; but if every cadet knew what it would be after he was married and had turned forty, I fear Her Majesty would get few Indian recruits, and I would defy even your ready pen to write many letters that could be put off."



**Page 29 Missing**

of the subjects in which he was interested seemed to refresh him by affording a frequent change of ideas, and to enable him to get through a great mass of work with but little of what is generally understood by relaxation or repose.

He was then in full physical vigour. Six feet in height, he was strong and active, but slender, and well-proportioned. His face, youthful-looking for his age, was thin, with clearly-cut regular features, aquiline nose, and light-brown hair. A moustache shaded his mouth, which was full of expression. His eyes were hazel, deeply-set under dark eyebrows, and very keen and steadfast in their gaze. He had a clear soft voice, and spoke slowly and deliberately. But the great charm of his presence lay in the expression of his open countenance and sweet and ready smile, in the frank and dignified simplicity, and the invariable kindliness and courtesy of his manner, in his absolute self-forgetfulness and ready sympathy.

His press of work did not prevent his being easily accessible to all comers, European or native. Naturally tolerant and genial, the companionship of men and women, of all sorts and conditions, and still more of children, was always a relaxation and a pleasure to him. With a good memory for faces as well as for facts, he never forgot anybody, and all that he had in his mind was at his fingers' ends, ready for use, so that he always quite simply and naturally said the right thing to the right person. He would, with genuine pleasure, make his way across a crowded room to claim acquaintance with a man or woman whom perhaps he had not seen since he or she was a little child, but whose face he recognized. To look up old friends and greet acquaintances, however slight, was his first thought on arriving at a fresh place, no matter how short his stay, or what other objects of attraction there might be.

It rarely happened to him, for a single day, to be without some guest in his house ; or to take a drive without giving some one a seat in his carriage. Unselfish, and devoid of self-consciousness to a degree rare with Englishmen, he was continually doing small acts of kindness. The minor annoyances of life never in the least affected his equanimity. Without being a teller of good stories or a sayer of witty things, and without having humour, he had a keen sense and enjoyment of fun, and a strong and ever-present inclination to see the amusing side of people and things, which added to the charm of his society.

Once when he went to England, Mrs. Frere went to meet him at the station, taking a servant, whom she told to help her to find him when the train came in. The man asked how he was to recognize Mr. Frere. "Look for a tall gentleman helping somebody," she said. The description was sufficient. He was found helping an old lady out of the carriage.

Before he had been four months in Sind he had visited, with the exception of Nuggur Parkur, every district in it. Every year, during his stay, he made what was called a "cold-weather tour," a journey through some considerable part of the province, in the course of which he made the acquaintance of every person in office, native and European, and became personally known in every town and village in the country. They were called "cold-weather tours" by comparison, but sometimes in the tents with which he travelled the thermometer stood at 120°. The modes of travelling were various, generally on horseback or camelback, sometimes in river-boats. On most of the easier journeys Mrs. Frere and even his children accompanied him in carriages, tonjons, or palkees. The daily distance travelled depended on where good camping-ground was to be found, and on other circumstances. The

Collector, or Assistant-Collector of the district he was passing through would join the camp as his guest. The day would be spent in inspecting roads, bridges, canals, or whatever might require attention, or in receiving Belooch or Sindian chiefs, and inspecting their villages. The more important business over, he would find time to visit ancient buildings and any features of anti-quarian interest, and inspect local manufactures, and such artistic work as was still to be found, the Hyderabad enamelling in silver and gold, the Sind embroidery, and carpets, and ancient tile-work of Tatta and Halla, the carved woodwork, the Cutch silver and stonework. He took pains to revive and encourage these old arts; specimens were sent by him to the Great Exhibition of 1851; and in later years, when he was Governor of Bombay, he did much to revive the pottery and tile-work.

On these "cold-weather tours," he would often take young lately-arrived officers or civilians with him from place to place, and thus become intimate with them, and find out what sort of work they were fit for. At each halting place he gathered the local officials together to his hospitable tent, and his coming was looked forward to by them not only on account of the encouragement and assistance they would receive in their work, but also as a rare social pleasure.

Sind being an unpopular province, the officials whom he found there were not, most of them, men of great experience or distinction. There was, when he arrived, but one member of the covenanted service in all the province. But he found good raw material in the young officers of the army who were employed there, and his insight into character and discernment of how the qualities of each man could be turned to the best account in the public

service, his minute knowledge of the details of their several duties, his tact and sympathy and hearty appreciation of good work, won from them zealous and faithful service in their different spheres of action, and gradually trained and drew round him a band of able, energetic, and attached fellow-workers whose several careers, both when under him and afterwards, he watched with constant and friendly interest. He was ever ready with advice and assistance when it was asked for, and many a local officer's report to Government was suggested, or even sketched out by him. But, true to his cardinal principle of promoting personal and individual responsibility, he would seldom give hard and fast instructions, but would leave a wide discretion for contingencies, thus training his officers to court rather than to avoid responsibility.

Only when there was flagrant and inexcusable neglect or misconduct did he inflict serious rebuke. But if the rebuke did come, it could be scathing. Very rarely—so rarely that few know that it ever happened—were the gentle deliberate voice and quiet smile overshadowed by a dark cloud whence was discharged a long rolling thunder-clap of indignant rebuke—the more startling and impressive from its contrast to the almost invariable calm—which showed that there was a latent capacity for strong anger, of which those who were disposed to trifle with him would have to take account, and which proved, too, that his habitual calmness was that of a strongly controlled, not of a frigid or apathetic nature. Yet even then—so strict was the judgment that he passed upon himself—if on reflection he adjudged himself guilty of having exceeded by a hair's breadth what the occasion called for, he would frankly express to the man he had found fault with his regret for any words which might have been too condemnatory or too severe.

General Sir Henry Green, to be often mentioned later on, writes as follows :—

“ If Frere's subordinates were successful in the performance of their work, it was mainly owing to the confidence they felt in the knowledge that he would support them under almost any conditions. Himself fearless of responsibility, he succeeded in instilling the same feeling into the minds of those to whom he entrusted difficult duties to perform. They felt that should they in carrying out his views commit an error of judgment, particularly if it was in the execution of a bold policy, that the error would not only be treated with the greatest leniency by him, but there would be no fear of their being made a scape-goat ; he would himself accept the consequences of the error and remedy it to the best of his ability.

“ In those days frontier soldiers were thrown into sudden and difficult emergencies, and luckily for them, and for those whom they served, they were far away from any telegraph-wire ; they could not, did they wish it, escape responsibility, and ask, ‘ What am I to do ? ’ but they had to act, and, feeling certain that if they did so with boldness and good sense they would be supported, they, as a rule, came out well under sometimes very difficult circumstances ; and it was thus a school of frontier soldiers was formed unequalled in any other country. In this I include the whole Indian frontier, for although Sind and the Punjab might differ in their administrative systems, still the men each turned out proved themselves when called upon equal to any emergency.”

General Sir Frederic Goldsmid, at that time Deputy-Collector at Shikarpur, writes as follows of his former chief :—

“ One great feature which I have always admired in Sir Bartle Frere—and which I have never recognized so eminently in any other high official with whom I have been associated—is his *genuine knowledge of his subject*. In Sind he could have performed the duty of almost any one

of his subordinates, and performed it well ; so that during his periodical inspection of the province, his advice and criticism carried, as it were, double weight. There was no nudging of a fellow-labourer, or undercurrent of self-exoneration possible to relieve the listener from the charge of shortcoming where detected. On the other hand, the glad expression of approval was an invariable incentive to renewed exertion. While his high statesmanship was patent to the world at large through his many writings, his respect for details could only be judged and appreciated by his personal staff and employés of lesser position.

“His personal activity and energy were unflagging ; and his courage and calmness in emergency would have become the most distinguished of soldiers. The despatch of every available regiment or detachment from Sind at the critical period of the mutiny, was an act in keeping with his principles ; and the result justified his confidence in the good faith of the police and people of the province over which he presided.

“Sir Bartle was a charming companion, whose conversation was both instructive without pedantry, and attractive without display. Not to speak of his own literary powers, which were considerable, he had a keen appreciation of literature generally, and possessed a refined and cultivated taste for Art. He had, moreover, a strong sense of the ludicrous ; his perception and enjoyment of a story or joke were thorough ; and it was quite delightful to see him relax from his official occupations to join in cheery surroundings. . . .

“Those natives who really knew Sir Bartle Frere, and had ready access to him—and no chief was more reasonably accessible to his people—were undoubtedly attached to him from affection as well as from fear or duty. In stating this, I think it only right to add that I cannot but feel sceptical as regards the reputation of many distinguished Anglo-Indian celebrities in this respect.”

Of the leading natives at Kurrachee, the one with whom Frere was in most frequent and friendly communication was Shet Naomul, a merchant, who, from the first appearance of the English in Sind, had made up his mind that

steadily refused, from a conviction that if they once gave way there would be no limit to the Porte's demands. The extra contributions of the Khedive to the Sultan's treasury during the past few years were, Nubar said, at least ten millions sterling ; but this probably included backsheesh to harem and Ministers as well as gifts to the Porte.\* The Khedive and Nubar were very earnest in their wish to get, through Lord Derby, an English statesman, not a mere routine financier, to report and advise on Egyptian finance. Nubar spoke confidently of Egyptian resources and solvency, and expressed sound views as to the harm that was being done to the country and to the finances by *corvées*, monopolies, *octrois*, tolls, etc. Both the Khedive and Nubar spoke very highly of Gordon, as a good and economical administrator, and of the excellent results of his operations. By a judicious mixture of firmness and conciliation, he had not only checked the slave-trade both by river and land, but had given a new direction to the energies of those classes who used to engage in it. † Frere received full confirmation of this account of Gordon from American and English missionaries and others who had formerly been sceptical as to the Khedive having either the will or the power to give any effectual check to the importation of slaves.

All this went to strengthen Frere's previous conviction that the true policy for England was to help to consolidate and to support Egypt as an independent Power. "At present," he says, "Egypt, Greece, and Italy seem to me the only Powers whose interests in Turkish affairs are absolutely and entirely identical with our own."

Bombay was the place where the Prince was first to touch Indian ground. Besides the Governor of the Presidency,

\* Note on Egypt, October 29, 1875.

† Frere to Lord Granville, October 31, 1875.

the Viceroy was there, and a great concourse of expectant Europeans.

“The natives, in their thousand different ways [Frere writes to Sir S. Northcote, November 7], and according to their myriad superstitions, looked to his advent, some with hope and affection, most with intense satisfaction, but all with an indescribable amount of awe which fascinates and attracts them in a way we can hardly realize.”

A greater number of important chiefs had come than even Frere had anticipated, some of them men

“whose ancestors would not have stirred a hundred miles from their capitals to save the lives of all the Governors-General who ever came to India. . . .

“Sir P. Wodehouse, I was told, returned, in six weeks, nearly sixty visits; the Viceroy, with shorter time for it, and more power of selection, devoted much of his few days to returning sixteen visits, each involving a regular procession of several carriages, with escorts of mounted body-guard, guard of honour, etc., and consuming hours to get through three or four in a day.

“The impossibility of H.R.H. doing this with only a week to devote to everything, had struck every one before the Prince arrived. . . .

“I think the Prince’s tact and kindly gracious manner have corrected the evil in all cases where he had an opportunity of talking to the Chief, and those who, like the Gaikwar and a few others, saw and spoke to him repeatedly were quite captivated. He told Major Henderson, after the first day or two, that he wished to talk to the visitors and not to be kept to the official silent pantomime; and the result was at once apparent. . . . Even Henderson confessed that H.R.H. had found his way to the hearts of the chiefs, even if he had infringed the dusty rules of Durbar etiquette.

“The presents given by the chiefs considerably exceeded the Viceroy’s estimate, though we stoutly insisted on all reductions which the Viceroy thought necessary. No attempt could be made at equivalent returns. But the presents the Prince gave were remarkably well chosen, and

thereof, lighting the main roads and streets, the cleanliness of the town, and the appointment of the police, were all carefully attended to.

"In the same manner municipalities were opened gradually in various other towns in Sind, to the great comfort of the people. And these towns, like to many trees in the desert dried up for want of water and nourishment, began to wear a cheerful and pleasing aspect as a consequence of the care bestowed on them by their municipal bodies. . . .

"Sir Bartle's kind temper and judicious patience has won him universal respect and admiration. Every petitioner, whether high or low, received a patient hearing; and where he perceived that people out of their ignorance of law did not understand things, he would show them that there was actually no grievance where they imagined one. . . . It is a common saying in Sind that there never came such a 'Sahib-lok' here before, and none such has come since."

Of all the able and distinguished officers who served under Frere in Sind, the one whose name deserves to be widest known, and whose brilliant genius and conduct gave most colour to his administration, was John Jacob. Three and a half years older than Frere, the son of a Somersetshire clergyman, and educated at Addiscombe, he entered the Bombay Artillery, and was sent in 1839 to join the newly raised regiment of Sind Irregular Horse, whose duty it was to protect the communication with the Affghan expedition by the Bolan Pass, and to keep the Belooch tribes in check. At the end of 1841, though still only a lieutenant, he had succeeded to the command of the regiment. This was the time of the English disasters in Affghanistan, which encouraged the hostile tribes in their resistance; and in many a desperate hand to hand fight with the fierce Beloochees, Jacob had practical experience in the work of a cavalry soldier. Afterwards, in the battles of Meeanee and Hyderabad, and a year later

in Napier's Trukkee campaign, the regiment led by Jacob was conspicuous for its good service. In 1846, a second regiment of Sind Horse was raised, but so completely had Jacob identified himself with the force, and so unwilling was he to let any part of it pass from under his immediate command, that, at his special request, and by a very unusual arrangement, he was made commandant of both regiments.

In person, Jacob was somewhat under the middle height, wiry, and of great strength and power of enduring fatigue. His complexion was dark, his head and most of his face covered with a mass of long dark hair, so thick that, trusting to its protection, he would often rashly expose his head uncovered to an Indian sun. Hardy and frugal almost to asceticism, he had a contempt for all the appliances for mitigating heat, which to most Europeans are necessities of life in such a climate as that of Upper Sind. Engineer, artilleryman, cavalry leader, and rifleman, he had a complete practical acquaintance, gained in hard service, with every branch of his profession, such as perhaps no living man then possessed. A bolder and a finer soldier never lived; yet he hated fighting and wars, and had no desire for military distinction. His ambition as a frontier officer was not to gain credit in waging successful campaigns, but to bid wars and fighting cease. He had a great genius and capacity for mechanical construction. The Engineer, the Instrument-maker, the Clock-maker, and the Gunsmith each looked up to him as a master in their craft. Whilst English soldiers in the Crimea were making tardy acquaintance with their newly acquired Minié rifles, with which eight hundred and nine hundred yards were practically unattainable ranges, Jacob and his officers were making hits on the target at distances up to three thousand yards with a rifle manufactured from

a design of his own invention ; or igniting combustibles a mile off with explosive bullets. He had read much, and retained what he read. Scott was one of his favourite writers ; and as he rode at the head of his regiment on a march over the silent desert, he would repeat aloud Canto after Canto of his poems, a hesitation which impeded his speech in conversation disappearing entirely in recitation. But his chief favourite was Carlyle, whose picture of Cromwell and his troopers had so taken hold of his imagination, and harmonized so well with his ideal of soldierly and civic virtue, that the Ironsides became the model which he had constantly before his mind in training his regiments for the work they had to do. Writing to Frere in 1853, with reference to a proposal to add a regiment of silidar infantry to his force, he says—

“I must have no courts martial or articles of war. I want no lawyers among my men, neither do I wish to govern them by force or by fear. I will have ‘sober God-fearing men in my troops,’ as said old Cromwell, and will govern them by appealing to their higher, not to their basest attributes. Actual crimes can be dealt with by me and my lieutenants as civil magistrates. All else must be left entirely to my discretion.”

Endowed with an indomitable will, yet kind-hearted, simple-minded, and pre-eminently chivalrous, he was withal a righteous man of pure life and with a strong clear sense of justice and duty, and a contempt for anything approaching to meanness or duplicity. Somewhat rough and aggressive in manner, he had seen little or nothing of English society, and was little inclined to it, mainly perhaps owing to the hesitation in his speech, and he was not generally a favourite except amongst those who knew him intimately. But for the young English officers whom he gathered round him and chose for his lieutenants,

and trained with kindly patience for the work which he had in hand, he, and the life he led with them, had a rare and abiding fascination. They served him to the end of his life with a love and devotion which had no limit, and carried on his work after his death, till, one after another, they were driven away by ill-health, in a climate and a country, to escape from which had hitherto been the one desire of every officer who had been sent there.\*

His native officers and troopers soon got to know that under all circumstances they were sure of a patient hearing and of unswerving inflexible justice. This was the new experience which fascinated *them*. They knew, too, that their conduct was watched, and their services appreciated, and they cheerfully submitted to a strict discipline, with which no caste prejudice or religious scruple was allowed to interfere, and served with absolute loyalty under the most trying circumstances.

The reputation and popularity of the force was such, and admission into its ranks so sought for, that there were many applicants for every vacancy. To be turned out of the regiment was so severe a punishment that scarcely any other was needed to maintain discipline. The candidates for admission were often relatives of men already in the force; and, in the difficulty of choosing

\* Though habitually reserved, Jacob could unbend at times, and rather liked a practical joke. On one occasion he sent a horse to meet a friend who was coming to stay with him at Jacobabad, to bring him the last ten miles. The horse sent was one named "the Collector," and was seventeen hands high, a veritable giant among the small horses of the country. The friend, a light weight, as he mounted, asked the syce if the horse had any peculiarities. "He will only run away," was the reply. And no sooner was he in the saddle than "the Collector" did run away, at full speed, over rough and smooth, to within a mile of his destination, where, meeting Jacob, who had ridden out to see what would happen, he stopped. Fortunately his rider was a good horseman, and, though rather hot, was in no way discomposed by his nine-mile gallop.

between equal claims and merits, they were set to ride a race on bare-backed horses, and the vacancy given to the winner. The recruit had to find a trooper in the regiment to be his surety, and to be responsible for him; and this suretyship was no mere form, for it might happen that if the recruit disgraced himself and was turned out, the surety would have to go too. Among the native officers—and there were only four English officers, besides Jacob, in the two regiments—were men of rank, wealth, and consideration.

At first Jacob had admitted into the ranks Beloochees and Affghans, races noted for fierce courage; but afterwards he refused to enlist them, for he had found them—

“absolutely faithless and untrustworthy, and never to be depended upon in war; and quarrelsome, unruly, and murderous in quarters in peace. And both are given to the most detestable vices which lead to all manner of evil. Whatever may be thought of these people by those who do not know them well, it is certain that the Mussulmans of Hindustan are altogether superior beings in every way to the Affghans and Beloochees, and are inculcably better adapted by nature to make good soldiers.” \*

The pay of a Suwar, or private, was thirty rupees a month, out of which he provided himself with everything—horse, arms, accoutrements, saddle, clothing, food, forage, and transport. Except for a horse killed in action, he received no extra allowance whatever, under any circumstances; but when supplies were not otherwise procurable he was provided with rations, paying for them on the same terms as the men of the regular army. Each man, officer or private, had at all times, and in all places, to be provided

\* Major Jacob to the Major of Brigade, Upper Scinde, December 14, 1853. “Records of Scinde Irregular Horse,” vol. ii. p. 145.

with transport for whatever he wanted to take with him on the march. The men kept camels, ponies, or mules as they pleased, and the animals being their own property, they never injured them by overloading or ill-treatment. Their means of transport being limited, they could not carry too much. Wheel-carriages were never allowed. Transport animals were always ready, sufficient in quantity and quality to carry the men's bedding, cooking apparatus, tents for such as chose to carry them, and three days' food for man and horse when necessary. Within an hour after the order to march had been given and the trumpet sounded, five hundred men would be ready to cross the desert, prepared in every way for a week's absence; and twelve hours was quite enough warning to enable the whole corps to commence a march of any length.\*

Their arms and accoutrements were of the very best, and in every detail the patterns had been carefully selected by Jacob. The dress was a dark green coat reaching about four inches below the knee, and made of strong English broadcloth; the pantaloons of the same material with a broad red stripe, and high jack boots of English

\* "Records of Scinde Irregular Horse," vol. i. p. 184, and vol. ii. p. 87. A staff officer once arrived while Jacob and his officers happened to be at tiffin, with an order for the force to march at once. "After tiffin," was all the response Jacob vouchsafed. After a while the A.D.C. ventured to remind him that the order was to march *at once*. "After tiffin," was again the reply. Luncheon over, Jacob ordered the Assembly to sound; and, in a few minutes, to the astonishment of the A.D.C., they were on the march.

About noon, on September 25, 1848, orders were received to march with five hundred sabres to join an officer who had been compelled to raise the siege of Mooltan. They marched at daybreak, on the 26th, and by October 3 had crossed the Indus, eighty miles distant, in boats.

Jacob so instilled his enthusiasm into those serving under him, that the regimental medical officer (Dr. S. M. Pelly) became an excellent cavalry soldier, and when the other officers were absent across the border, was frequently left in charge of the station.

leather. In winter they wore a sheep-skin jacket reaching below the knees, the woolly side inwards. Their swords, originally straight ones, had been exchanged for sabres two feet ten inches long, broad at the end, sharp and slightly curved, so as to act by edge and not by point, for Jacob had once, in a personal encounter, when going at speed, run an enemy through the body, and found that in such a case the sword will almost inevitably either break, or unhorse its owner before it can be withdrawn. The men had a double-barrelled carbine\* slung by a hook on the right side, the native officers a brace of double-barrelled pistols. Each man carried his horse's ropes, pegs, etc., two or three days' provision for man and horse, and also a small water mussock, containing about two gallons of water and carried under the horse's body, and which it in no way incommoded. On an average they rode fifteen stone.†

The English officers generally wore a coat of thick cloth, to protect them from the sun, and on their heads, for the same reason, polished steel helmets with a red turban. Thus dressed they did not fear exposure to any heat, which they declared was as little or less formidable to them than to the natives.

The north-west frontier of Sind stretches for nearly two hundred miles along an almost rainless desert plain. On the other side of the boundary is Beloochistan, where such districts as have water, and are capable of cultivation, or of supporting herds of cattle or flocks of sheep, were inhabited by tribes owing allegiance, which at that time was little more than nominal, to the Khan of Kelat. Beyond

\* Probably *some* only of the men had *double*-barrelled carbines at this time.

† Report of Brigadier Smeed, "Records of Scinde Irregular Horse," vol. ii. p. 229.

the plain, hidden in the almost inaccessible recesses of the mountains, were more Beloochee tribes, the most considerable of whom were the Murrees, Doombkees, and Boogtees. Their wealth consisted of cattle, sheep, and horses, the business of their lives was fighting, and their highest ambition a successful raid. Ever since the Affghan invasion there had been intermittent fighting with them. In 1845 Sir Charles Napier with great difficulty conducted an expedition into the heart of the Trukkee mountain country and succeeded in forcing a portion of the Doombkee and Jekranee tribes to surrender, and in inducing them to settle on land which he gave them at Janadeyra, just within the boundary of Sind. But this only made matters worse. From their new country the settlers made plundering expeditions against their old neighbours over the frontier. The latter retaliated. Murder and robbery everywhere prevailed. The British troops were shut up in forts, and did nothing to protect the people. The people themselves were encouraged to carry arms and to wage a retaliatory war. The district along the border was left uncultivated, the canals became useless for want of clearing out, and peaceable people left the country. In December, 1846, the Boogtees assembled fifteen hundred armed men, marched into Sind, passing the British outposts who failed to attack them, to within fifteen miles of Shikarpur, the capital of Upper Sind, and remained twenty-four hours in British territory, securing all the cattle in the country round, and returning to their hills, about seventy-five miles distant, with all their booty—some fifteen thousand head.

It was at this juncture that Jacob had been appointed to the command of the frontier, and a regiment of the Sind Horse ordered up with all speed. On arrival he found desolation and terror prevailing. The cavalry

before we seemed to care so little?' On all these, and many more questions of equal importance, Pollock had made shrewd guesses; but accurate and reliable information from the best possible sources, such as he ought to have had for the Viceroy's information, he had little or none, and can have none under the present blind-man's-buff system.

And again—

“ March 3.

“ I was grievously disappointed at the amount of knowledge possessed by men in excellent positions for learning what goes on amongst the Affghans. Of course no intelligent, zealous man can be long in such a position without learning a vast deal about his neighbour over the border; but the constant inculcation of a non-interference and know-nothing policy, the standing orders to frontier officers, the spirit of the orders being to turn their backs and shut their eyes and ears to all beyond the frontier, and the prohibition of using the most obvious means of getting information, all these have borne fruit, and very little of real diplomatic utility seems known of events, persons, motives, or parties beyond our border. To the questions, ‘ Could you not learn? Could you not ascertain the truth or details?’ the answer generally was, ‘ Of course, nothing easier, but the Government of India does not want to know,’ or ‘ the Government would be down on me if I inquired.’ . . .

“ I will now briefly indicate the course which I would suggest for the consideration of Lord Lytton, on the supposition that the objects Her Majesty's Government have in view are not to quarrel with the Ameer of Cabul, but to be on the best possible terms with him, using the Affghans as a ‘ buffer’ to avoid immediate contact between our frontier and the Russian frontier as long as possible, and to prevent throwing on to the Russian side in Central Asiatic politics such near neighbours of our own as the Affghans are.

“ I would begin by revising the diplomatic machinery and mode of dealing with all questions between the Government of India and the Ameer. Instead of the present diplomatic incognito of agents with the half-

knowledge of all that is going on, and all that is wished and intended by both parties, and its half, or less than half, confidence between all parties and agents, I would have a carefully selected officer who should be chosen mainly for his fitness to be the permanent and recognized representative of the British Government in its intercourse with the Ameer. I would clothe him with all the attributes usually assigned to all the representatives of the Crown in foreign Courts in Europe, and I would trust him with a confidence as entire as that between an English Minister of Foreign Affairs and the British Envoys at foreign Courts.

“This need occasion no dislocation of existing agency and no great addition to existing charges. In the Commissioner of Peshawur, Sir Richard Pollock, the Viceroy would find the frontier officer who would probably have to begin any negotiation under the present system. He is on the spot, experienced, conciliatory, popular with the Affghans, and personally acceptable to the Ameer, whom he brought down to the Umballa conference with Lord Mayo. If his power were extended by making him the Viceroy's agent for the frontier of Affghanistan on the same footing as the agents for Central India, Rajpootana, etc., you would have the first step towards a better understanding with the Ameer in having a recognized Minister with a defined position and duties and adequate rank.

“I would communicate the change in his position to the Ameer, and intimate ‘that the General was charged with formal credentials accrediting him in his new or higher office to the Ameer,’ after delivering which he would communicate to the Ameer the Viceroy's views on several important matters, and I would invite the Ameer to name any time and place for giving an audience to the envoy which would be agreeable to him.

“If he responded cordially, I would not mind some delay in arranging the meeting. I would not hurry or show much anxiety about it, but would consult the Ameer's convenience and make allowance for his many difficulties with his own people and fanatical advisers, as well as with foreign influence, which will certainly be exerted to prevent any greater intimacy in his relations with us.

other things, a laboratory, engineers' and carpenters' workshops, and a large and valuable library for the use of his officers. In the course of seven years, Jacobabad, on the site of the half-dozen huts of Kanghur, grew into a town of eleven thousand inhabitants. It was no longer on the edge of the desert, but shaded by trees in the midst of a cultivated plain, reclaimed and fertilized by the water which canals, engineered by Jacob, had brought fifty miles from the stream of the Indus.

When Frere came to Sind, in 1851, a great change for the better in the peacefulness and security of Upper Sind had been effected. He writes to Lord Falkland :—

“ June 10, 1851.

“ Of late years the frontier tribes have ravaged and desolated the country up to the gates of Shikarpoor. The few inhabitants that remained were almost as lawless as their neighbours, and lived more by retaliatory plunder than by honest labour.

“ Since Major Jacob took charge of the frontier this state of things has completely changed. He has rigidly enforced the disarming of all within our frontier, and has put down the practice of forays beyond our frontier, whilst the posts of Sind Irregular Horse form a perfect cordon of protection to all within them against aggressions from without. . . . Single unarmed travellers seemed now as safe as elsewhere in Sind, and the general sense of perfect security was shown by the improving state of the villages, and the fact that the people now trust themselves, their cattle, and grain-yards, day and night, out in the open fields, instead of keeping, as was so lately their invariable custom, under the shelter of their village walls.

“ All were loud in proclaiming their gratitude for the present perfect peace and security assured to them by Major Jacob's arrangements.”

And in March, 1855, he writes—

“ I have just returned from that most wonderful place Jacobabad. Yesterday morning I went with Jacob nine

miles into what, four years ago, was real desert, on the Minottee road, without a tree, a blade of grass, or a drop of water, within miles. All is now jowarree stubble, and from the top of a surveying tower, as far as the eye could reach to the north, we could see the fields extended, the cultivators and cattle about the fields not appearing to dream of the possibility of plunderers attacking them. His canals this year surpass anything I have seen."

To see how this change was brought about, it is necessary to go back to January, 1847, when Jacob assumed the command of the frontier.

The key to his Frontier-system was the simple principle of justice, that when a raid has been made, the actual robbers alone, and not their fellow-tribesmen, should bear the blame and the punishment. This was to be carried out along a frontier of a hundred and eighty-five miles, in the midst of a population accustomed to look to robbery as their chief means of subsistence. It was Jacob's genius that conceived the idea that such an apparently Quixotic enterprise was possible.

It had to be done in the first instance mainly by constant patrolling. On assuming the command—

"Jacob at once ordered all idea of defensive operations to be abandoned; every detachment was posted in the open plain, without any defensive works whatever; patrols were sent in every direction in which it was thought an enemy might appear, and these parties crossed and met so often that support was almost certain to be at hand if wanted. The parties were sent to distances of forty miles into and beyond the desert, and along the frontier line."\*

Whenever any plunderers were met with, the troopers fell upon them at once, charging without hesitation any number, however superior, and with such invariable success,

\* "Records of Scinde Irregular Horse," vol ii. p. 212.