lamenting his obstinacy as a rebuff and a misfortune, Frere did not altogether regret it. He knew that a formal and readily obtained assent from a Sultan possessed of little real authority could have had comparatively little permanent effect. He now looked to the issue being fairly raised of retention or abolition of the slave-trade on those coasts as it had never been raised before, and in such manner that it would be seen by all the world which side had the preponderating will and power behind it to cause it to prevail.

Whether the English Government desired or contemplated coercive action being taken under the circumstances may be doubted. Frere, at any rate, knew his own mind; he was the last man to shrink from responsibility, and he acted at once. Writing a last letter of warning to Burghash, he left Zanzibar to continue his voyage to Muscat. Ten days later (March 28) he sent from Mombasa, a place to the north of Zanzibar, where the ship touched, a despatch to Dr. Kirk, and instructions to Captain Malcolm, the senior naval officer, to the same purport, and at the same time a letter to the Sultan.

No transport of slaves by sea, the despatches said, however restricted, would be any longer permitted. The allegation that it was necessary to keep up the supply of slaves from the mainland in order that the island of Zanzibar might be cultivated was a mere pretence. There were already more slaves there than could be fed or employed, and they were manifestly brought there only with a view to exportation. As many as thirty thousand had of late years passed through the various custom-houses and paid duty to the Sultan, and many besides these had been smuggled in of whom no account was taken. The provisions of the Treaty of 1845 were being grossly and notoriously evaded and set at nought.

Henceforth, therefore, after May 1, the existing system of custom-house passes would be stopped ; and instead of it there would be an examination of each slave before the consul at Zanzibar, who would permit to pass only such slaves as should be proved to be *bonâ fide* domestic or other slaves accompanying their owner, and not destined for re-sale or exportation. The prohibition to convey slaves by sea, hitherto enforced only during the months from January to April, would be continued and enforced by the squadron without any limitation of time or place. These orders were to be in force provisionally till the further pleasure of the Queen's Government should be known. Directions followed a few days later (April 1 and 2), addressed to Dr. Kirk and to General Schneider at Aden, as to the disposal of liberated slaves, and their reception at the different mission stations.

Frere, in writing to Lord Granville to announce what he had done, suggested that the English Government should lay an embargo on, or, in other words, take charge of the Sultan's custom-houses, employing the custom-house officials, who were almost all natives of India and British subjects, to stop the slave-trade, to collect the customs, and account to the British Government, who would account to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Frere's letter seems to have fallen like a bomb-shell on the English Cabinet. It met to consider the matter, and appears to have scarcely liked either what he had done or what he proposed the Government should do. But there was a precedent for it in a slave-trade incident in Brazil, in which a similar course had been taken, and Frere had by his prompt action practically settled the question, so that it was easier to go forward than to go back, and ultimately instructions were given to the consul and to the squadron to act in accordance with his recommendations.

In the mean time, Frere was proceeding on his voyage. The first place he had touched at, after finally leaving Zanzibar, was Bagamoyo, where he stayed two days, finding there Cameron's expedition to join Livingstone just on the point of starting, and visiting the French Mission which had been established there four and a half years before, on land granted by the Sultan.

Of this mission he writes to Lord Granville :—

"April 5, 1873.

"In that time they had, with no other aid but that of their pupils—chiefly slaves liberated by our cruisers—cleared some eighty acres of land, built comfortable houses for themselves and the sisterhood which is attached to the Mission, and set up a chapel and dormitories and school-rooms for their three hundred people. . . . The Zanzibar establishment receives liberated slaves, and educates them in the same manner as at Bagamoyo; it possesses, besides, a foundry, which is worked by negroes, and till lately maintained a hospital and resident French physician, whose services were always at the disposal of any European sailors or indigent persons who might require them. Whilst I was at Zanzibar, they took in and cared for, till his death, a young Englishman who had come out to collect natural history specimens. I was so much struck with the admirably practical system on which this Mission is conducted, that on finding their funds were at a low ebb, and that they had received nothing on account of the liberated slave-children made over to them, I contributed to their funds, on Government behalf, the sum of £200, and feel sure that my having done so will meet with your Lordship's approval."

He afterwards visited the Methodist Mission at Ribi—"kind, good people, but sadly wanting in the worldly wisdom of the French; however, they have made a good footing, and seem much loved and respected, far and near;" and the Church Missionary establishment at Kisoludini—"prettily situated in a spot where the numbers of cocoanut trees, the wild cotton, which grows abundantly, and other

valuable products of the soil show of what it is capable, were only its cultivation attended to."

"Looking at the results of all these missions" [he writes to Lord Granville, March 25, 1873], "as well as Bishop Tozer's at Zanzibar, I find the least as well as the most successful prove the entire absence of all difficulty in establishing free African communities under European organization and direction on the Continent, as well as the islands of Africa, and Mr. Sunley's and Captain Frazer's experience assures me that this may be done so as to make the undertaking a commercial success. . . . It is clear that no real difficulty can exist in establishing safely in East Africa any number of released slaves."

Thence touching at Mombasa, at Lamoo—a great station for slave-traders—and at Merka, where the Zanzibar dominion ended, they proceeded, along the Somali coast, no longer green and fertile, but sandy and sterile, to Ras Hafoon, and thence across the Strait to Maculla on the south coast of Arabia—"a picturesque, stone-built Arab town at the foot of some fine barren hills," where they called, to coal and to renew the Slave-trade Treaty with the old Nukeeb, as the chief is called—a fine old Arab, who "was soon persuaded by Pelly to do all we required about slave-trade; but he is much afraid of the Turks, who attacked him some time ago, but were beaten off."

They reached Muscat on Easter Eve, April 12, and were now, as Frere wrote, "in Pelly's realm," and the Sultan and every one else very friendly. Toorkee, the Sultan, was the man whom Pelly had saved seven years before from being walled up in a fort by Salim the parricide After that, he had made several attempts to upset Salim; but Pelly, bound by instructions from Calcutta, was, much against his inclination, obliged to acknowledge Salim, and more than once intercepted and restrained Toorkee. Afterwards Salim had been dethroned by a

distant cousin Azan, who, in his turn, had been killed in battle and succeeded by Toorkee.

Pelly landed at once and visited Toorkee, who not only assented readily to all that was asked, but also agreed to declare all future immigrants into his territory free, so that no one would be able to claim a slave as such after he had set foot in Oman.

Frere writes to Lady Frere:—

"April 15, 1873.

"Nothing can be better than the way everything has gone here, greatly owing to the excellent order in which Pelly has all his people in hand. The Sultan has agreed to all we ask of him, and has declared that any slaves hereafter imported into his dominions shall be free, which is a very important step beyond what I expected to obtain, and may, in time, lead to the extinction of slavery as well as of the slave-trade. But the country has suffered so much from civil wars that it will take a long time to set things in order, and to bring it back to the state it was in when, contrary to my advice, the parricide Salim was so hastily recognized by the Government of India."

With respect to the two and a half years' subsidy due from Burghash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, to Toorkee, under Lord Canning's arbitration settlement, Toorkee asked for nothing more than to be allowed to recover it for himself by force of arms. Frere told him this could not be allowed on any account, but that as he was in urgent need of money, he might draw on the Resident for one year of the arrears due to him, while the matter was being considered.

In a letter to Lady Frere he describes his visit to Toorkee at Muscat:—

"April 13, 1873.

"At eight o'clock we all started with a large attendance of officers from the *Vulture*, *Kwantung*, and *Enchantress*, and landed at the foot of the steps leading to His Highness's palace. The reception-room was in a kind of balcony

over the water. He seemed very glad to see me ;—a fine face with a careworn expression lighting up now and then with a very bright expression, perfect self-possessed manners, no Arab attendant, sitting down, but guards, servants, etc., around. After I had presented the letter from Her Majesty, Duke of Argyll, etc., I told him that Pelly had told me of his having at once signed the treaty, which I countersigned in his presence, and we exchanged copies. . . . After coffee and sherbet, we went through the palace—a huge, bare, Arab mansion—into the street behind, which was lined with the most picturesque medley of Arabs and Beloochees, and a few Persians in every variety of rough costume and rude arms, many with wild elf-locks, all in great good humour. Through rambling streets, more like passages in a rambling house than thoroughfares, we reached the Consulate, where the British-Indian subjects—Bhattias, Khojahs, and Kurrachee Banians —were assembled to meet me and have a talk very much in the old Sind fashion ; but they were fine healthy fellows and in very good humour. . . . I started early for Matrah, a sort of Birkenhead to Muscat, which has outgrown its parent. . . . We landed near the custom-house and were met by the principal Khojah merchants, who all live here and go daily to Muscat by boats, some in smart boats of their own, others in omnibus boats and canoes. The Khojahs all dress like rich Arab merchants, and are in all things the exact counterparts of the 'Moors' described by Vasco di Gama and the early navigators,—their rich dresses, courteous manners, gaily dressed and jewelled ladies, and handsome children,—though we as strangers did not see so many of the latter as in Bombay. They asked us if we would like to see their Bazar, and took us through a very thriving labyrinth of fish, meat, cloth, grain, and vegetable sellers, shoe-makers, cutlers and hardware sellers, and the shops of beads and ornaments such as M. and K. used to delight in in Sind. . . . Clear of the Bazars we walked through lines of neat dwellings, negro and Arab, to the gate kept by a picturesque rabble of Arabs and Beloochees. The wells were outside, and troops of women and water-carriers thronged the road, with camels and donkeys bringing in produce from without. Thence back to the Bazars and by the beach to the Khojah's Mahallet, or Quarter, within which they all live and allow no one else to live.

Suliman Khojah, their head-man, explained to me how they had in old times managed to get all their houses together—windows and doors inside, dead walls outside—and little by little connected the houses by substantial walls, a tower or two, and a gateway. Over the door leading into the interior was a date two hundred and forty years ago; now they shut the gates at dusk and keep all inside subject to their Sumat or assembly of elders. They have cast off the supremacy of Aga Khan and are fairly independent, but Ryots of the British Government and your humble servants. The gateway to the sea was a large guard-house; here they spread carpets and pillows, gave us sherbet and hulwa and punkahs of date-mats, and all came round, a well dressed and thriving crowd. There were their Belooch guards and an old Belooch Governor of Gwadir, and sons and brothers and little boys to be introduced and patted on the back. Thence through the Quarter, all thriving and clean but crowded. The Khojahs are the only Indians who bring their families abroad, and troops of women and children, with well-fed and well-clothed negro attendants, peeped out of every door and window at us as we passed. They pointed out their mosques and places of meeting with dark-blue flags, with a star and scimitar in white (the Arab flag is plain red, or red with a white border, and sometimes a crescent and star or scimitar in white or yellow), and brought us out at the other side towards the country. Here lived their artificers, masons, carpenters, and boat-builders, and they showed us with much pride the two towers which they had been allowed, not just lately but long ago, to build for landward defences. Altogether they were very comfortable and had nothing to complain of, praise be to God! In troublesome times they kept quiet in their own place, and no one molested them. If very bad times came, as had happened once or twice lately, they were English subjects, and the English Consul always took care of them, as Pelly Sahib had done when he brought a steamer down and took off numbers of them with their valuables. . . . They are heretics to all orthodox Muslims, and came, I fancy, originally from Syria or Chaldea."

At Muscat the wanderings of the mission ended. The *Enchantress* took the party on to Bombay, calling at Kurrachee. At both places Frere was gladdened by the

sight of many old friends, English and Native, and met with a warm welcome, crowds collecting on the landing-place and greeting him with prolonged cheers.

Zanzibar and Muscat had hitherto been within the jurisdiction of the Bombay Presidency, but he found that Lord Northbrook had just assented to the proposal of the Government of Bombay to transfer all Zanzibar and Muscat affairs to the Viceroy. This made him anxious to see Lord Northbrook, if possible, before returning home, and he accepted his invitation to stay with him at Simla.

Writing to Lord Granville from Mahableshwur (May 3, 1873), he states succinctly the three measures he considers to be most immediately necessary with respect to Zanzibar and the slave-trade :—

1. More ships, and better adapted for the service required.

2. Better consular establishments to watch the coast and deal with the liberated slaves.

3. An embargo on the Sultan of Zanzibar's custom-houses till he agrees to an honest plan of working under the Treaty of 1845, or some more effectual plan of carrying out the objects of that treaty.

He goes on to say—

"I have pressed on Lord Northbrook the necessity for looking more closely to what goes on at Muscat and on the Arabian and Persian coasts. The state of affairs there seems to me very critical, owing mainly to our neglect of the warnings given to us by local officers. Both Turks and Persians are evidently eager to extend their influence eastward, to a degree unknown a few years ago, when the old Imam of Muscat could defy both Turk and Persian in their own waters. . . . It is partly, I think, a symptom of the curious Mahommedan revival which seems to pervade the whole Muslem world, and partly the inspiration of Europ an diplomacy. . . . Whatever the cause, I found

not only Arabs, but the Beloochees and Mekranees, who are a much less excitable race, seriously disturbed by the Turkish and Persian advances. The former, I have no doubt, will be somewhat checked by your remonstrances about Aden; but they are not stopped, and I hear even here of emissaries of an Ottoman propaganda coming from Arabia to Bombay and disquieting our loyal friends at the Nizam's Hydrabad.

"The Persians are equally active and more mischievous. The Turk, whether an old bigot or a young sceptic, is a gentleman, and however much the peasant may groan, the trader contrives to live. . . . All seems to wither under the falsehood and cruelty which invariably characterize the Persian official. Chobar, on the Mekran coast, had no sooner been made over to the Persians by our adjustment of the boundary line, than all the Indian Banians, the only traders in the place, and all the Beloochees, left it; no one would go back while the Persian flag flew there, because there could be no security for life or property under Persians. . . .

"Our influence on those coasts is a perfectly legitimate one—partly the influence of trade, which is mainly in the hands of our subjects, partly of power everywhere known and felt, but not threatening. We check piracy and maritime inter-tribal wars, and in many ways protect quiet-going people. But the main element of our influence seems to me to be a conviction of our non-aggressiveness. We flatter ourselves it is a sense of our justice or benevolence, but I believe it is more a conviction that, except when we want a coaling-station or telegraph station, or something which spends money and does no harm in itself, we are not aggressive or encroaching. We do not want territory, as the Turks and Persians and Egyptians do, or islands like the French, and are altogether the least troublesome of all Kaffirs.

"This sort of influence is easily maintained, but it may also be easily lost if we shut up ourselves in our own shell and proclaim that we will take interest in nothing till we are ourselves attacked. . . .

"You may ask what this has to do with the slave-trade. But it really has a great deal. An Arab quite understands a craze or a crotchet, and all the better if there be a slight tinge of fanaticism about it. Our crusade against the

slave-trade is, in his eyes, something like the Union of Wahabi and Ibadlinjah fanatics, who agree in nothing else but to stop his tobacco—a very disagreeable and unaccountable prejudice, but one which does not threaten his independence in other things. He rather respects us for having a hobby which is clearly not a commercial speculation, and he does not believe a word of the ravings of the French Admiral, who assures him that we import Manchester goods under a covering of tracts and bibles, and capture the slaves that we may sell them ourselves. . . . I feel sure that your legitimate influence will be strengthened rather than impaired by anything you may do in the way of pressure or armed intervention to stop the slave-trade. The Arab is quite acute enough to make out our real motives, and will respect us all the more for standing to our guns in pursuit of a crotchet which he considers quite allowable in us, though he does not sympathize with it."

Frere was detained some days at Bombay about some documents relating to the mission, and in the mean time was informed by telegraph that the Government at home was anxious for his return before the end of the Session of Parliament. He was therefore compelled, for want of time, to abandon his intention to visit Lord Northbrook at Simla, and had to depute Colonel Pelly to go in his stead, with the despatches. It was well, perhaps, tried as he was with four months' incessant and anxious work—four months spent tossing about on an unhealthy coast, with rarely a night on shore—that he was saved the long journey across the burning plains of India. But he was sorry not to have the opportunity of communicating personally with Lord Northbrook, who was anxious to see him, and who had cordially supported him in all matters relating to the mission, as well as in his representations as to the danger menacing Aden.

The *Enchantress* had gone home to avoid having to face the breaking of the monsoon in the middle of May. Frere left Bombay by the mail on May 12, and, going by

way of Brindisi, and thence leisurely by way of Venice, the Brenner, Munich, and Paris, reached London on June 12.

Two days later, a telegraphic message from Kirk, dated June 5, reached London, announcing that on that day the Sultan had signed the treaty,* and that the Zanzibar slave-market was closed for ever.

Frere's Parthian arrow, discharged from Mombasa after leaving Zanzibar, had brought down its quarry. Dr. Kirk wrote on May 11 of "the grand success we are having under the orders you gave me regarding the slave-trade after the first of May." And a month later, when the treaty was at last signed, he writes to Frere:—

"June 7, 1873.

"I have been too busy giving effect to your policy that has ended in the treaty to do much else, and by this mail hardly have been able to write to a private friend.

"Well, we have got the treaty, thanks to the orders you gave at Mombasa, and that I carried out with rather an iron hand, more in the spirit of total prohibition than anything else. The fact was when I came to treat I could point at the work done and say that the slave-trade had ceased, and it should never be again opened. From the beginning I dealt with the Sultan in Council, never meeting him in any other capacity, and forced the Arabs to give an opinion on which he might act. This succeeded admirably, but it was hard work. . . .

"Let me congratulate you now on the result of our mutual labours. I am glad to be able to justify in some way the confidence you placed in me, and make my local experience of the Arabs and the place of some practical use at so favourable a time."

And Dr. Kirk writes again, a month later:—

* The treaty was a short and simple document. The Sultan engaged that the transport and export of slaves from the coast for any purpose should cease entirely; that all public slave-markets in his dominions should be closed; and that protection should be given to liberated slaves. The Queen undertook that natives of Indian States under British protection should be prohibited from possessing slaves or acquiring fresh ones.

"July 4, 1873.

"The Sultan has as honestly worked for us since signing the new treaty as he did against us when he was in the hands of the French, and it is against them I feel enraged, for the Arabs honestly thought they were being ruined, and that we were acting only in compliance to a faction. . . .

"You must be delighted to see the grand results of your mission a complete success at all points. There never was one more so, and as it has turned out, it is very well the treaty was not signed before we used compulsion. In my first memo. I pointed out that, without this were obvious to the people, the Sultan would not be safe. Burghash, in the first place, could not give in then, and the French made him very plausible offers of help. With the circle of treaties now concluded, it will be our own fault if we do not crush the slave-trade, which in its great strength is, I think, even now at an end; such is the feeling, at least, among the Arabs."

The Sultan, when he had signed the treaty, was anxious to visit England at once. The English Government did not want him, and Dr. Kirk had, with some trouble, to prevent his coming. Early in the following year, however, there was a change of Ministry in England, and the Conservatives came into office. Dr. Badger writes to Frere:—

"August 12, 1874.

"I sincerely hope that there is now some chance of the Sultan of Zanzibar being invited to England. . . . His Highness was much pained by the refusal of the late Ministry to sanction his proposed visit, especially as he never contemplated being entertained at the Government expense. On this subject he writes to me as follows: 'My desire to come to London was not with the design of contention, but to turn to good account their (the Government's) attention towards me.' The effect of a special invitation by our Government would undoubtedly increase his importance with his own people; on the other hand, it would heighten his obligation to us, and induce him to make almost any concessions, in reason, for enabling us to carry out our philanthropic designs on the East Coast of Africa. In this latter respect I consider

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

gave the death-blow to the slave-traffic by sea. At the end of the first year the number exported, which had been from 16,000 to 23,000, had fallen to 1400, of whom 217 were taken, though subsequently it increased again to a certain extent. And this result followed, although Frere's recommendations to increase the naval squadron, the consular establishments, the number of interpreters, and the sum allowed for purchasing information, also to give more authority to the Resident at Aden, to obtain more extended rights of search from the French, Turks, and Persians, and to revive the Slave-trade Department at the Foreign Office, were neglected, all these, except the last, having failed of being carried out by the Government; nor do the recommendations appear in the published Blue-books.

But the Arab slave-dealers, made aware that the sea was now closed to them, were not long in adapting themselves to circumstances and setting to work to transport the slaves by land. These were taken down the Nile, driven through the towns on the Somali and Red Sea coasts, and by other routes. This could not be put an end to by a stroke of the sword or of the pen. It could only cease entirely after many years, by the gradual extinction of slavery in Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia. But much could be done to check the traffic in its worst forms by the action of the English Government and people; and during the years that Frere remained in England he took a leading part in endeavouring to arouse and keep alive public interest in the question, in pressing on the Government to support the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Khedive in following the right path, in urging the establishment of free settlements in East and Central Africa, and in other ways seeking to promote the opening-up and civilization of dark places in Africa.

The Slavery Question and the Missions in Africa were

closely connected; for the principal work of most of these mission-stations was to receive and train the liberated slaves, whom it was difficult to dispose of satisfactorily elsewhere; and Frere always insisted on the need of making industrial work a part of their training, so as to enable them to earn a living. He spoke frequently, and read many papers on these and kindred subjects at the Geographical Society, at the Society of Arts, the London Institution, the Church Congresses, and the Church Missionary Society's Meetings, and always with a wealth of information and knowledge, and a freedom from declamatory or conventional verbiage which could not fail to command attention.

For his services in connection with the Zanzibar Mission Frere was made a Privy Councillor.

On the occasion of his being sworn in at Osborne he had the honour of a long interview with the Queen, and was much struck with Her Majesty's minute knowledge of, and interest in, the subject of his late expedition. The Queen sent for a map and made him show her the whole course of the Mission, and questioned him minutely on the subject. "The Queen knew more about it than all her Ministers," he used to say.

The Corporation of London gave him the Freedom of the City. The University of Cambridge, in the following spring, conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D., which he had already received, a few years previously, from the University of Oxford.

Dr. Livingstone, the African traveller, had when at Bombay been Frere's guest, and afterwards, when he returned to Africa, letters passed between them from time to time. Towards the end of 1868, after a long interval of silence, a letter, written closely on a sheet of foolscap, dated from Central Africa, July, 1867, had reached

Frere in London, having been seventeen months on the way.

The first part of it was occupied with geographical details. It went on as follows :—

"Thanks to your good services with the Sultan, I have been treated by all the Arabs with the greatest kindness. Only four of my attendants would come; the fact is they are all so tired of this everlasting tramping, and so am I; nothing could be brought but the veriest necessaries. No paper, only a couple of note-books and the Bible. I have borrowed this and another sheet from an Arab trader; the other is for Lord Clarendon; and they will go by a party proceeding to the coast through Usang. I would go myself if it were not for an inveterate dislike to give up what I have undertaken without finishing it. I am often distressed on thinking of a son whom I left at the university of Glasgow. He was to be two years there, then spend a year or more in Germany for French and German, before trying the Civil Service examination for India. He will now be in especial need of my counsel and assistance, and here I am at Bangweolo. . . . Possibly Sir Charles Wood, in consideration of my services, might do something to fix this one. I never asked anything for myself. Lord Palmerston sent Mr. Hayward, a Queen's Counsel, to me before I left home, to ask, 'What he could do for me, as he was most anxious to serve me.' I don't know how it was, but it never once occurred to me, till I was in here, that he meant anything for myself. I replied that if he could open the Portuguese ports in East Africa to free-trade, this was the greatest boon he could confer. I thought only of my work, not of myself or of my children. I feel more at liberty in telling you of my domestic anxiety and my fears lest Tom should go to the examination unprepared, because you have a family yourself and will sympathize with me."

Frere thereupon wrote to Sir Thomas Acland, asking him to send a copy of Livingstone's letter, which he had had printed for private circulation, to Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, for his consideration.

"December 25, 1869.

"I have been rather at a loss to know how I could be of any use to these poor orphan-like children of a man whom I reverence as a real hero, a true apostle. . . . But it seems to me that the nation owes something to the father. If, as I gather from his last letter to Dr. Kirk, he has turned again to enter the Nile basin, worn with incessant travel, anxiety, and fever, and with little left of his old self but his old spirit, it may be long ere the nation can repay him, if it ever can repay him at all, save through his children."

After much correspondence, Frere obtained, in 1871, a grant for Livingstone's children from the Queen's Bounty, the news of which cheered their father in his exile.

In January, 1874, came the rumour, often spread in error but now true, that Livingstone was dead. Even when the body was brought to England there was a doubt till it had been examined, and the elbow identified, which had been years before crushed in a lion's jaw and badly set. Livingstone was, perhaps of all men of his generation, the one whom Frere venerated most; and he exerted himself successfully to obtain for him the last honour of being buried at the public expense in Westminster Abbey, and for his children a pension.

He had about this time (February 6, 1874) to deliver the inaugural address for the African section of the Society of Arts. The address is full of noble thoughts, some very characteristic of him, and of eloquent language, such as when he was much moved flowed readily from his pen. He had been called an advocate for the extension of "equivocal and entangling engagements." To this he answered that Englishmen all over the world, whether we like it or not, enter into infinite engagements with barbarous or semi-civilized chiefs, but they are "equivocal and entangling" only if ill understood and neglected.

"The semi-civilized chief rarely understands our power;

my doctrine would be to teach it him by friendly communication before the necessity of unfriendly remonstrance arises. . . .

"Now, I believe that this might be effected, and much more, if we only make a reasonable use of our diplomatic service and consular agencies in connection with these people, and if, instead of turning our backs on a potentate, and refusing to know anything or care anything about him because he is black or weak, we took pains to let him know all about us and our power, and endeavoured not only to teach him that we were strong but that we meant justly and kindly towards him and all men. I can answer for it from long experience that you will seldom be disappointed by the agency of your countrymen in such matters. I have tried them scores of times; sometimes when they were little better than half-bearded lads, without better training than a good English home, a good English school, and a good English regiment afford, and I do not recollect ever being disappointed when they once understood that, as diplomatic agents in dealing with savages, they were expected to be as carefully observant of the duties of an English gentleman as if they were *attachés* at Paris or St. Petersburg."

At the end of the lecture he describes the man, the thought of whom was doubtless in his mind throughout it.

"Livingstone was intellectually and morally as perfect a man as it has ever been my fortune to meet, one who formed vast designs for the good of mankind, and placed his hopes of achieving them in no earthly power, but in Him who created the universe and controls the raging of nations. . . .

"In all he did he worked in the same spirit as the great apostles of old, and he has done for civilization and religion a work which has had few parallels since the days of the early martyrs of our faith. Martyr he was and hero, and we may no more lament him than other heroes who have died in their country's service, or holy men who have entered into their rest." *

* *Journal of Society of Arts.*

Amongst the most striking and characteristic of his writings about this time was an essay, published in the *Church and the Age*, and subsequently as a pamphlet, on Indian Missions. It is founded on facts which had come under his own personal observation, and on changes and scenes which he had himself witnessed, and over which he had pondered and reflected for thirty-five years.

He describes the extraordinary vitality of the Indian village communities with their laws of caste, of religious observance, and of municipal government, which have existed unchanged for ages, and survived war, pestilence, and famine. After British rule is introduced, the village has at first to do with but one master, usually all-powerful, active, intelligent, and benevolent, and the villagers have a good time under this old system. But gradually the work of administration gets divided amongst several centralized departments. The villagers note a diminution of power in their rulers, and remark, "Ah! the Sahibs of this generation are not such rulers of men as in our young days." Power and responsibility become more and more distributed. The judicial powers are separated from the executive and administrative. Malcontents discover that they can worry or defy the headman of their village with the assistance of some departmental patron. And thus old bonds are giving way, "which have for centuries kept rural society together under circumstances of adversity such as in any other country would have gone far to destroy all traces of civilization."

"Still more potent, if less universally diffused, is the disintegrating agency of our religion, which I mention last, because, though most effective of all, it is the agency with which the British Government has least active concern. The period soon passes by when the villagers of a newly annexed district believed, as they too often used to do at first, that the 'Sahibs' are atheists, without religion, and

when the village matrons hushed their children with threats of making them over to the 'Sahib,' to be buried alive in the foundations of the court-house or the bridge he was constructing.

"Probably, with very few exceptions, the evening conclave of village elders in most hamlets has long since settled, after frequent discussions, not only that the English gentlemen have a religion, but that they think a good deal about it.

"All who have visited the head-quarter garrison station of the province, know that some kind of a place of worship is considered as necessary as a mess-house, a canteen, or a theatre, to a complete set of barracks. They see the European soldiers marched off, with bands playing, every Sunday to one, and sometimes two, of these churches, whither the gentlemen and ladies drive in their carriages to listen to 'Padres' of various kinds. All public work is stopped, and a general holiday is kept. Then there is often a 'Devil's House,' as the Freemason's Lodge is generally termed, where meetings are held at night, with mysterious ceremonies, which, more than any religious services held among Europeans, seem to awaken the curiosity of the native country-cousin who comes to town to see the world. . . .

"Religion of some kind is evidently an important business with these white-skinned people. But its exact nature is usually for a long time a puzzle to the villagers.

"They do not often learn much in explanation of this mystery from the first Englishmen who visit their village. These busy officials have seldom time for talk except on official subjects. Nevertheless the villagers observe that many of them cease from official work on Sundays. A few may make it a day of amusement, but there is generally something clearly religious about the observance. If a villager makes bold to ask a question or two on the subject from the great man, he sometimes hears a good deal more. But usually the great man is reserved, and advises the querist to inquire from the first Padre he meets.

"Perhaps a Padre may visit the village while the great man is there, and then the observant villagers remark that the freest livers among the 'Sahibs' pay him marked respect, even though he may be 'Dhurm Padre'—a priest, that is, for the love of God, *i.e.* a missionary and not a

Government officer. Such a Padre is pretty sure to extend his walk towards the village, to converse with the elders at their evening conclave, and say a few words to the women who come to draw at the village well. He gives tracts and books to all who will accept them and promise to read them, and often goes his way with a heavy heart, and a note in his journal expressive of his still deferred hopes that some good may follow his efforts in his Lord's service, though so little is apparent.

"But though not apparent to him, his visit is often a most important era in the history of the village, when he least thinks he has made any impression. Like every other visitor of note, he is talked over at the evening meeting of the village elders, and the talk is generally some index to the popular opinion.

"A fanatic or two, the bigoted old Brahmin Shastri and a rather disaffected Mohammedan Moolla, are of opinion that under a well-ordered Government such preaching would be stopped. It is all part and parcel of the same insidious design for taking all rent-free lands from temples and mosques, and turning the people into Christians.

"They would probably say a good deal more in the same strain if the prudent elders did not interfere to stop anything which malicious eavesdroppers might construe into treason against Government.

". . . Probably, as regards both the views of Government and the futility of the Padre's preaching, the feelings of the speakers are less positive than their expressions, and the more sagacious have a sort of instinctive misgiving that though the Padre is not a 'Department,' his talk is likely to work more change in the village than all the departments in India put together. But they have no very obvious grounds for their fears, and therefore say little about them.

"There are, however, two or three who do not cease to think of the subject when the assembly breaks up.

"In every village community will be found some men of naturally devout minds, ill content with what their ancestral system offers them.

"Their hearts have been stirred by misfortune or suffering, their consciences awakened they hardly know how. They have vainly sought rest for their souls by self-inflicted penances and long pilgrimages, and sacrifices of what they

love and value. In this state they hear something from this new religion, some words of St. Paul or St. John, or some saying of our Lord's, which seems to promise them what they have long sought, and they resolve, if possible, to learn more about it.

"Then there are members of the 'outside' population, the helots and serfs, who, important as they are to the village community, are not admitted to the Council of Elders, but talk among themselves in a little council of their own, under the tree by their huts outside the village. There has been much to stir their minds ever since these white faces first appeared in the land. The yeomen of pure Hindoo descent, the shopkeepers, and the Brahmins, still hold these outsiders, as they have done for ages past, unclean, and feel polluted by their touch; but the 'Sahibs' do not appear to think so, at least not till they learn it from the Brahmins.

"The younger Sahibs may be hot and hasty sometimes, and get impatient when people don't understand their bad pronunciation, but it is clear they don't agree with the Brahmins in matters of caste, and every one of the speakers has some instance of his own experience, something which occurred when he was hunting or shooting with the Sahib, or when he was giving evidence in his Court, or taking a message from him, which proves that the Sahib looks on all these distinctions of caste as nonsense, and that he would not even object to drink water of the helot's drawing, provided it was brought in a clean vessel. . . .

"Now this equalizing and levelling policy, which at first was a great puzzle to the villagers, seems explained by what this Dhurm Padre says.

"He tells of one God over all, of one Saviour for all, and insists that this God made of one blood all mankind; that there is no distinction before Him of Brahmin or 'outsider;' that all will be equal in death, and all be judged by one rule after death.

"If the Sahibs really believe this, no wonder all their doings and inventions have such a levelling tendency. The oldest of the community of outsiders have never heard anything of the kind before, and some of them resolve to inquire more about what the Padre says, and, if possible, make their children attend some school where they may

learn to read these books which the Padre gives so freely, and which tells such wonderful things not only of London and railways, but of a new heaven and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness.

"Perhaps the profoundest impression, though he says least about it, is made on the young Brahmin, the village schoolmaster it may be, or vaccinator, or postmaster. He has listened almost in silence to the discussion among the village elders. He was born in the village and had been taught a little Sanscrit by his father in boyhood; he has received a good education in his own language, and learnt enough of English to wish to learn more, at a Government school in the provincial capital. . . . He has in his heart the most profound contempt for all that his father, the bigoted old Shastri, and his friends go on talking about their gods, and the silly, licentious tales of what their gods did, which seem to him only fit to amuse vicious children; he is pained at their open worship of their hideous stone and metal idols, whose legendary acts and attributes appear to his awakened moral sense even more debased than their outward forms.

"But this he is forced to keep to himself. He would not willingly vex his father or his kind old mother, and evil be to him if they or their friends suspected half the thoughts that rise up in his heart. So he works at his official duties, has a talk now and then with a former class-fellow who visits the village as a surveyor, tax assessor, or in some other public department, and who he finds is as unsettled as himself, and muses often on the inexplicable tangle of human affairs. . . . He is a patriot in his way. . . . He has dreams of his own about his own people and country, which he hardly dares breathe to himself, as he mourns over the hopeless internal divisions of India, and feels that heavy as may be the yoke of the most benevolent foreign ruler, it must be borne as long as the children of India are so obviously unable to combine for the common good and rule themselves.

"In the common truths which the 'Dhurm Padre' urges so earnestly with no object but the personal salvation of his hearers, the young Brahmin thinks he sees the secret of that wonderful power which has enabled the people of a remote islet in the Northern Seas to subjugate the hundred millions of Hindoostan, with all its ancient arts, civilization, and elements of wealth and power. . . .

"And as he watches the good Padre mount his pony and leave the village in doubt whether his day's preaching has produced the slightest permanent effect, the young Brahmin feels that he at least has caught a glimpse of truths which may not only change his future but the future of India. It is but one step on the thorny and toilsome path, but he has resolved to take it and to inquire further, to get a Bible and read the books which the Padre says contain all the whole secret of his own faith, and to learn more from some friend who has attended a Mission School. And if the truth has not lost its virtue among the many centuries since it was first proclaimed among the mountains of Judea, who shall set limits to its energy when preached in their own tongues and by their own countrymen among the myriads of India?"

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA.

Preparations for the tour—Presents—Special correspondents—Athens —Egypt — Bombay — Baroda — Ceylon—Calcutta—Peshawur— Policy towards the Ameer—Return to England—Proclamation of Empress of India—Correspondence with Lord Lytton.

ONCE more Frere was to revisit India.

The Prince of Wales had long had a wish to travel there. The suggestion that he should do so had been originally made by Lord Canning to the Prince Consort, who had taken it up warmly, intending that it should be carried out whenever a convenient opportunity should occur. Other Indian statesmen had approved the idea, knowing what a good political effect it might have if well and judiciously executed.

Frere seems to have been at once fixed upon, by common consent, as the man who was best fitted, for social and political reasons, to undertake the direction and management of the tour, the effect of which upon the people of India would depend so much upon knowledge of native institutions, character, and susceptibilities, and upon sympathy and tact in dealing with them.

Some indeed wondered if a man of his distinction, and who had completed his sixtieth year, would consent to forego his hard-earned repose for so arduous and harassing an office. But he did not hesitate. It had long been his

desire that Royalty should be seen in the flesh by the people of India. The Eastern mind, he had often pointed out, seeks for a visible chief on whom to bestow its allegiance, and cannot rest on the idea of power latent in a code or a constitution. "Who is my lord and master?" not "By what rules and laws am I to be governed?" is the question that is asked. In modern European life the significance of pageants has become faint and feeble, or has vanished altogether except as a historical commemoration. It requires an effort of the imagination to realize that—like the act of homage done in public to the liege lord in the feudal ages of Europe—the regulated splendours and ceremonies of an Indian Durbar still constitute a recognition, a symbol, and a picture of existing fact, and an indication of the source and degrees of authority, which have a practical effect and influence on the minds of those who witness them. "The event of the Prince's coming," writes Lord Napier of Magdala, "is a great one for our prestige in India. It is a want that has been unfulfilled since the time of the best Moguls. The shadow of it rests in the mind of the old Zemindar, who holds with pride the family sunnud given by Akbar."

Frere drew up the plan of the tour, communicated with the authorities at the places to be visited, and was consulted or referred to as to all the arrangements, great and small, which had to be made. The six or seven months before the start for India were a time of continual interviewing and letter-writing. The Admiralty fitted out the large troop-ship *Serapis* for the voyage. The Indian Government were to pay the travelling expenses in India. The House of Commons passed a vote of sixty thousand pounds for the personal expenses of the Prince and his suite, notwithstanding the opposition of some members who were unable to perceive that the tour was to have

any more significance or effect than a magnified Lord Mayor's show, and some of whom took especial exception to any part of the expense being borne by India.

This sum of sixty thousand pounds, Frere, who would have to make it suffice, and was to be responsible for the way in which it was spent, pronounced to be inadequate. Unless the amount was increased to something like a hundred thousand pounds, the Prince would be unable to give presents, according to indispensable custom, suitable to his rank and to the occasion. Old Indian officials, when consulted, expressed their agreement with him. On the question of India contributing, Sir George Clerk said—

"Cost is a matter which ought to be regulated on an estimate of expenditure on no lavish scale, but requisite for effecting the important object handsomely. . . . I am in the habit of never disbursing the public money of India unless convinced that its people, high and low, would go with me. On this occasion I would provide one hundred thousand pounds from the Treasury of India." *

The question of presents produced much discussion, and opinions were asked for and given by many high officials both at home and in India. In the East, since the days of which the Book of Genesis tells, it has been held disrespectful for an inferior to approach a superior without bringing with him a present suitable to his means and rank. This custom gave rise to many difficulties in the early days of our Indian rule, for since the days of Lord Bacon no Englishman in an official position has been able to receive a present without incurring the imputation of corruption. Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible to

* As an instance of the great expenses incurred on the tour, Dr. Russell writes to Frere, May 17, 1876: "The Indian visit cost the *Times* more than ten thousand pounds—a sixth of all that Parliament gave the Prince of Wales."

offend the native feeling by abolishing the custom, established a rule that all presents received by Government servants should be made over to a department of the Government treasury—the Toshakhana,—out of which were to be defrayed the cost of giving presents in return. This salutary practice has been maintained ever since.

In the Prince's case, though the presents he received would, according to the established rule, be made over to the Government, it had been stipulated that he should pay out of his own purse for those which he gave, and this alone would absorb more than half of the sixty thousand pounds.

But no more money could be asked for from Parliament that Session. It was suggested that as it would not do for the presents given by the Prince to be less valuable than those he received, an order should be issued limiting the value of what the chiefs were to offer; and thus the question stood over till the *Serapis* reached Bombay. In the mean time, during the voyage, Frere again wrote a strong note for the consideration of the Government both at home and in India, in the course of which, after making a calculation of the number of native princes who would have to receive presents, and the sum to be allotted for the purpose, he says:—

"The average value of each ruler's present is less than a hundred and seventy-seven pounds—certainly not a large sum for the descendants of an ancient line of princes to hope may be acceptable to the Heir Apparent of the Empire as a souvenir of such a meeting, and where this average is exceeded there is usually some obvious reason: *e.g.* the Raja of Kolapoor asks leave to call after H.R.H.'s name a hospital which he proposes to build at a cost of thirty thousand pounds.

"Of course to such a proposal no reasonable objection can be offered, and when the young ruler asks H.R.H. to accept, as a personal memorial of a meeting which to the

Raja will be the great event of his reign, an ancient jewelled sword and dagger worth six hundred pounds, some relic probably of the days of Sivaji, or of some other of the Raja's Mahratta ancestors, is he to be told to substitute something more trumpery because the English nation cannot afford to let the Prince give such a watch as he would at home give from his own purse to an Eton schoolboy, or a snuff-box such as he would leave with the locomotive superintendent of a Russian railway for driving H.R.H. safely from St. Petersburg to Moscow? Take again the case of the Rao of Cutch, whose well-governed State has been the secure home of the wealthiest of Indian traders, and the daintiest and boldest of Indian artists in gold and silver and steel, for centuries before the Dutch and English merchants obtained from his ancestors ground for their factories at the Cutch capital, and whose dynasty has since then, for more than a century and a half, never refused the reasonable request of an English political agent. . . . After hearing how the Rao and his predecessor have suppressed female infanticide when it had the religious sanction of ages, how he has founded female schools, and within the last three years gone further than the British Government required in coercing its subjects to give up slave-holding in African States, is this Rao to be told that four or five hundred pounds' worth of his beautiful gold and silver work is too much for him to be allowed to offer to H.R.H. as a keepsake and a memorial of a visit from the ruler of one of the oldest, most orderly, and most loyal of the Indian States which have been in alliance with the English since they first appeared in Western India?"

To Frere's great relief, Lord Northbrook so far assented to his opinion as to procure ten thousand pounds to be added to the Presents Fund from the Indian Treasury, and some other smaller items of expense were provided for from the same source.

Amongst the innumerable details Frere had to attend to, were the arrangements with the special correspondents of the newspapers. It was desired to give them every facility for obtaining information. The difficulty was to

do this without interfering with the Prince's privacy. He writes to Lord Salisbury :—

"August 27, 1875.

"I have not been quite idle, for there has been a swarm of editors and special correspondents, who generally leave me under the impression that Hanwell, where nobody can get at one, must be a very quiet and enviable place.

"They have got it into their heads that a selection of six or eight or more favoured correspondents is to go out in the *Serapis* at the public expense, and that I am the only obstacle to each of them being one of the fortunate eight.

"They seem never content with a refusal in writing, till they have interviewed the obstruction. One very intelligent young gentleman, after a very long argument, seemed nearly nonplussed, when a very bright idea struck him.

"I had suggested he should always go on ahead and wait the Prince's arrival at Calcutta, Bombay, etc. 'No, sir, on reflection I see that would never do. It would give me the best view of the Prince's arrivals, but not of his departures, and that is the really important part. You see, it is *certain* that attempts will be made to assassinate him, and, probably, as he is leaving some place. Now, if I had gone on ahead when the attempt was made, I am sure it would kill me.'

"'Kill you?' I said, rather interested in his very loyal feeling.

"'Yes, sir, it would kill me. I am sure it would. I have never been beaten yet—never failed to be present at the most interesting moment, and if anything of the kind were to happen when I had gone on ahead, it would kill me at once.'

"However, at last they seem to acquiesce unwillingly in my view—that they will do best if left to themselves."

A good deal of not altogether unreasonable anxiety was expressed as to the Prince's safety. Lord Mayo's

assassination was then fresh in people's memory, and it was not a solitary instance of late years of a high official being murdered. Religious fanatics are common in India, and with every precaution, there still remained an appreciable amount of risk.

Frere received many suggestions of precautionary measures, one only of which, as it came from Lord Napier of Magdala, he forwarded to Lord Salisbury. It was that the Prince should have a bodyguard of twenty picked Life-Guardsmen, who, on public occasions, would be always about his person, and would prevent access to him by any unauthorized person. It was not adopted, though Frere was inclined to favour it, for it was thought that men fresh from England and ignorant of India would be of little use.

On this subject Frere writes to Mr. Knollys:

"October 4, 1875

"I return Mr. William Tayler's letter and printed paper. The latter well deserves H.R.H.'s attentive perusal, for, with some superfluous rhetoric, it contains some valuable facts and truths regarding the Indian Moslem secret sects, which are popularly, but often erroneously, called 'Waha beeism.' These sects occupy, among the Sunis or Turkish Moslems, much the same position as the Kojahs and other disciples of the 'Old Man of the Mountain' occupy among the Shias or Persian Moslems. They are held by the learned and orthodox to be dangerous and fanatical heretics, but are dreaded and courted by all classes. They are the natural vent for the undying fanaticism of Islam, requiring at all times to be watched, and in troubled times becoming a political force of much importance. . . .

"Their head-quarters in India are at Patna, whence they feed a colony at Sittarena on the 'Black Mountain' beyond the Indus. Mr. Tayler was Commissioner at Patna in 1857, and, having learnt much of their secret intrigues, arrested their leader, and so saved Patna from an outbreak. But

the evidence was then not very conclusive, and it was the policy of the then Bengal Government to ignore the existence of disaffection, so he was removed in disgrace and the Wahabee leaders released, fortunately not till the opportunity for a successful rising had passed. Twelve years afterwards an accident led to the whole organization being laid bare, and a most curious history it is. It will probably be fully told in the forthcoming volumes of 'Kaye's Sepoy War,' which I hope we may have to read on our way out, and I am sure it will interest the Prince.

"There can be no doubt, very special precautions are still needed against the agents of these fanatics, and no one is, I believe, better able to do this without fuss or worry than Major Bradford, who will be in constant attendance on H.R.H., and ought never to leave him while he stays in India. I know how fearless H.R.H. is in all matters regarding his personal safety, and would not for a moment wish his feelings in this respect altered; but I trust H.R.H. will remember that in all these matters the state of social, political, and religious feelings, outside our barracks in India, is often, especially in large cities, little altered from what it was in the days when his great ancestor Cœur de Lion stood face to face against Saladin, and both were the objects of plots by their common enemies."

Some persons and associations in Scotland and elsewhere thought it to be their special duty to address the Prince as to the manner in which he ought to spend his Sundays during his tour. It happened that the plans for travelling had already been arranged so that the Sundays might be kept, as in England, as days of rest. Frere, therefore, when he was applied to on the subject, was able to convince them that their intervention and the addresses they proposed to present would be unnecessary and superfluous, and thus what might have been an unpleasant occurrence was avoided.

Harassed by these and innumerable other details, it was

a relief to Frere when the time for starting arrived. Going overland, he joined the *Serapis* at Brindisi, on October 16. They stayed three days at Athens, and here he began to exercise his function of eyes and ears to the Government on political questions at each place he visited, which was no unimportant part of his duties. "You may think it hard we should find India so far west," he begins his letter to Lord Salisbury, "but it always used to begin in Egypt, and now that the Suez Canal lets Red Sea sharks into the Mediterranean, India has become a Mediterranean Power." He finds evident signs of improvement in Greece, but the rate of progress is not what it ought to be. The country has every advantage in natural position, climate, and soil, the people are frugal and laborious, the protection of the Great Powers renders the maintenance of a large army and navy unnecessary; yet there are no roads or railways ten miles away from Athens, and Greek wheat is undersold at the Piræus by wheat from Odessa and from Central India. He continues:—

"October 21, 1875.

"When the present King succeeded, either sufficient pains were not taken to rectify the mistakes in the old Constitution, or the mistakes were not recognized. I have heard that the whole thing was very hurriedly done at a meeting of the whole Assembly—Deputies scribbling on their knees any clause they fancied, and handing it to the President, who put it to the vote, and it became part of the new Constitution.

"There is also a ten years' 'Medes and Persians' clause, which is a bar to all amendments, however obviously needed. There is no Upper Chamber, and the net result, joined to universal suffrage, is a dead-lock to all useful government and a perpetual change of the whole personnel of the Ministry. Ministries last only a few weeks or only days; no one can tell you how many Administrations have been in power during the past few years, and every one is tired out except the

few scores of advocates and place-hunters, who make a profession of turning one another out and getting a few weeks or months of salary for themselves or their friends.

"I was introduced to the five principal leaders of parties in the present Assembly, and sat at dinner next Commondouros, a very sensible old man, who is expected to be elected President of the new Assembly. I gathered from his talk a confirmation of what I had heard from others, and told you above. He hopes to rule a little longer than his predecessors, as he has effected a sort of temporary fusion of two or three of the great parties in the Assembly, but no one expects it to last or to lead to any permanent party formation; and after a lease of power a few weeks, or perhaps months, longer than usual, he too will find himself out-voted, and have to resign.

"The King seems utterly worn out by these incessant contests for purely personal objects. I can imagine nothing more galling to a young and accomplished Sovereign, full of noble ideas and good sentiments, as he seems to be, clearly seeing what is needed and unable to do it, owing to the constant fretting opposition which turns the best projects of administration into ropes of sand. What struck me most was the extreme good sense and moderation of all his ideas, as far as I could judge them. I had expected to hear the old story—grand ideas of Byzantine Empire, and the like. But I heard of nothing but useful, practical schemes of good faith and good neighbourhood in foreign affairs, fidelity to engagements, and plans of internal improvement by better police and better courts of justice, better roads, agricultural improvements, irrigation, tree planting, and the like.

"His character is thoroughly respected, and M. Commondouros, in recounting to me the advantages which Greece possesses, gave a prominent place, as he looked across the table to where Her Majesty was sitting, to his country having the most beautiful and most popular of Queens.

"The work most immediately wanted is a railway to link Greece on to the railway system of Europe, probably to a Turkish line to Salonica and so south—the more

direct the better for every one; but any such line would be a great boon, and would soon extend to the Piræus.

"But for all these things a revision of the Constitution seems necessary; no one seems to doubt this, but opinions differ as to how it should be attempted. Some are for a *coup d'état*, some for the interference of the Great Powers, while some sanguine politicians think they would do it by force of Russia. I confess it only seems to me necessary to place a well-considered scheme before the nation and the Great Powers in order to ensure its adoption. No one wishes for a revolution—nothing so disastrous could be imagined for Greece.

"There can be no doubt there are dangerous elements here, which, once let loose, might set all the Turkish Empire and all Europe in a blaze.

"'What is all this to India?' you may ask. Much, I submit, every way. What England and India need in these parts is not a Levantine Ireland, but a really strong, industrious, and thoroughly independent Holland, or, if possible, an Italy, not inclined to be swallowed up easily by any boa constrictor, be he Christian or Moslem, able to appreciate the friendship of England and to help us to secure the neutrality of the Suez Canal."

At Cairo, Tewfik, the eldest son of the Khedive, was invested with the Star of India by the Prince of Wales, who made a short speech, expressing his pleasure in executing the Queen's commands in presence of the Khedive, who had done so much for facilitating communication between England and India.

Frere had much important conversation with the Khedive, and with Nubar, his Minister. There was a severe financial crisis at the time at Constantinople, which had dangerously affected Egyptian credit, and in a few days there had been a fall of nearly twenty per cent. in Egyptian stock. Nubar described the pressure put upon them by the Porte for pecuniary aid in any form, direct or indirect, but said that His Highness's Government had

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

he gave them all with a few words of explanation, which greatly enhanced the estimation of the souvenir, and which were often evidently more valued than the presents themselves. It was curious to see how chiefs, who would be studiously indifferent to the trays of 'Toshakhana' presents, listened to what the Prince said, and came or sent for repetition or explanation of the remark about hunting-knife, rifle, or portrait medal, which evidently gave the keepsake its value in their eyes."

And to General Ponsonby he writes from Poona :—

"November 14, 1875.

"Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of the Prince's reception. I expected much more, perhaps, than most people did, but I could not have believed how the natives would be moved by H.R.H.'s presence among them. This was yet more observable with the chiefs. I wish you could have seen the expression of their faces after an interview with H.R.H.—so pleased and happy. . . .

"Altogether I am sure the results already apparent are so particularly useful, that I should consider them cheaply purchased by the cost of the whole tour."

Durbars, banquets, balls, picnics, and other festivities, followed in quick succession, "eager, active men in fresh relays urging H.R.H. to do all they think possible. . . . No one stands work, heat, damp, or exposure, better than H.R.H., and few stand them so well." The Staff were almost worn out. Mr. Albert Grey, Frere's private secretary, became ill when at Ceylon, and eventually had to return home, so that Frere's own work became more constant and fatiguing than ever.

When the ten days allotted to Bombay, Poona, and the adjacent country were at an end, the plan of the tour was suddenly disarranged by an outbreak of cholera in the district to which they were going. The Prince's party could not

stay where they were, nor could they anticipate the time when they were expected elsewhere. A decision had to be made at once without communicating with the Viceroy, who was already gone back to Calcutta. Frere recommended that they should go to Baroda. It was a responsible step for him to have to take. Baroda had for some time had a bad name. The Gaikwar had lately been deposed for his crimes and misgovernment, and replaced by a child of nine years old under the regency of his mother. There was some anxiety as to the manner in which the Prince might be received, especially as he was coming unexpectedly at a few hours' notice.

The result, however, was a complete success. The elephants, with their gold and silver trappings, the gorgeous jewels and bright-coloured dresses were made to produce scenic effects as splendid as if the ceremonial had been prepared for months beforehand. And behind the show and the glamour, a practical political effect of real importance at that particular time was produced by the Prince's visit. It gave the Government of the widowed Ranee of a disturbed and unsettled State, just the recognition and support required to strengthen its authority.

The applications for presentation to the Prince were, of course, innumerable, and had to be dealt with with great discrimination. And some disappointment was naturally expressed by the inhabitants of the places which were not to be visited. The following is taken from a letter to Frere from a native official in Sind, disappointed that the Prince was not going there, and that he could not go and see him.

"It is a greatest pleasure and joy for the Princes, Chiefs, and people of India that the King, son of Victoria, by the

grace of God of the United Kingdom, etc., Queen, Defender of the Faith has been arrived in India, and also your honor, who has made several kindnesses favours and justice towards your subject while you were in India. My heart and sole is in a such degree anxious that if I had possessed a charm, I would have made myself a Bird, or made myself an Electric Telegraph and would have presented myself before the Gentlemen. However, if I could not obtain the Visit of the King I would have seen his glorious face from a distance." (Here follow some Persian Verses.) . . . "It is well know fact that the Prince of Wales will only come as far as Lahore and not to Scindh Country! Most respected Sir, I think the Scindh Country is not a part of India, it is a weak and poor country, but the people of India are most desirous to see the King, and also most desirous to see you as they considering you for your justice favours and kindnesses father and mother. But I think it is an unfortunate country of the Scindh that they are failure of their Wills." (More Persian Verses.) "Most respected Sir, it is my heart and sole's desire that I may obtain your visit, but it depends on occasion. At present I beg to submit my petition with thousand compliments to you and wellcome."

From Bombay the Prince went to Ceylon, and thence to Madras and to Calcutta, where Christmas and the last days of the year were passed, the native population there being at first apathetic, and even sullen, but warming up after a few days into something like enthusiasm. Leaving Calcutta, the Prince's party went by Benares, Lucknow, and Cawnpore to Delhi, where a camp of exercise had been formed, containing a large body of troops, European and native, and manœuvres or reviews took place daily. "The marks of approbation and regard," Lord Napier of Magdala writes, "which the Prince of Wales has shown towards the native army are politically of the greatest value, and have surprised and delighted it."

On the Prince's leaving Delhi, there was a rumour that an attempt would be made to wreck his train as it passed

at night. As a precaution, therefore, men with torches were stationed at intervals of fifty yards on each side of the line the whole distance—three hundred miles—to Lahore.

After visiting Agra, Gwalior, and Jeypore, the Prince was to have a respite from receptions and ceremonial, and to enjoy three weeks of sport at Naini Tal. Frere's presence during that time being less indispensable, he obtained leave of absence to fulfil a wish that he had cherished for thirty-three years—to visit the last resting-place of his beloved brother Richard, the young soldier of the garrison of Jellalabad, who had died at Rawul Pindee on his way from the great siege.

Lord Salisbury had asked Frere to report specially on frontier affairs, and on British relations with the Ameer, and he therefore went on from Rawul Pindee to Peshawur.

Peshawur is a walled city with an Affghan population, situated just within British territory facing the mouth of the Khyber Pass. Being a first-class military station on the frontier, it was essential that it should be adequately fortified, and also that the quarters of the troops should be made as healthy as possible, especially as the climate, with its extremes of heat and cold, is a very trying one. The question of fortifications and of the accommodation of troops had been dealt with in a despatch of the Duke of Argyll's in August, 1871, but after three or four years of consideration it was still undecided; "and the soldiers in garrison and their families still die by scores in consequence."

In a letter to Lord Salisbury, Frere describes Peshawur and the surrounding country:—

"February 22, 1876.

"After clearing the hills about Attock, you drive along the excellent trunk-road, up a broad valley, with hills

towards Kohat on your left, the Cabul river and Momund Hills and the snowy peaks of the Hindoo Kosh on your right, and the Kyber Hills in front; pass Nowshera, a large cantonment which is being constantly shaken by earthquakes, on a bare plain on the left, and twenty-eight miles further on you reach the walled city, commanded by a detached fort quite strong enough to resist any native attack; then come nearly two miles of very straggling native cantonment, with barracks and bungalows much intermixed, then two huge upper-storied barracks, with four smaller ones for officers' quarters in the rear. These were to form two of the seven or nine sides of the famous fortified enclosure. Beyond these the bungalow and cantonment buildings and trees come to an end, a parade ground, cemetery, etc., are passed, and the main road ends. It is cleared for some miles further, through fields which cease about half-way to Jumrood, at the frontier, then wide river-beds and bare gravelly hills in a sort of neutral ground up to the great deserted fort of Jumrood. A few friendly Afreedis hold a sort of police-post in the citadel. The path beyond winds among gravel hills and river-beds, with towers and fortified houses on some of the eminences, up to the jaws of the Pass, where the rocks rise abruptly on either side about sixty feet apart, and it so continues, we were told, many miles beyond where we turned round at the point beyond which the friendly Afreedis could not guarantee us from stray matchlock shots and attempts at kidnapping by their Troglodite brethren who live in caves in the Pass.

"From near Rawul Pindi the character of the population and their costume, style of cultivation, etc., become less and less Indian. West of Attock all is Affghan; the frequent streams from the hills, the mulberry and other fruit orchards near the villages, the veiled women and the tall, sturdy, well-clad men, are not of Hindustan, whilst the increasing insecurity as you near the frontier is shown by the fortified aspect of even the smaller houses: watch-towers rise above every cattle steading, and are scattered about the fields. They are built of mud—two, and sometimes three, stories high—with a door twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, which is reached by a ladder easily drawn up when the owner is inside; and in the larger

towers the door is commanded by a sort of projecting machicolation, whence stones, of which plenty are always kept on the roof, can always be thrown on any one attempting to get in at the door. Near the hills we saw few men unarmed. Even the little boys at the Pass had huge Kyberee knives, and many of them firearms. Part of this was perhaps holiday swagger; but all the men had arms, and shot well at a mark. In the cantonment, life and property are safer than they were some years ago. Still, armed robbers are always prowling about at night and after dark; our own people do not generally go about without arms or armed attendants. Only a year or two ago a drunken bandmaster, returning home at night from mess, was seized and carried off for ransom. Sentries and pickets are always posted as if in face of an enemy, and any one who goes at night beyond their lines, or who at any time passes the frontier, may expect to be shot at by our neighbours.

"This did not seem to me a very creditable nor, in any sense, an inevitable state of things, but I will say nothing now of border policy.

"The cantonment and city are both still very unhealthy, especially from fever, in September to November. The drainage everywhere seemed to me very unscientific and imperfect. Much of the land lies low, and it is difficult to drain, but there has been no attempt at any comprehensive plan, nor can there ever be anything of the kind whilst the present division of authority continues. There is a Commissioner who ought to be, and in some respects is, trusted with great powers, but he can spend nothing on the most necessary military public works without a reference to Calcutta. There is a Brigadier in the same predicament, but they report to, and ask sanction through different channels and from different heads of departments, and combined action is difficult. There is a great swamp east of the town and fort. It was once a fertile source of malaria, but was drained some years ago. The drains got choked, and when I was there the swamp was again denounced by the doctor as a fertile source of fever. The Commissioner and Brigadier consulted together how to meet the common enemy, but nothing could be done till orders came from Calcutta, further than Transylvania is from London; and Calcutta was not easy to move, for

the sufferers were partly civil, partly military—the drains military work, but the land drained civil—with different engineers, executive, superintending, and chief, and different heads of Public Works Department of the Government of India. No one has authority over both short of the Viceroy, and he, to be obeyed, must send his orders through several secretaries—one Financial, and two Public Works; but the Viceroy has also Bengal famines and Burmese difficulties and other things to attend to, so soldiers and citizens go on dying in their several "departments," because no one on or near the spot has authority over all departments, and no one can spend money even to save life, unless it has been budgeted for many months before.

"The poor Brigadier is not in an enviable position. He has no authority beyond his own camp limits. The troops at the outposts toward the hills are Punjab troops under the orders of the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and quite independent of the Brigadier and even of the Commissioner-in-Chief. Even in his own limits he has little power to carry out the most obviously sanitary works. He and the Civil Commissioner are quite independent of each other, and have no common master nearer than the Viceroy. Even if, like sensible men, they agree what to do, it is not easy for them to get authority to do it. . . ."

"Whenever Lord Lytton has decided what to do, let him put one man, whether Lieutenant-Governor, General, or Commissioner, on the spot, with full powers to do all that the Viceroy decides shall be done. A simple order, 'As you were in Sir John Lawrence's and Sir Robert Montgomery's time,' * would go far to rectify the present wasteful and inefficient system, and to remove the deadlock; for most of what I have described is the result of changes since they left, transferring final authority from Lahore to Calcutta or Simla. Its transfer back again might be effected by a stroke of the Viceroy's pen. The change was intended to promote efficiency and economy, but it has produced paralysis and waste. It has made the Viceroy virtually local governor of the Punjab as of every other division of the Indian Empire, and the con-

* *I.e.* when Sir J. Lawrence was Commissioner of the Punjab, not when he was Viceroy.

sequence is that if he does his duty in one, all the others must wait. . . ."

Frere found on inquiry that the disposition of Shere Ali, Ameer of Affghanistan, to the British was now "one of more bitter hostility" than he had supposed. As to the negotiations to be entered into, and the attitude and measures to be adopted with reference to him, he writes again to Lord Salisbury from Lahore :—

"February 24, 1876.

"I had much talk with Pollock on Affghan affairs. What passed at Calcutta when he went to discuss with the Viceroy the present position of affairs was so entirely confidential that he was not at liberty to mention either the subjects discussed or the results; but it was clear he had only been treated with half confidence, knew nothing of some of the most important elements, and must therefore have been rather a blind adviser. For instance, he had never seen any of the Persian despatches—copies of which are regularly sent every mail by the Minister direct to India—nor any of the English Foreign Office letters to you. He only saw yours to the Viceroy—the official ones —by accident, and was, in fact, advising very much in the dark.

"I gather that the Lieutenant-Governor here is not better informed, and neither of them seem to be more than half in the confidence of the Calcutta Foreign Office. What other sources of information exist I cannot guess, but I found Pollock, who, as the channel in all ordinary diplomatic correspondence, ought to know, if any one does, quite as uncertain as I was in England on such questions as 'What is the Ameer's real feeling towards us? What towards the Russians? What is the real state of his present diplomatic relations with the Russians or Persians? What will he say to any proposal to open more intimate relations with us? Why did he delay to receive the £100,000? Why the arms? Did he think the offer too much or too little? Was he sulky, or did he expect to get more by delay? Or was he alarmed at the magnitude of our bid for his friendship, about which

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.

"If, on the other hand, the Ameer showed obvious signs of disinclination to improve his relations with us, I would take it as clear proof that hostile influence had worked more effectually than we now suppose, that it was useless to attempt to coax or cajole him into a better frame of mind, and that we must look for alliances and influences elsewhere than at Cabul, must seek them in Kelat, at Candahar, Herat, and in Persia, and I would lose no time in looking out for them.

"If, however, the Ameer agreed to meet the envoy, the suite and the escort of the latter should be very carefully arranged so as to make a distinct military impression, without any appearance of threatening or bullying. The officers attached should be carefully chosen without stint as to numbers; bullies and swaggerers should be as carefully avoided as professors of blarney and soft sawder. There are plenty of straightforward English officers who do not dislike Affghans or natives generally, and who can be trusted to treat them, as gentlemen should, without flattery or nonsense. . . .

"Before seeking from the Ameer any direct explanation of his changed attitude towards us, I would instruct the envoy to give him a perfectly frank and full explanation of the English view of the present situation. It is worse than useless to tell him, as we have so often told him before, 'that the Russians are our good friends, and have no design beyond the protection of their own frontier and the extension of civilization and commerce; that we are not the least disturbed by their advance, and are prepared to co-operate with them in promoting an era of peace and good will; that Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook, all meant the same thing and had the same views of our popular policy.'

"The Ameer knows that all this is humbug, and that we know it to be so . . . and therefore I would waive all discussion about the past. . . . I would simply insist on the fact that we do not desire to advance our frontier, we covet none of his valleys; this he knows to be true, and understands to be in accordance with our plain interest. . . . In all the envoy said he should be careful to avoid appearing either to undervalue or to overvalue the Affghan Alliance. The envoy should neither wound the Ameer's

self-esteem by depreciating, nor flatter it by over-estimating the utility to us of an independent Affghanistan. I would let him clearly see that we quite recognized the service he could render us as a barrier to Russian advance, and that we were convinced an independent Affghanistan, friendly to us, would be infinitely more valuable in every way than a dependent or conquered Affghanistan.

"All this he can well understand and appreciate if it is frankly put before him, but then it is necessary he should clearly realize our view of his position as a weak power between two enormously strong ones, an earthen vessel between two iron ones; that for our own sakes we should infinitely prefer an independent and voluntary alliance to any share of his kingdom; that, rightly or wrongly, we do not believe in the possibility of improving our frontier by advancing it; that nothing would make us desire advance but a conviction of his unfriendship; but that, if we desired it, he would find no foreign support of any avail in a contest to which we should not be driven but by our instinct of self-preservation, but which once entered on, we should conduct with all the energy of a struggle for existence and empire, for supremacy in India and rank among the great nations of Europe.

"For all these reasons we cannot afford to occupy any secondary or doubtful position among his neighbours and allies; that the present state of things could not continue, and that it was for him to indicate what he would like substituted for it.

"This would probably bring about a clearer understanding as to what are his real wishes and expectations from us, and at least pave the way for some proposal as to the improved agency through which our communications might be carried on in future.

"If the Ameer came into your views and consented to receive English officers in positions where they can watch the course of events, ascertain opinions, learn about persons and parties, and act as your trusty videttes, I would not insist on the permanent residence of the envoy at the capital, Cabul. He would do well enough within our own frontier, as Sir George Clerk used to manage our relations with Runjeet from Umballa as well, or better, than we could have done from Lahore. But he