England with Mrs. Frere, visiting relations and friends, and his first home at Clydach, where he found his old nurse, Molly Cadwallader, still living. Bitton was his head-quarters, and here, in January, 1846, his mother died, and he had the comfort of being with her to the last.

The following April, Sir George Arthur was compelled by ill health to leave India and return to England. Thus, when, in December, 1846, Frere returned to Bombay, his appointment as private secretary had ceased. The only office that at that time could be offered to him was an Assistant Commissionership in the Customs Department at Bombay. His friends thought he would have waited till something more suitable to his standing in the service fell vacant. But not wishing to remain unemployed, he accepted it, and, entering on his duties at once, found his work absorbing and interesting. He made inquiries as to the way certain matters were managed at the Custom House in London from a cousin who was engaged there, and was thus able to introduce some reforms and improvements in the Bombay Custom House. In this office he remained till April, 1847, when the new Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clerk, offered him the appointment of Resident at Sattara, a native State in the Deccan, in succession to Colonel (afterwards Sir James) Outram, who was going to England. This he accepted, and at once took up his residence at Sattara, which is in the midst of a pleasant and interesting country, with a good climate, and within easy reach of Mahabuleshwar, the hill-station most resorted to in the hot months by Europeans in the Bombay Presidency.

No official duties are more elastic, more susceptible of indefinite expansion, than those of a Resident at an Indian native court. He may, under ordinary circumstances, confine himself, if so disposed, to keeping up a friendly inter-

course with the reigning prince, and to adjudicating on such cases as come before him judicially. But under favourable circumstances a Resident may also become the adviser of the court, not only in matters of external policy, which is his special function, but of domestic politics also, so as to become practically the Prime Minister and something more. For in an Indian native State there is little private enterprise, and almost all public works and improvements originate with the Government.

A more favourable field for such influence than the State of Sattara presented at this time could hardly have been found. It had only within a few years been rescued from a condition of oppression and lawlessness. A good beginning had been made, and a favourable impression of British power, justice, and good will produced by Mountstuart Elphinstone, Ovans, and Outram; but in internal administration—the organization of justice, police, and public works of all kinds—much remained to be done.

The Rajah, restored to power by the English in 1818, and confided in his earlier years to Captain Grant Duff's tutorship, had turned out faithless; and as he persisted in intriguing against the Government, he had been, in 1839, deposed and sent as a State prisoner to Benares, and his brother Shaji, or Appa Sahib, placed on the throne in his stead. Appa Sahib proved an intelligent and benevolent ruler, who did much for the improvement of his people. Though imbued with the ideas, habits, and superstitions of a Hindoo, he was willing and anxious to receive advice and assistance from the British Resident, and was always faithful to the Government, notably so during the Southern Mahratta war in 1844, when he offered a passage through his territory to the British troops. There grew up at once a good understanding and friendship between him and Frere.

How unsettled parts of the country still were may be gathered from the following extract from a memorandum of Frere's on the police of Sattara, written in December, 1847:—

"Mixed with the Mahratta villages, but perfectly distinct in locality of habitations and all their religious and social habits, are large communities of Ramoosies, Mangs, and other castes, whose professed mode of life in the last generation was either robbery or the wages of abstinence from robbery; and who still, under the pressure of want, take to plunder as their natural occupation. The number of Ramoosies alone, according to the last census, was, if I recollect right, between fifty and sixty thousand souls.

"Besides, there is a considerable vagabond floating population of gipsy-like tribes, whose mat huts may be seen outside every fourth or fifth village. . . . They have all some ostensible callings . . . but all occasionally live on their neighbours; while some tribes furnish the most persevering of those plunderers who habitually and systematically practise gang robbery."

Frere's papers of this date show how numerous and varied were the matters he had to deal with. There is official correspondence about various charges of murder and highway robbery, and on petitions from individuals alleging wrongs, private and public, the evidence being very difficult to sift in the midst of a state of morality where falsehood is scarcely held to be a fault. And there are suggestions for the distribution of New Orleans cotton-seed, for the adoption of a new model of a cotton-gin, and for the introduction of an improved breed of sheep; and plans for irrigation, for sanitation, and the prevention of cholera, as to which last there is a long exhaustive report, going minutely into every detail of the various causes of the epidemic, and of the measures to be taken for its prevention. And there are suggestions for the preservation of the ancient buildings and library at Bijapur, for the

making of roads, and as to the whole system of law and the administration of justice throughout the State. In each case the subject is dealt with in minute detail, often explained by reference to its origin centuries ago, so that many of the letters are complete treatises on the origin, growth, present state and practicable methods of dealing with the matter in question.

The late Colonel Sir Herbert Sandford, R.A., who, as a young artillery officer, was intimately associated with Frere during nearly all his time at Sattara, writes of the life there as follows :—

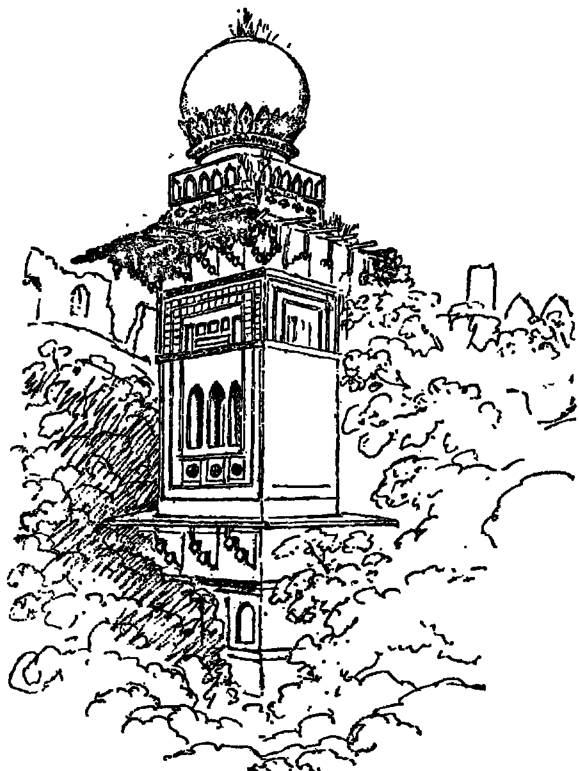
"I first met Frere in August, 1847, when ordered to Sattara to command the Field Battery of Bombay Native Artillery, which, with a regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, formed the British garrison. I remember being struck with the youthful appearance of the Resident, with his very intellectual and refined expression and gentle manner. As I came to know him better, I noticed also his lover-like devotion to his young wife, who, both then and in after years of hard work and many trials, proved herself so worthy of his attachment both as wife and, I may truly say, as coadjutor in his public and social duties. Frere had a fascination about him which drew my heart at once, and a request he soon afterwards made to me to examine and report on the Rajah of Sattara's siege and Field Artillery . . . led to the commencement of those intimate terms which lasted between us for nearly forty years. In the following April (1848) I was appointed Acting Assistant Resident, and I served under Frere's control till his departure for Sind at the end of 1850. His unostentatious but deep piety, his intense family affection, and his warm-hearted, generous feelings towards those whom he honoured with his friendship, were notable characteristics. The hearty grasp of his hand at all meetings and partings was but an index of Frere's kind nature. He was of a most cheerful disposition, and delighted in fun. In money matters, that great test of a man's character, Frere was most open-handed and generous. . . .

"He was too much occupied with official duties when at

Sattara to go on 'shikar' or sporting expeditions, though some parts of the province in those days abounded in large game; almost the only exception to this being on one morning when, by way of a break in the early office work, we went to the outskirts of the city and shot a large panther. . . .

"The society was small in those days, but the hospitality exercised by the Resident and Mrs. Frere brought us constantly together. The monsoon, or rainy months, from June to October, was the 'season,' and the life, though a happy one, would be considered but dull in the present days of perpetual excitement. An early morning ride, the friendly gossip round the tea-table in the verandah to discuss the contents of the Bombay newspapers, usually received at that hour two days old, in those days, though less than two hundred miles from the Presidency capital, an occasional picnic at Euteshwur, the Sattara fort, or at one of the neighbouring romantic spots, frequent dinner-parties and a very occasional ball, formed our social intercourse. Frere also introduced evening receptions at the Residency, where the Rajah, his court, and the native nobility and gentry mixed with the European society. Sattara being on the main road from some of the principal stations to Mahabuleshwar, the sanitarium of Bombay, received many passing visitors in May and October, from the Governor downwards, and the advent at these seasons of the venerated Bishop Carr was announced in those times by a salute of thirteen guns. The bishop, who was the most retiring of men, always thanked the artillery officer as if he had been paying a personal compliment instead of obeying orders. Divine service was at that time held at Sattara in an unconsecrated building, which had thirty years previously been used as a European artillery hospital. One of Sir B. Frere's best-remembered acts for the benefit of his fellow-countrymen at Sattara was his initiating and carrying out the erection of a handsome church on a prominent site, visible to all the surrounding country. A good library for the use of the English residents was maintained by the liberality of the Rajah, who assigned certain grass lands for providing the requisite funds. . . .

"The Rajah of Sattara himself was, as Mr. Frere often mentions, one of the most benevolent and enlightened rulers of his time. He lent a willing ear to the Resident's



SUMMERHOUSE IN THE PALACE GARDENS, BIJAPUR.
January 18, 1848.

SAT MANJLI, BIJAPUR.
January 21, 1848.

suggestions on the subjects of education, public works conservancy, etc. Sattara itself was a model city in these respects, even in the Rajah's lifetime. Amongst other public works was a well-made road from Sattara to the frontier of the Poona Collectorate at Neera. The making of this road, under the supervision of an English engineer in the Rajah's employ, Mr. Smith, caused the building of the first bridge in India over the sacred river Krishna, which in Hindoo belief is destined ere long to supersede the Ganges in sanctity. As this bridge enabled unbelievers to cross the river wearing their leather defiling shoes, great was the wrath of the Brahmins, who always took off their sandals when using the bridge."

About a hundred and forty miles from Sattara, on a fertile plain, stands the ancient city of Bijapur, with its massive lava walls and innumerable mosques, palaces, and tombs. One dome, built of brick, is larger than that of St. Paul's, and is the largest in India. Equal in splendour to Agra and Delhi, Bijapur was captured by Aurungzebe two centuries ago, and since then has gradually become a city of the dead. Successive Residents at Sattara, beginning with Mountstuart Elphinstone, took an interest in its preservation; and Frere ultimately succeeded in obtaining a grant of five thousand two hundred rupees from the Bombay Government for repairs to the most important buildings, and the rescue of a valuable library and manuscripts from destruction. Sir Herbert Sandford continues—

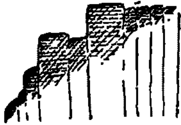
"Among other restorations was that of an arch in the beautiful Ibrahim Rosa, which lies outside the lofty and massive city ramparts. Aurungzebe took the Ibrahim Rosa buildings for his head-quarters during the last siege of Bijapur, in 1688; and the great gun which for two centuries was the heaviest piece of ordnance in the world, and even now ranks high with our largest cannon, was turned on the Emperor, and now lies pointed at the broken arch repaired by Frere's orders. This gun, or rather howitzer, weighs forty-two tons, and is of very fine metal,

ringing like a bell when struck, with much silver in the alloy. It was cast at Ahmednuggur, from whose Mahomedan sovereign one of the Bijapur kings wrested the gun, and having conveyed it over some two hundred miles of roadless country, finally mounted the immense mass on a rampart sixty feet high by mechanical means of which there is no record. . . . There were some curious superstitions in Bijapur respecting the effects of this gun being fired, and the Hindoos were in the habit of worshipping the monster, burning a light perpetually before the muzzle, until this was put a stop to with some difficulty.

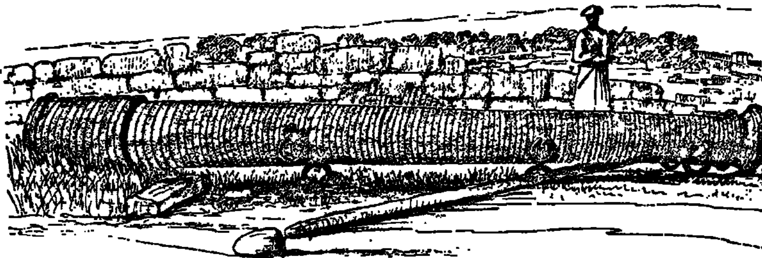
"When Frere took charge of Bijapur, there were some ten thousand inhabitants living in the hamlets at the various gateways. He gave an immediate impetus to the prosperity of the ancient city, by instituting a weekly market at the principal of these gateways, at which no octroi was to be taken. As heavy octroi duties were then being levied at all the neighbouring markets or fairs, most of them being outside English limits, the effect was immediate and great. Population rapidly increased, and a very considerable trade sprung up. A railway now runs through Bijapur, and the head-quarters of the Collectorate of the new Zilla of Bijapur are located in the former citadel."

The pressing and critical question at Sattara, which for the time overshadowed all others, was that of the succession. The Rajah was childless. He was the representative of the old Mahratta dynasty, the descendant of the great Sivaji who had founded the Mahratta power more than two hundred years before. All the pride of race, all the instincts which induce a man of wealth and power to bequeath his inheritance to a chosen heir, were present, and, in addition to this, a still stronger motive, arising out of the Brahmin superstition which entails a long period of purgatorial suffering on a man who dies without an heir—whether natural or adopted makes no difference—to perform certain obsequies at his funeral.*

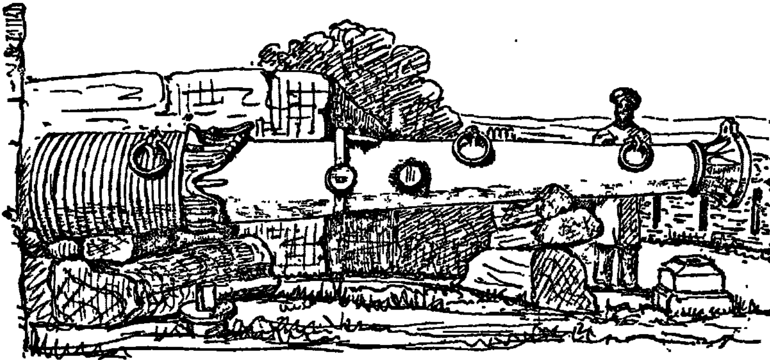
* "The son," says the great Hindoo lawgiver, "delivers his father from the hell called Put. There are, he tells us, different kinds of sons;


Breech.

Muzzle.



GUN ON THE OOPUREE BROOJ AT BIJAPUR (IRON).
January 14, 1848.



THE MULOOK JUFT (11 CUBITS LONG).

The treaties of 1819 and 1839 secured the sovereignty of Sattara to the Rajah, "his heirs and successors." The question was, Did these words, "heirs and successors," imply the right to adopt, and include an adopted as well as a natural heir? If they did not, it was claimed that the sovereignty reverted to the English Government. It was unfortunate that that Government had to be judge in its own case.

Frere writes to the Governor of Bombay, March 21, 1848, to inform him of the serious illness of the Rajah.

"Though I had an engagement to visit him in the afternoon, he desired I might be sent for immediately.

"His Highness appeared to be suffering severe pain, and was evidently in great alarm about himself. . . . It was long before our united efforts could restore him to any degree of composure, and he then told me, in broken sentences, that he felt he was most seriously ill, and had many things to say to me. . . .

"He then told me that 'this was the State of Sevaji

there is the son begotten, the son given, the son by adoption, and other filial varieties. It is the duty of the son to perform the funeral obsequies of the father. If they be not performed, it is believed that there is no resurrection to eternal bliss. The right of adoption is therefore, one of the most cherished doctrines of Hindooism. In a country where polygamy is the rule, it might be supposed that the necessity for adopting another man's offspring would be of rare occurrence. But all theory on the subject is belied by the fact that the princes and chiefs of India more frequently find themselves at the close of their lives without the solace of male offspring than with it. The alternative of adoption is one, therefore, to which there is frequent resort; it is a source of unspeakable comfort in life and in death; and politically it is as dear to the heart of a nation as it is personally to the individual it affects. . . .

"No power on earth beyond a man's own will can prevent him from adopting a son, or can render that adoption illegal if it be legally performed. But to adopt a son as successor to private property is one thing, to adopt an heir to titular dignities and territorial sovereignty is another. Without the consent of the paramount state, no adoption of the latter kind can be valid."—Kaye's "Sepoy War," quoted in the Ranee of Sattara's Memorial.

and Shahoo Maharajt; that it was for the Government who had so long upheld it to take such steps as it saw fit to uphold it still;' and then, with still deeper feeling and a more impressive manner, said 'that he committed to the keeping of the British Resident Bulwant Rao Raj Adnega, the boy he had taken under his protection,' and made the child put his hands in mine."

On a subsequent visit, ten days later, Frere found the Rajah worse.

"April 11, 1848.

"He then said he had hoped to have been able to meet the Honourable Governor at Mahabuleshwar, and there to have asked his advice as to the course he should pursue, but that he felt he could not hope to do so now; that he trusted that the same motives which had originally induced the British Government to maintain the throne of Sivaji and Shahoo, would now induce them to consent to let him continue the succession in the usual manner by adoption; . . . that he had always acted on the assurance that the presence of the British Resident was as though the sovereign was there in person; that he did not feel assured for a day what would happen to him, and he therefore trusted that I would sanction or obtain the Governor's sanction to the adoption."

Frere told him that a matter so important would have to be referred to the Court of Directors in London; and as to the boy whom he proposed to adopt, he was a foundling and a stranger; and Frere pointed out how unfit any one of low origin, out of whose dish the Rajah could not eat, would be to succeed to the throne of Sivaji. He at once admitted the force of this, and said that if he got permission to adopt, he would select some one of the family of Bhonslay, after due inquiry as to the purity of his blood, the qualities of the child, and the prognostics derivable from his horoscope.

Frere went at once, according to the Rajah's request, to see the Governor at Mahabuleshwar. Before he had been

there two days, he received an urgent summons to return. He mounted at once and rode at speed, but he was too late. In his absence, feeling his end approaching, the Rajah had sent for the Residency doctor, Dr. Murray, and told him that, having chosen a boy of the Bhonslay family, he was going to adopt him, and that he wished the adoption to take place in Dr. Murray's presence.

In vain the doctor, taken by surprise, and shrinking from the responsibility, begged him to await Frere's return. He shook his head, and saying that no time was to be lost, put pen and paper in the doctor's hands, bidding him write down in English the exact translation of the words he spoke in Mahratta. He then said, slowly and distinctly, "I have not the slightest hope of living till the Resident's arrival. I therefore now adopt this boy"—calling him into the room. After a few minutes the ceremony of adoption took place, in the presence of forty or fifty of the Durbar, and lasted about a quarter of an hour. On its conclusion the Rajah was lifted up in bed, and having had a turban put on his head and a shawl thrown over him, the adopted son made obeisance to him, and afterwards, at his request, ate sugar out of the doctor's hand, and from the hands of some half-dozen others. Taking Dr. Murray's hand, the Rajah said, "You must mention to Mr. Frere all that has passed, and all that I have said. Mr. Frere must arrange and manage everything after my death; from him all my people are sure to receive justice and kindness." His words "were now scarcely audible, and shortly afterwards he expired, amid the lamentations, not only of his family and attendants, but also of the numerous assemblage of people who were congregated within and around the precincts of the palace." *

Frere's official letter carries on the story:—

* Memorandum by Dr. Murray, April 5, 1848.

"It was after dark when I reached the palace; a vas crowd had assembled in the square in front of it, and th whole of his Highness's retinue was assembled as for State procession; I was received by Mama Sahib Sena puttee, his Highness's maternal uncle, one of the oldes and most respected of the Sirdars, who led me to th gateway, where the corpse was placed in a sitting postur dressed as in Durbar, and prepared to be carried forth.

"After the first clamorous expression of grief wa somewhat calmed, the boy who had been adopted wa brought forward.

"I told the assembled chiefs that . . . the Governc had expressed his approval of the advice which I ha given his Highness to await the answer of Governmen to his application for leave to adopt, and not to complicat the question by proceeding to any adoption pending th arrival of that answer; . . . that what had happened wa now beyond remedy, but that it was out of my power t recognize the act till I received the orders of Government that in the mean time I was instructed . . . to take charg of the administration, and to conduct it on exactly th same principles and through the same agency as durin his Highness's lifetime, till the decision of the Goverr ment of India should arrive.

"With this they seemed perfectly satisfied, sever declaring that they entirely trusted to the British Goverr ment, the late Rajah's best friend, and were content t abide by whatever it might think best.

"They then asked leave, which I of course gave at onc for the procession to move on, which gave occasion for fresh burst of grief from the crowd. The adopted son, chief mourner, preceded the corpse, carrying the fire f the pile. Mama Sahib then begged me to go upstairs where the Ranees were sitting, and he led the way, follow by about twenty of the principal officers of the State ar household.

"The lady was sitting wrapped in shawls, between tl two younger Ranees, close to the wall, and seemed qui to understand all I said, but it was repeated in her ear the usual way by her dewan. In so doing I observed l omitted or altered every expression which implied ar doubt as to the recognition of the adoption; and painf as it was, I considered it was, taking all circumstances in

consideration, the less cruel course to recapitulate, and caused to be explained to the Ranees, very distinctly, the reasons which made it impossible for me to recognize the act or to pledge myself to the decision of the Government on the subject. . . .

"When taken ill in the morning, among other expedients resorted to in the hope of prolonging his Highness's life, the Brahmins suggested the gift in charity of his Highness's weight in silver. As he was too weak to submit to the ordinary process, fifteen thousand rupees were taken, as the probable weight, and given by his Highness."

Sir Herbert Sandford continues the narrative:—

"Eight days after the funeral the customary presents to priests were made to ensure repose to the Rajah's soul. In Hindoo private life these consist in models of household furniture and such-like, with a few rupees given; but in the case of the Rajah one or more of every animal or article in any way used by the Rajah was presented. The recipient could only be a Brahmin, and as the belief was that the more valuable the gift, the greater were the number of the Rajah's sins which the vicarious presentee had to bear, there really was considerable difficulty in finding men to accept those of a more expensive character. In particular, no one for some days could be found to accept an elephant, till at last a very holy Brahmin who was living a hermit's life, but who had a son for whose marriage ceremonies he required money, was persuaded to take the elephant on condition of receiving also a sum of five hundred rupees. The elephant was given with a white or unlucky mark on its head, and was sold by the holy man to a Mahomedan. Not only were native manufactures given, but also European articles, such as a gun, and an English carriage and pair of horses, which latter had to be accompanied by a present of three hundred rupees. The ceremony took place where the Rajah's body had been burnt, where also in former times the Brahmin widows had been consumed with their husbands' bodies —sacrifices which the late Rajah had himself abolished on coming to the throne. The Resident, accompanied by several officers from the camp, was seated on a special platform, and it excited some of the younger military men

to see valuable property, such as silver bedsteads, handsome riding horses, etc., carried off by the priests, with bags of rupees as an inducement for them to do so. One officer was heard to exclaim that he would take all the Rajah's sins for nothing, if the carriage, horses, and guns were given to him! The ceremony closed with the presentation of three splendid-looking cows, whose influence was in some mysterious manner to enable the Rajah's soul to cross three rivers on his way to the Hindoo heaven."

Pending the final decision of the Court of Directors whether the adoption would be sanctioned or refused, and the province annexed, Frere was instructed to assume charge, and to act as *ad interim* Rajah; and the Bombay Government sent off a detachment of troops to support him. He, however, on hearing of it, at once took measures to have them recalled before crossing the Sattara frontier, as he preferred to depend on moral force alone.

Sir H. Sandford describes the official life at Sattara at this time:—

"Soon after daybreak we drove or rode to the palace, in the heart of the city, and in a large hall of one of these buildings found assembled the ministers of State, attended by their secretaries. . . . Each minister or head of department had, on large sheets of paper with wide margins, *précis* of all letters or reports received by him. The decision on each subject was written on the margin and initialed by the Resident or his assistant; and letters were then prepared for the minister's seal, or Mr. Frere's signature, according to their importance.

"After two or three hours of this we returned, and for the rest of the day Mr. Frere worked at the Residency, in the forenoon as Resident, and afterwards as Civil Judge, disposing of appeals, or as Criminal Judge, trying the cases prepared by me as magistrate. There were upwards of three hundred untried prisoners in the gaol at the Rajah's death, so that this, with the current criminal work, was of itself enough for any ordinary official. The completion of the trial of these prisoners brought out one of the traits in Frere's character which must have been often noticed

in the larger fields he was soon called to, by the assistants who had the good fortune to work under him—namely, how, in making any reports to Government, he always brought prominently forward the assistance he had received from his staff, even when, as in my case, this was trifling compared with his own share in the work. . . . It may be imagined what a spur to zeal and what a bond of affection was created in the hearts of his assistants when their chief wrote commendation, in such terms, of success which he had in reality been mainly instrumental in creating.

"The work of which I have given a sketch was frequently varied by visits to the three widows in the palace, who, partly from their own natural anxiety, and partly as mouthpieces of the numerous dependents concerned, were constantly urging the claims of the adopted son and the necessity for a speedy decision. The greatest tact was also required, in deciding many of the questions coming before the Resident, to hold a neutral position, so as on one hand not to give rise to false expectations that the adoption would be allowed, nor on the other hand to extinguish their hopes, and give openings for the work of intrigue, or even for plotting against the Government, in which some of their advisers, as was afterwards evident in 1857, had both the will and the power to involve the Rajah's family.

"When the fair season set in, Mr. Frere went frequently into the districts, leaving me on such occasions in charge at head-quarters, and himself made all the annual revenue settlements—a work which was afterwards distributed among three officials.

"The Ryotwarree system was in force, involving separate dealings by the revenue authorities with thousands of small holders of land. As most of the land was rack-rented, the full amount of rent could never be paid except in very exceptional years. The Rajah's system was to give but small permanent remissions, but not to exact full payments, leaving an immense amount of arrears due from the ryots. All these arrears were afterwards wiped out, and the European officers in charge of districts saw every tenant and signed the cancelling memorandum in the debtor's book; but Frere, in both 1848–9 and 1849–50, himself made the settlements, so that only what had to be paid was actually demanded, and gave at once remission

of the balance. To settle what this remission should be required an immense amount of clerical labour, and a general survey of the condition of the crops, and the supervision of this work Mr. Frere transacted in addition to his other constant duties."

On the question of adoption Frere writes to the Governor of Bombay—

"April 12, 1848.

"It is right I should inform Government that very great anxiety exists among all classes about the town as to the future, and no act is so trifling but that I hear it has been interpreted in various ways, favourable or unfavourable to the continuance of the State according to the hopes or fears of the party. Government will not be surprised at this when it is considered that the bread of almost every one in and about the city depends more or less on the decision. Besides the holders of jagheers, imans, etc., who may feel more or less secure according to the tenure on which they hold their possessions, there are at least ten thousand individuals directly supported by salaries from the Court, and most of these have probably many persons dependent on them for subsistence; on the expenditure of such Government servants mainly depends the trade of the city, and there are few of the cultivating classes even throughout the territory to whom the extinction of the dynasty of Sivaji would be matter of indifference. Most of those near Sattara, and all the more respectable families at a distance, have some relative in some situation or other in his Highness's service, and all for many miles round participate more or less in the benefit of the expenditure caused by the Durbar."

And in his Report to the Bombay Government, he says—

"September 23, 1848.

"The late Rajah having been a just and humane, a liberal and a popular ruler, any supposed want of equity in the appropriation of his dominions, whether by absorption into the Company's dominion or by a transfer to a rival and inimical party, will lack the popularity which a similar measure, whatever its grounds, would always find among

the industrious and peaceful inhabitants of a State delivered from anarchy and oppression. Moreover, as he was celebrated for his attachment and submission to the British Government, the measure will not find the excuse which all men make for a power ridding itself, even by means they disapprove, of a troublesome or dangerous neighbour."

As an instance of the veneration in which the late Rajah's memory was held, his servants, after his death, intimated to Frere their wish to erect some permanent memorial to him. Frere suggested the erection of a market-place with stone arcades for fruit and vegetables. The subscriptions came to so large a sum that not only was this carried out, but there was enough in addition to make a tunnel—said to be the first tunnel made in India—connecting the town of Sattara with a valley from which it was separated by a mountain spur: this formed a direct route to the sea coast, communication having been hitherto by a circuitous road.

The decision as to the adoption was long postponed, and all India waited, anxious; for it was a crucial case. It was felt that the destiny, not only of Sattara and the race of Sivaji, but of many another native State, in the event of a like crisis occurring, hung in the balance.

The old system, by which the English Government left native States independent, while exercising influence or control over them by means of its Residents, had of late been falling into disrepute. It had been established in earlier times mainly for the purpose of maintaining peace, and of spreading British influence without interfering with native administration. Generally speaking, the conditions were that the native ruler was to be maintained and protected on his throne by the British power, in return for which he was to contract no alliances and to wage no wars without leave, and to listen to the advice of the Resident in other matters. Where the ruler was not wholly vicious,

and the English Resident had force of character and tact, it worked well. English ideas of justice and good government prevailed under the old forms, and without wounding native susceptibilities. The blot in the system was that it tended to make the rulers independent of their people, to leave them unlimited power over their subjects while lessening their responsibility, and to deprive the oppressed of the only remedy for a bad Oriental despotism, the power of rising in revolt and killing or deposing their oppressors. The condition of the kingdom of Oudh and of the province of Nagpur were flagrant instances of misery, misrule, and oppression flourishing in spite of our advice and warning, but under the shadow of our protection. The English power had so grown that it was now strong enough to bid the grosser forms of tyranny to cease from one end of India to the other. Was it not, it was said, mere criminal pedantry to abstain from using that power out of an overstrained respect for the hereditary rights of despots to rule their people ill? The idea was in the ascendant that the true policy was annexation of the native States, as opportunities afforded, to the British Empire.

Others, again, who were fully alive to the dangers and difficulties attendant upon an extension of frontier, were anxious to annex, when a fair opportunity offered, any native States that intervened between portions of our own territory, so that all the country within our external frontier might be consolidated under British rule.

These views had a powerful advocate in the person of the newly arrived Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. His upright, honourable, and chivalrous character, and the transparent integrity of his political life, raised him above any suspicion of selfish or unscrupulous ambition to obtain applause or credit for himself by adding to the part coloured as British on the map of India. His policy, right

or wrong, was founded not on expediency alone, but on a conviction that it was just and right. But his training as a statesman had been in England, not in India. He was destitute of the experience and knowledge which can be acquired only by long and intimate personal intercourse and sympathy with the natives, and which was essential to the formation of a right decision on a question of this kind. Necessarily his opinion was formed at second hand.

And if a majority of those with whom the decision lay were in favour of the annexation of Sattara, the minority, which was opposed to it, comprised men of the highest authority. Amongst others, Sir George Arthur, the late Governor of Bombay; Sir George Clerk, who was Governor at the time of the Rajah's death; and the three men of all others best qualified to judge—Mountstuart Elphinstone,* who had had the chief authority in concluding the treaty in question; Mr. Grant Duff, who actually concluded it, and Frere himself—were strongly opposed to

* Sir T. E. Colebrooke, in his life of Mountstuart Elphinstone, says, "I do not remember ever to have seen Mr. Elphinstone so shocked as he was at this proceeding. The treatment of the Sattara sovereignty as a jageer, over which we had claims of feudal superiority, he regarded as a monstrous one; but any opinion of the injustice done to this family was subordinate to the alarm which he felt at the dangerous principles which were advanced, affecting every sovereign State in India, and which were put forward both in India and at home."

Mr. Elphinstone, in a letter on the question, says, "The succession, I conceive, was an internal affair, in which the British Government could not interfere, unless in a case which might affect the foreign relations of the State or the general tranquillity of the country. This, I conceive, was the general impression in India when I was in that country. There was no native State to which the recognition of its succession by the British Government was not of the highest importance; but none of them, I conceive, ever imagined that that Government had a right to regulate the succession as feudal lord, or had any pretentions to the territory as an escheat on the failure of heirs to the reigning family."—"Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone," by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P., vol. ii. pp. 390, 392.

annexation. As little disposed as Lord Dalhousie to allow the hereditary claims of a dynasty to override the welfare of the people, they were convinced that, whatever interpretation statesmen or lawyers might give to the words of the treaty, annexation would be regarded, not only by the Court, but by the people of Sattara, and throughout India, as a breach of faith, and an act of oppression exercised by the strong over the weak. Even if it was the case—which was at least doubtful—that Sattara would gain in material prosperity, they urged that the gain would be far more than counterbalanced by the shock to the feeling of loyalty to the ancient dynasty, and still more by the weakening of that confidence in the honour and good faith of the British Government which is the corner-stone of its influence and power for good.

At length, thirteen months after the death of the Rajah, a majority of the Court of Directors, after a long and animated debate, decided, in accordance with Lord Dalhousie's opinion, to disallow the adoption and to annex the country.

Strongly as Frere felt on the matter, he was keenly alive to the necessity of the decision, whatever it might be, being loyally supported and carried out by the servants of the Company, and so carefully did he abstain from expressing any opinion which could possibly become known to the people of Sattara, that even the widowed Ranee, the person most concerned, did not, till twenty-five years afterwards, when the question was reopened, know which way his opinion inclined. Privately he writes to Mr. G. T. Clark—

"One of Sir George Clerk's last acts was to propose that the adoption of a son by the late Rajah should be respected, and his colleagues voted against it. *Pendente lite* I was told to administer the Government so as to be prepared for either Rajah or Company. For twelve months the

question was discussed, and finally decided against the adoption. I battled hard, believing the absorption to be a gross breach of the treaty made by Mr. Elphinstone; Mr. Elphinstone thought so too; and the opinions of Sir J. Malcolm, Lords Clare and Ellenborough, Sir R. Grant, Sir J. Carnac, and Sir G. Arthur, were all, I believe, the same way; but —— and —— prevailed, and there is an end of the House of Sivaji. It is an iniquitous business, and one of these days we shall have to pay the reckoning. However, everybody laughs at me for this. I hope they may prove right. . . . Lord Falkland tells me he means to keep me as Commissioner to drill the 1,320,000 Mahrattas to regulation. Of course I shall do my best, but I well know the result must be disappointing, unless the Government will do many things to develop the resources of the country, which I well know they will not do. Hitherto I have kept the peace; whether I can continue to do so is, I think, doubtful. All this is for your private ear."

Frere's conception of the Imperial authority, of its extension and its bearing on native States and on races of inferior civilization, is well exemplified by the position he took on the question of Sattara. To Lord Dalhousie and his school the ideal British Empire in India was a compact territory within a ring-fence, to be extended at every just and convenient opportunity, and ruled in as homogeneous a manner as possible by British officials, taking their instructions, not only in important matters, but in details, from the Governor-General and his secretaries at Calcutta. Frere's ideal of empire was a pervading influence rather than a system of administration—a power which, though inevitably spreading, aimed at no extension of the red line on the map which marked the limits of British territory, and which would rather be indicated by a colour gradually paling and shaded off indefinitely far beyond it. Full of quick sympathetic appreciation of all that was good and venerable in the habits, institutions, and traditions of the various peoples and races with whom

he came in contact, he shrank from imposing on them the rigid forms and the dead level of a foreign and alien administration, and paid scrupulous respect to native susceptibilities and native traditions of rank and precedence, supporting and utilizing for the government of the country existing institutions and the chiefs whom he found in authority. But he insisted that in any territory, annexed or unannexed, over which the British protectorate extended there must be no uncertainty whether the European or the native power is the strongest. A civilized and a comparatively uncivilized power cannot, he held, exist peaceably side by side—as two European nations can—unless the uncivilized power distinctly recognizes that it is the weaker of the two, and that it must in essentials conform to the civic standard of right and wrong of the other. The "Pax Britannica" must be assured; the loyal and law-abiding man, white or coloured, civilized or savage, must be protected, effectually, by the moral force of the imperial name.

This conception of empire is the key-note of Frere's administration and policy from first to last. He held to it at the Sattara crisis, in dealing with the wild Beloochees of the Sind frontier, in coercing the 'Arab slave-dealers of the Persian Gulf and Zanzibar, in toiling, often unsupported and thwarted, in the cause of peace and civilization in South Africa. Its pursuit amid the turbid waves of public opinion sometimes brought him honour; in the latter part of his career, alas! misunderstanding and abuse. But never was a lifelong ideal more clearly perceived, more consistently, unswervingly, and loyally pursued.

The decision to annex Sattara brought Frere's appointment of *ad interim* Rajah to an end. Henceforth it became a British province, governed by a Commissioner. It was

natural to suppose that the choice of the first Commissioner would fall upon some one who had approved the change, and not upon an opponent of it. It was creditable to the Bombay Government that no such consideration influenced it. The transfer to be effected was a delicate, if not a dangerous matter, and to carry it out without disturbance and bloodshed required firmness, tact, and knowledge of and sympathy with the feelings and traditions of the Mahrattas. It was felt and acknowledged that no one combined these qualifications in an equal degree with Frere.

He did not hesitate for a moment to accept the post. He had been unable to prevent the annexation, but he could at least do his best to make it as little galling as possible. There would be a continuity in his friendly personal relations with the late Rajah's family, and also in practical matters of administration, which would help to smooth matters.

He was given (continues Sir H. Sandford)—

"the assistance of Mr. Coxon of the Bombay Civil Service for the judicial work, and of myself and Captain Nicholson, soon afterwards succeeded by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-General) Parr, for revenue, police, and magisterial duties. This was a very small staff for the introduction of the British rule into a province as large as any of the Bombay presidency collectorates, particularly when so much additional work was involved connected with the palace and jageerdhar; but Frere was equal to the occasion, and, not content with keeping things going, he found time to initiate and partly carry out some great reforms, which much improved the country in matters regarding the public peace, the health of the people, and the opening out of the districts for the promotion of commerce.

"Sattara, during the Rajah's reign, was much disturbed by one of the old curses under Mahratta rule—the perpetration of gang robberies. These averaged about one a week, committed by armed gangs sometimes twenty in

He writes to Miss Frere :—

"December 4, 1872.

"We picked up Sir A. Paget at the Legation and drove to the Quirinal—the palace with the horses grouped round the obelisk in front—and entered it by the gate in front of which poor Cardinal Rossi was shot in 1848. An aide-de-camp, in a cavalry uniform very like the Bombay Lancers, received us, and the private secretary soon came in, a sharp little man, who told us the king had ordered a gold medal to be prepared, which he would ask me to take for Livingstone. Soon after His Majesty called from the inner room, and the aide-de-camp ushered in Sir A. Paget and me. (The suite to be presented had been limited to three, and Hill, Badger, and Smith were with me as the three chief.) He received us standing, shook hands, and began to talk in very bad French, very sensibly, and, as if he was well informed on the subject of the mission, said he had ordered a medal to be prepared, and asked me to convey it to Dr. Livingstone. I told him of a copy of Badger's translation of Ludovico di Varthema, the Bolognese traveller in the sixteenth century, which I had had bound for him, and which he graciously promised to accept, asking many pertinent questions about it and East Africa. After about a quarter of an hour he told me I might introduce my suite, and he said a few words to each very graciously, and shook hands on our taking our leave."

Frere had conversations with Venosta, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with Sella, the Finance Minister, and with other leading men, who all took an interest in his mission, and to whom he pointed out the commercial advantages which might result to Italy from the opening up of the African coast. He also obtained, through Mr. Clarke Jervoise, a copy of a circular letter which had been addressed by the Secretary of the Propaganda to the heads of all the Roman Catholic Missions on the East Coast of Africa, who had under their care many African children, and whose concurrence and co-operation would be likely to be of value in considering the question of the disposal of liberated slaves. Monsignore Howard, formerly an English

guardsman, and then just made an Archbishop, who he found had a grateful recollection of his reception a few years before at Government House, Bombay, begged to be allowed to arrange for his seeing the Pope. Frere and his suite accordingly went one morning to the Vatican—in evening dress, not in uniform, as it was an informal visit—and met with a kind and sympathetic reception from the Pope, who stood all alone in a large room in his white dress to receive them, and conversed with Frere about his plans, ending by giving his blessing, with an expression of regret that he had now nothing more substantial to give.

From Rome he went on to Naples, where, after some trouble, he succeeded in discovering an institution he had heard much of at Rome—the Collegio dei Mori, on the Capo di Monte,—an establishment for the industrial education of Africans, managed by a Franciscan Friar, Lodovico da Casaria. The Monastery had escaped suppression as being an educational establishment, and moreover without endowment. Fra Lodovico "must be a man" (Frere writes) "of immense zeal, energy, resource, and powers of organization, for he maintains the Collegio, etc., as well as the Girls' School here, and two similar institutions in Egypt, entirely by the alms he collects." There were thirty brethren, and thirty or forty boys. The most obvious defect of the place, to Frere's English notions, was the want of cleanliness. He says—

"December 7, 1872.

"As to the spirit in which the work is done no outsider can be a very competent judge, but my impressions were those of apathetic resignation in the dozen or so of brethren we saw, rather than of any active spirit of devotion, and of a life which, though one of privation to an educated gentleman brought up in the luxuries of modern social life, is by no means so hard as the ordinary life of

"In order to provide funds for the village roads, wells, bridges, and such like, Frere introduced municipalities, the first in India. There were many petty and vexatious taxes on houses and trade which, having obtained the sanction of Government, he abolished, on condition that the town or village retained the least objectionable, such as octroi, for municipal purposes. Municipalities were partly elected, partly nominated, and in the course of a year or two every town and every large village had its municipal fund, and showed the benefit of the works thereby undertaken in comfort, convenience, cleanliness, and health.

"Throughout his whole career Mr. Frere showed his statesmanship in no more conspicuous manner than in the promotion of public works. Except the road already mentioned to the Poonah frontier and those in Sattara itself, besides one from Sattara to Mahabuleshwar, there was not a road in the province. The municipalities soon had roads and bridges in the towns and villages. But the great traffic which even then existed between the province and the coast below the Ghauts passed over mountain-paths on thousands of Brinjarrie bullocks. Mr. Frere found time, somehow, to draw up a scheme for great arterial roads throughout the country, some of which were begun in his time, but all of which, on the lines he laid down, have been since carried out at great expense, but with wonderful results in opening out the province to cart traffic.

"In the midst of beneficial labours like these, of which the above is a mere sketch, Mr. Frere, to the gain of the larger province, but to the loss of Sattara, was appointed Commissioner of Sind. The grief both of natives and of his European friends and staff was most evident, and showed the man more than any words can describe. I saw men of both nationalities in tears; and in after-years, when at the Cape of Good Hope, I again witnessed the same feeling displayed by the English and Dutch, when Sir Bartle was about to return home. . . .

"Though Mr. Frere left Sattara some years before the mutinies, yet the events of these days proved his prescience as regards the bad effects on the people of the refusal to sanction the adoption of a son by the Rajah; and also showed that had it not been for the firm but conciliatory manner in which Frere carried out a highly unpopular

measure, there would probably have been considerable disturbances in 1848–9. For the wish, the men, and the means were all to hand, but were controlled by his tact and sagacity. The Government of Bombay wished to reinforce the British garrison at Sattara on the annexation, and a weaker man might have been glad to save himself from responsibility by ruling with the aid of strong battalions, but Frere was of a sterner and more reliant nature, and his self-confidence was not misplaced."

In June, 1857, a Mahratta in the Native Artillery at Sattara, which was composed principally of high-caste men from Oude, gave information to Sir H. Sandford of an intended mutiny and outbreak. It was prevented by the prompt removal of the battery to the island of Perim, near Aden. The conspiracy proved to be a formidable and extensive one, and (continues Sir H. Sandford)

"was gradually traced to the two palaces, containing the adopted son of the ex-Rajah and last Rajah of Sattara. The former was a mere tool in the hands of his adoptive mother the ex-Ranee, who was a woman much resembling the Ranee of Jhansi, equally bloodthirsty, determined, and able. She was removed with her son to confinement near Bombay, on which occasion the great quadrangle in front of the palaces, where such a dramatic event took place at the Rajah's death, witnessed a very different scene. While still dark on a monsoon morning, I led, by the directions of Mr. Rose, the magistrate, a body of troops under the command of General Sir G. Malcolm, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, into the city, where, just as the day was breaking, we surrounded the palace of the ex-Ranee, known to contain many armed retainers. The family were at once despatched in carriages to Bombay, relays of dragoons and horses being ready, and as the last of his race was being driven through the city, two devoted servants tried to accompany the carriage, bearing the 'moorchubs' or emblems of royalty. A dragoon on each side of the carriage snatched these emblems from the servants' hands, and threw them on to the roofs of the houses which they were then passing. It was a most

significant token of the passing away of an old dynasty. . . .

"Years afterwards I was assured by a distinguished official, who had been visiting Sattara with special reference to old family connections, that he found the anti-English feeling stronger there than in any other part of India, and this not from the people disliking our rule *per se*, but owing to resentment at the recognition of the adoption, which Frere so strongly urged, not having been made."

London; John Murray, Albemarle Street.

F. S. Weller, F.R.G.S.

CHAPTER IV.

SIND.

The annexation of Sind—Napier and Outram—Frere made Commissioner in Sind—Ali Morad—Natural features of the country—Its backward condition—Kurrachee harbour—Lord Dalhousie—Personal and departmental responsibility—Kurrachee and Kotree railway—Roads and bridges—Speed-money—Postage stamps—Dâk bungalows—Kurrachee Fair—Canals—Sindee language—Letters to his children.

IF additions to British territory in India were to be classified into those which have been justly and those which have been unjustly acquired, that of Sind would have to take its place in the latter class. Up to the date of the Affghan expedition in 1838, all attempts to make a settlement of any kind in the country had met with failure and rebuff. The Meers of Sind, if they were agreed about nothing else, were agreed in keeping strangers out of the country. But when the occupation of Affghanistan became with Lord Auckland an object to which all other considerations had to yield, and when the shortest and easiest way thither through the Punjab was closed by the refusal of Runjeet Singh to allow an army to pass through his country, Sind became the only possible base of operations; and the occupation of so much of the country as was required to secure the communications, especially the passage of the Indus and the access to the Bolan Pass, became absolutely necessary before the expedition could proceed.

It was difficult to find any justification for such an

occupation. The best that can be said is that the Meers' title was not a very old or a very good one, and that their government was not much better, as far as the people were concerned, than licensed plunder. Anyhow, it was part of the programme, and it was done. And when, a few months later, the Meers, in natural anger, rose and plundered the British stores at Hyderabad and drove away the Resident, this was made an excuse for the imposition of the treaty of February 5, 1839, which bound them to receive a subsidiary British force, to contribute £30,000 a year for its support, to provide facilities for the passage of troops to Affghanistan, and to abolish tolls on the Indus; and in spite of Colonel Pottinger's remonstrances, Kurrachee, which had been attacked and occupied during the negotiations by a British force, was retained.

Early in 1840, Major (afterwards Sir James) Outram succeeded Colonel Pottinger as political agent in Lower Sind, and a year and a half later he was placed over Upper Sind and Beloochistan in addition. As long as all went well in Affghanistan the Meers observed the treaty, but, as might be expected, when disaster came to the British they were found to be plotting and intriguing. The Affghan war and immediate danger over, Lord Ellenborough determined to call them sharply to account. Sir Charles Napier was made General commanding in Sind, and conducted the war which followed not only with great military skill, but, in spite of his advanced years and frequent severe bodily suffering, with fiery energy and with a clear conviction that the conflict in which he was engaged was a necessary and righteous one. Without defending the manner in which the treaty of February, 1839, had been obtained, he was convinced that it was now right and necessary that it should be enforced. There could be no going back to the former state of things. The Meers had

forfeited whatever claim they ever possessed to be reinstated in their former authority by betraying each other, and selfishly making the best procurable terms each for himself.

Nor had they any friends, any national party in the country. "The Ameers," says Sir William Napier, Sir Charles Napier's brother and biographer, "governed by the sword and by no other law. The Beloochees were their troops; the Sindians and Hindoos their subjects, their victims; up to the battle of Meeanee, any Belooch might kill a Sindian or Hindoo with impunity, for pleasure or profit. They dealt largely in the slave-trade, and so did all their feudal chiefs, both as importers and exporters." They depopulated whole districts for the sake of the game. They extracted money from merchants by torture; and they drove mechanics and artisans out of the country by forcing them to work for starvation wages.

On the other hand, the British stations furnished an asylum to oppressed multitudes, and the shadow of British authority was a refuge from wrong and outrage. Hence the treaty by lapse of time had "acquired by degrees that secondary moral force which belongs to utility irrespective of abstract justice." *

Napier's campaign opened with the battle of Meeanee, which was followed by that of Hyderabad. Both were won in fierce hand-to-hand conflict against odds which are astonishing, even in the record of Indian battles; for the Beloochees were brave and stubborn men, who fought to the death. The annexation of Sind, for which Lord Ellenborough was responsible, was the consequence, and the Meers were banished from the country.

Then followed a long and angry controversy over the question whether the war and the annexation were necessary and justifiable. It is remarkable that the foremost and

* "Conquest of Scinde," by Major-General Sir W. F. P. Napier, p. 91.

angriest champions on each side of the question, Napier and Outram, were not unlike each other in many points of character. Both were upright, fearless and chivalrous to a fault, intolerant of wrong, tender to the weak, self-reliant, confident and impatient of control.

Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, who had appointed Napier, not only supported him in everything, but carried on a confidential correspondence with him on all subjects of importance, without the knowledge or intervention of the Commanders-in-Chief either at Calcutta or at Bombay, or of any department of Government or of the military staff. This was quite unprecedented, and caused much dissatisfaction. Sind was dependent on Bombay and its services for its troops, its supplies, and the greater part of the officials who administered its government; and the consequences of this new departure in administration would have been serious, had not Sir George Arthur, instead of taking offence, set himself, with rare self-abnegation and tact, to smooth difficulties and remove ill feeling. In the controversy between Napier and Outram he carefully abstained from even expressing an opinion. The annexation was done, and it was irrevocable, and it was every one's duty to support the Government and to obey orders.

Frere, as private secretary to Sir George Arthur, was more or less behind the scenes, and had the best opportunities for observing what was going on. His sympathies seem to have been on the whole with Outram, the "Bayard of India," for whom he had the warmest admiration, and against the annexation.* In a letter to his mother, of April 4, 1843, he says incidentally—

* Afterwards, however, he inclined to a different opinion. He writes, October 29, 1883, to Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, "I am bound to say that subsequent experience materially altered my views, at least as far as Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier were concerned. They inherited from their predecessors a hopeless tangle which hardly

"I have been much interrupted since I began this by the arrival of the news from Sind of another great battle on the 24th near Hyderabad. No particulars have reached us but that the English were victorious. This will complete the subjugation of the country; I wish it could convince me our cause was a just one."

But he fully appreciated Napier's integrity, sagacity, and indomitable spirit, and bore testimony not only to his high merits as a soldier, but also to the excellence in many respects of his administration of Sind, particularly as regarded his organization of police, and his clear perception of the importance and urgency of several great engineering works, nearly all of which were in after-years carried out.

Amongst Frere's papers is a letter about him written eighteen years afterwards, sent, or intended to be sent, to the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

"March 18, 1869.

"Allow me to challenge the adjectives in the description given of Sir Charles Napier of Sind, where your critic cites the great General as an example of a 'grotesque self-willed public character in high authority.'

"Self-willed he may have been, in the sense in which every strong-willed original genius must more or less be open to such a charge. But his self-will was always subordinated to his sense of public duty, and I never met a man of so much original force of character so open to any sound argument, fairly put before him, which appealed either to his intellect, to his moral sense of right and wrong, or to his feelings.

"In the great controversy with Lord Dalhousie, Sir C. Napier was perhaps wrong in form, and may have seemed self-willed, but he was certainly right in substance as regards many essential points. What the government of India lost by this misunderstanding was not known till we learnt it in 1857.

admitted of being disentangled by any subsequent peaceful measures. Possibly a man like Outram or Pottinger *might* have made the Ameers swallow the treaty without fighting, but only by making the Resident in effect though not in name supreme Ameer of Sind."

"He had surely no single element of the 'grotesque' about him, unless it could be found in the toil-worn, war-battered form, which his eager fiery soul 'fretted to decay,' or in the human pathos and wit which lighted up everything he wrote or said.

"The order your critic cites is one of many which will long live in the memory of our soldiers in India, and be quoted round the mess-table, and, what is more, obeyed in barracks when the formal utterances of the highest military authority are forgotton. Under his command men looked forward to a sight of his general orders not only as containing something to be remembered and obeyed, but as a relief from the monotony of camp-life, and there can be no doubt that they were among the many causes which secured for him the confidence of all good soldiers, and rendered him, beyond any commander of our days, idolized as well as trusted by his men.

"I had the best possible means of estimating his capacity as a civil ruler, and I have no hesitation in placing him in the foremost rank of the Indian statesmen it has been my good fortune to meet.

"His police system was, at the time he introduced it, far in advance of any other in India. It has been the model for most of what is good in subsequent reforms of the Indian police, and its performance has not yet as a whole been surpassed. It was in entire accordance with the views of the most experienced Indian statesmen, but was elaborated in Sir Charles Napier's mind, as he once told me, when he was watching the Greek coast from Cephalonia, and thinking how he would manage such a country of brigands if he ever got the opportunity.

"No Indian statesman of our time has had juster or more enlarged views regarding public works, and if all the useful, practical, and remunerative public works he projected were carried out, there would be work for his successor in Sind for many years to come.

"It was mainly owing to his liberal settlements of the land-tax, and especially in all that related to the military land-holders, that Sind remained so contented in 1857."

Sir Charles Napier gave up his command in Sind, and returned to England in 1847. Under his rule military possession of the province had been firmly established,

but the civil administration was of a somewhat rough-and-ready type. It was necessary that a revenue system should be introduced and organized, for under the Meers there had been no system; their practice had been simply to plunder the people of as much as could be squeezed out of them. It was therefore decided to appoint, not a soldier, but an experienced member of the Civil Service, to succeed Napier; and the selection fell on Mr. Pringle, an able man, who, after filling various offices in the revenue department had risen to the post of secretary to the Bombay Government. But his experience had been gained in "Regulation" districts, and the uncivilized and disorganized condition of Sind required a stronger man and one less habituated to routine. Towards the close of 1850 he resigned his office.

Lord Falkland, the Governor of Bombay, nominated to succeed him Colonel (afterwards Sir Melvill) Melvill, then military secretary to the Bombay Government. Colonel Melvill accepted the post. It was admitted that, if a soldier were to be appointed, no fitter man could have been found; but the Bombay Council objected to him, and the Governor-General supported the objection, on the ground that it had been decided that in future the appointment should be held by a civilian. Lord Falkland at once yielded, and nominated Frere instead.

This nomination also was vehemently opposed by Lord Falkland's Council, two of whom refused to consent to the appointment of so young a man—he was then thirty-five, and there were about sixty senior to him in the service—to what was then considered the most important commissionership in the Presidency. Lord Falkland, however, was firm. The matter was referred to England, and he let it be known that unless his nomination were ratified he should resign. It was confirmed, and the appointment formed a precedent for allowing a free hand to the

Governor of a Presidency in the choice of his Commissioners, which has been acted on ever since.

Colonel Melvill was keenly disappointed. But he was a high-minded man and a warm friend of Frere's, and it was with true and generous cordiality that he and Mrs. Melvill received the new Commissioner and his wife as guests in their house at Bombay, accompanied them to the vessel in which they sailed, and wished them God-speed on their way to the scene of their future labours.

They arrived at Kurrachee early in January, 1851, landing in small boats dragged up through the mud to the shore from the steamer, which could not get up to the Mole, and rode and drove thence through the deep sand—for there was nothing that could be called a road—to Government House, a long one-storied building with a broad verandah along its whole length, having a circular plot in front in which a few shrubs grew, but the soil was too sandy for a flower-garden.

On the afternoon of the same day, by a happy accident, arrived the veteran Sir Charles Napier, with his son-in-law and daughter, Captain William Napier and his wife. He had come down the Indus from Upper India at the termination of his command-in-chief of the army, to which he had been so hastily sent from England on the receipt of the anxious news of the second Sikh war and the battle of Chillianwallah nearly two years before. He stayed three or four days with Frere, a welcome and honoured guest. It was little more than three years since he had himself ceased to govern Sind, and there was no man from whose sagacity and experience the new Commissioner, on the threshold of his duties, could have learnt so much concerning them. And in spite of Sir Charles's often-expressed dislike of Indian Civil Servants, the regard was in this case reciprocal. "There was no one," he said, "so

equal to the duties, or in whose hands he would sooner see the administration of the Province of Sind." *

The province, as Frere found it, was quiet, and undisturbed by any danger of rebellion. The Meers who had been conquered by Napier had been pensioned and sent out of the country. So little formidable were they, and so little regretted by their former subjects, that it was found safe, so soon as 1853, to allow them to return and live where they liked. A careful and minute reinvestigation of their claims was made by Major T. R. Steuart—or rather by his assistant, Captain (afterwards Sir Frederic) Goldsmid, to whom he entrusted the inquiry—followed by an increase of their pensions.

One only of the chief Meers, Ali Morad, Khan of Kyrpur in Upper Sind, had been prudent enough to take the side of the British in the war of 1843, and thus saved his principality. Two years later he served with his followers in alliance with Napier in the desert war against the Trukkee tribes, and though he seldom brought his contingent up to time, and the English General had to take into account the possibility of his holding communications with the enemy, he proved faithful throughout the campaign, and was rewarded for his fidelity with lands and honours.

But before Sir Charles Napier quitted Sind, he received information that Ali Morad, by a cleverly contrived forgery had obtained wrongful possession of certain districts, which, as of right belonging to the insurgent Meers, should

* After Sir Charles Napier's death, in August, 1853, a public meeting was held at Kurrachee to consider the most appropriate method of testifying respect to his memory. Sir William Napier writes to Frere, with reference to this meeting: "To you, sir, I owe a further expression of my feelings, having read your speech upon the occasion. To offer thanks would be misplaced; it would be to thank a man for having felt nobly, acted nobly, and spoken nobly. But I offer the tribute of my admiration."

have been confiscated and annexed as British territory. A commission was appointed to try him. The evidence was quite conclusive, and the report of the Commissioner to this effect, confirmed by the Bombay Government and by the Governor-General, was sent to England. In November, 1851, the despatch containing the decision of the Court of Directors was received at Bombay. It was sent on by the steamer *Surat*, but never reached Kurrachee, the *Surat* having been lost on the voyage with all hands. A month later the duplicate despatch was sent from Bombay and received by Frere.

Four years had now elapsed since the facts which constituted the fraud had come to light. Ali Morad was a handsome man in the prime of life, with pleasing manners, a keen sportsman, a good rider, and an excellent shot with a rifle. Lavish and hospitable, and fond of the society of Englishmen, he rarely had a hunting-party at which some English officers were not present.*

Nor had the finding of the Commission arrested this friendly intercourse. As an Asiatic, the Meer could not, it was said, be expected to look upon fraud and forgery in the same light that a European does. The times had been evil; the hands of the English Government in Sind had not, in the first transactions with the Meers, been altogether clean, and it might be considered that whatever faults he had formerly committed had been condoned by the sub-

* On one occasion, some years previously, Captain Forbes, then English Resident at his Court, invited him to a hog-hunt with spears, a sport which he had never before witnessed. A fine boar was started, and Forbes, who was a good rider, gave chase. The Meer galloped close behind him to see the sport, but with no weapon except the short sharp sword which he habitually wore at his side. Suddenly Forbes's horse, going at speed, fell heavily with him. The boar, hearing the fall close behind him, turned to attack the fallen man, and it might have gone hard with him had not the Meer instantly slipped off his horse, drawn his sword, and disabled the boar with a heavy cut on the shoulder.

sequent acceptance and recognition of his services. Therefore when it became known that the sentence of the Court of Directors was that he should be degraded from the rank of Prince, deprived of all lands and villages which he held as such, and of the right to a salute of guns, and left with only the land which he inherited from his father, the intelligence caused something like a shock to the English community in Sind, to many of whom the sentence appeared unduly severe.

In anticipation of possible resistance, the Government had, without consulting the Commissioner, ordered a concentration of troops on the Punjab side of the Kyrpur frontier as well as on the Sind side. This movement of troops was, as the event showed, quite unnecessary, and was very distasteful to Frere, who liked to get his work done with the least possible parade and disturbance, and he took measures to stop their advance as soon as he heard of their coming. Immediately on receipt of the despatch, Frere set out to inform the Meer of the decision of the Government in the manner least hurtful to his feelings. He took with him Mr. (now General) Lester, who, as Deputy-Collector of Sukkur, was the Meer's near neighbour, and was intimate with him, and commissioned him to prepare him for what was impending. Though evidently anxious, the Meer received the intelligence with dignity, complaining only of the concentration of troops as an unnecessary aggravation of his disgrace—since he had given no cause for supposing that he would resist the English Government, to which he had always been faithful—and commending his two sons to Mr. Lester's care and consideration.

The following day Frere received the Meer at a small durbar held in his camp near Roree. Writing thence, January 19, 1852, to Lord Falkland, he says—

"He heard and read his sentence with dignity, but with perfect submission to the will of the British Government, and, from all I hear and see, I believe him to be really desirous of a speedy, a complete, and a peaceful settlement.

"He was entirely deserted by all men of influence, and the only people about him who talked of resistance were, I am sorry to say, some of the ladies! One of his three wives was very warlike, and an aunt, supposed to be nearly a hundred years of age, not only joined her voice to that of the bellicose lady, but opened her purse, and gave the Meer a large sum of money. He wisely, however, devoted it to paying off some of the most pressing of his creditors, and leaving his harem to talk treason to your Government among themselves at Kyrpoor, he came over and encamped near this, with less than his usual retinue."

He writes again on February 9—

"Since I reported the Meer's acquiescence in the demands of Government, there has been, on his part, no delay, nor any obstacle to a speedy settlement, except what arises from his utter want of system or management, his complete ignorance of all he ought to know about his country, and the defects of his agents, both as regards capacity and trustworthiness. I could not have believed he could be reduced to a state so helpless and destitute till I saw his country; after which I hardly wondered at his having no friends among his subjects.

"We have now been through about eighty miles of his late country, from Roree up to the Bhawulpoor frontier. Naturally it is by far the richest district in Sind, but any more wretched than the present state of its inhabitants I never beheld. His revenue and police were farmed to the highest bidder, and all he cared about was the game. Fifty rupees was the fine for killing a hog, five rupees for shooting a partridge, and I really believe a man would have had a better chance of his life for shooting an old woman than for killing a tiger. You would suspect me of great exaggeration if I were to describe the swarms of game which eat up the crops wherever we have been; but you will believe that the sum-total of misery inflicted must have been considerable when I confess that, anti-annexationist as I am, if ever a native prince deserved to be dethroned from his government, I believe Ali Morad is the man....

But Ali Morad had no intention of resting without an effort to get his sentence reversed. Contrary to Frere's advice, he went to England to prosecute his appeal. The Court of Directors by a large majority rejected it, but the Board of Control modified their decision, and pronounced one which, without reversing Ali Morad's sentence, held out hopes to him that if he behaved well in future, it might "hereafter justify" his case being "more favourably considered than hitherto."

Ali Morad, on receiving the despatch, naturally interpreted it as meaning that he had only to behave well in future to get his lost territories restored to him. Meantime some years had elapsed, the Mutiny of 1857 had broken out, and Ali Morad's son, Shah Newaz, was, at his father's instigation, giving practical proof of his fidelity by organizing a body of men, armed with sword and matchlock, which he placed at the disposal of the Government.

Ali Morad's conduct, therefore, at this critical time could not have been better. How, then, was his case to be "considered more favourably than hitherto"? He was in pitiable poverty; his income had been cut down by the loss of his territories to about a third of its former amount, and he was vainly endeavouring to maintain something of the appearances kept up in better days. But to restore the forfeited lands would have been the deliberate reversal of a sentence of punishment after conviction of a great offence, the justice of which was not questioned. Nor could anything be more prolific of evil than to retransfer to a Government such as his a district in which the people had accommodated themselves to English rule. A pension would have met the case; but the Meer, prompted or fortified in his resolution by the advice of an Irish member of Parliament, Mr. Isaac Butt, and of the advocate he sent him—and for whose worse than useless

services Mr. Butt called upon him to pay heavily—refused to accept anything short of the restoration of the lands. After various other proposals, a pension of twenty-four thousand rupees a year was, at Frere's suggestion, offered to his son Shah Newaz, but this also his father refused to allow him to accept.

One great point with him, the right to a salute of the full number of guns to which he was formerly entitled, has since been restored ; but he has persisted in declining any pension for himself or for his son. More than forty years have passed since his sentence was pronounced ; but, at past eighty years of age, he is still agitating for a reversal of his sentence, and the traditional partisans of Napier and of Outram still take opposite views of the proportion of his guilt to his merits.*

The case of Ali Morad is typical and instructive, as an instance of the confusion arising from the want—a want which Frere several times pointed out—of a rightly constituted Court of Appeal for State criminals in India, and of the mischief and scandal of members of Parliament being in a position to be appealed to to bring pressure to bear upon the judicial decision of such cases.

In its geographical aspect, Sind may be roughly described as an equilateral triangle, having the sea for its base, and two almost rainless deserts bounding the other two sides. It is, indeed, little more than the Delta of the Indus, which flows into it at its apex. A glance at the map is enough to show that it is in the shortest line of communication between the Mediterranean and the provinces of Northern India, and that the nearest way from England, whether by Egypt and Aden, or by the still shorter route, if ever it is opened, through the Euphrates valley and the Persian Gulf, is by the port of Kurrachee ;

* Since the above was written Ali Morad has died (1894).

also that Sind is the province of India lying nearest to Persia and Central Asia, and commanding the approach to the Bolan Pass and the road to Candahar and Herat.

But however important from its position and capabilities, it was at that time one of the most undeveloped and unattractive provinces in India, shunned alike by Europeans and natives from other parts. What civilization there had once been, had passed away under the rule of the Meers. The necessaries of life were dear. The climate in Upper Sind is the hottest in India, nor are there any hills to afford a refuge from the summer heats. A great part of the country is every summer flooded by the waters of the Indus, swollen by the melting of the snows of the Himalaya, which leaves, as it retires, tracts of unhealthy swamp.

Frere writes to Lord Falkland—

"September 23, 1851.

"I doubt whether anything but ocular demonstration could give a just idea how far Sind is behind the rudest parts of India in all that relates to the comforts and conveniences of life. Traces of the civilization of the time of the Mogul Emperors remain only in the ruins of their buildings, or in a few arts which still survive in large towns. The village system which embalms a certain degree of civilization in all Indian communities has been studiously undermined and, as far as the rulers could do so, obliterated, and, in doing this, we have even gone beyond the Meers. It was only during the last few years of their dynasty that the Meers began to imbibe something of the civilization which had survived intestine troubles in the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia, and which still exists in other neighbouring provinces of India. But the bulk of their nobles and influential subjects still remains almost as utterly uncivilized as the day their ancestors left the mountains of Mekran. At a few places, Hyderabad, etc., we are deceived by the show of civilization which the Meers latterly adopted in their buildings and mode of living; but if we go to the villages where the chiefs habitually and of choice reside, we find them travelling, eating, and lodging much as their

brethren do in Beloochistan, and living in all respects, save the use of handsome clothes and arms, in a manner which would be discomfort for a poor Mahratta Patel. . . .

"It is necessary to see and hear the natives of India living in Sind in order to judge of their aversion to the country and its causes. They come in great numbers, especially skilled labourers, servants and artisans, and are content to stay a couple of years amassing money from the enormous wages, nearly double the Indian rates, paid to them; but they very rarely bring their families, and never appear to settle. I have conversed with scores of them, but never met one who seemed to think of making it his permanent home. It was not the heat nor the distance they disliked, but that it was, as they described it, an uncivilized, unimproved place, difficult to get at and difficult to get away from."

In a Minute written at Calcutta ten years later, Frere thus describes the condition of Sind as he found it:—

"September 23, 1861.

"In 1851 there was not a mile of bridged or of metalled road, not a masonry bridge of any kind—in fact, not five miles of any cleared road—only one set of barracks (for a troop of horse artillery) of higher class than 'temporary,' not a single permanent shed for an arsenal, and only one masonry magazine (now abandoned) in Fort Bukkur for gunpowder; not a dock of any kind,—even the river steamers went to Bombay for repairs, and in seven years three of them (including the *Falkland*, a new vessel, the largest ever sent to India) were lost or damaged beyond repair at sea in the process. There was not a single dawk-bungalow, serai, or durumsala, or district cutcherry; but one market-place, and not a court-house, lock-up, or police-station, or office of any kind; no church, but what Sir C. Napier called 'an ecclesiastical convenience, I cannot say church,' built of reeds, mats, and mud; not a schoolroom or hospital. In fact, except some temporary barracks, we were merely encamped in the country. It took a couple of seasons to awaken Government to the deplorable want of even the most necessary public works in a province which was regarded as the stepchild alike of Bombay and of the Government of India."

The first object that engaged his attention was the port of Kurrachee. He perceived at once, and insisted strongly on the supreme importance of a harbour on the coast of Sind, capable of containing ships of large size, and easily accessible at all times of year. It was clearly the first step, not only to the development and prosperity of the province, but to the opening of regular communication by the shortest way between Europe and North-Western India. In an official letter, written two months after his arrival, he "earnestly solicits the sanction" of the Bombay Government to the expenditure of a sum of fifteen hundred rupees in investigating the nature of the bar at the mouth of the harbour, with a view to its removal if possible. Up to that time, beyond building a small lighthouse and laying down a few buoys, nothing had been done since the English obtained possession of Kurrachee to make the port more accessible. Whether the bar was composed of rock, clay, or sand, nobody knew; and so imperfectly were the soundings on it known, and so dangerous was it in popular estimation, that during the three or four months of the monsoon no ship ventured to cross it, and the port was closed altogether, and Sind almost cut off from the rest of India; the post from Bombay having to go round by land and across the flooded marshes of Cutch; while at the most favourable season troops and passengers had to land in small boats at such hours as the tide allowed, it might be in the heat of the day and with great discomfort, and not unfrequently there was loss of life from boats being swamped.

But the required assent to this modest proposal was withheld, pending the report of "a competent geologist." A competent geologist was not procurable in Sind forty years ago, so Frere obtained a report from Lieutenant Hopkins, of the Indian Navy, then port-officer of Kurrachee,

on the depth of water on the bar at all tides and at all seasons of the year. The outcome of it was that the bar was not so formidable an obstacle as had been supposed and that with due precautions there was no reason why a ship of five or six hundred tons should not enter the harbour at all seasons of the year, including the monsoon. This report Frere transmitted to the Bombay Government, suggesting "that besides taking these facts into consideration on any renewal of the mail-packet contract, they may deem the report worth sending to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Bombay Steam Navigation Company." Again and again he in vain pressed upon the Bombay Government the immense importance of the question. And at last, owing either to the publication of this report, or from other causes, a juster estimate of the danger of the bar began to be formed, and in a little more than a year from its being written, on October 18, 1852, Frere, with his wife by his side, stood on Manora Point, at the entrance of the harbour, anxiously watching through a field-glass the *Duke of Argyle*, an English ship laden with troops, the first that ever made the voyage direct from England to Sind; and when she passed safely over the bar and glided into the smooth water inside, it was with an ejaculation of fervent thankfulness that he laid down his field-glass and let his imagination picture all that that scene implied for the future of Kurrachee, of Sind, and of North-western India.

But the depth of water was not sufficient to admit ships of more than about eight hundred tons. In the spring of the following year, 1853, he applied to Government for a pilot-boat—there being no boat available for this service in rough weather—and also for a steam-dredge to deepen the passage over the bar. His application was referred to the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, who replied

that though he had never seen the place, he was of opinion that a dredge would be useless, and that a break-water, to prevent a deposit of sand, was what was required. In July Frere again pressed his request for an investigation of the bar, pointing out that, as a mere question of present expenditure, it would be desirable to save the outgoings of seventy rupees a month for small boats; and at last, after a year and a half of delay, the necessary consent was given. In January, 1853, the surveys were made, and, as the result, Major H. Blois Turner ascertained beyond question that the bar was composed of sand. Upon the receipt of his report, the Bombay Government replied that now the "question of operating on the bar with a view to its removal must be considered completely at rest." Fortunately, however, the Court of Directors in London had taken up the question, and even the Bombay Government could not save the bar for ever. Mr. Hardy Wells, who was not exactly "a competent geologist," but a pupil of Brunel's, whose merits Frere had already discovered, was called on to report upon the question. After carefully examining the coast-line and the rivers as well as the bar and the harbour, he proposed to increase the flow of river water into the harbour by diverting into it several streams which flowed into the sea outside it, and thus obtain a force which would counteract the action of the tide in depositing sand on the bar.

Frere determined to try and expedite matters, and turn the flank of Bombay obstruction, by writing direct to the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, informing him of the newly discovered facts as to the bar, of the plan for deepening the passage over it, and of the proposal to connect Kurrachee by a railway with the Indus at Kotree where it would be in connection with the flotilla which plied up the Indus to the Punjab.

Lord Dalhousie's answer was prompt, cordial, and encouraging:—

"December 5, 1853.

"I have read with the greatest pleasure and encouragement your letter of November 14, and the very interesting memorandum which it enclosed; and I am sincerely obliged by your having made me early acquainted with these facts.

"The accessibility of the harbour of Kurrachee during the monsoon is an entire change in the geographical and commercial character of the coast of Scinde, established only during the last season. It will effect an equally extensive change in the proper internal policy of the Government if further inquiry should confirm the prospect which the proceedings of this season have opened.

"Without a good harbour at Kurrachee, I think you would never have a really great trade by way of Scinde. But with a good harbour there, I know not why it should be very far behind Bombay.

"In any case, no one, I think, can doubt that a railway connecting the port of Kurrachee with the main stream of the Indus, whether at Kotree or at Tatta, is greatly preferable to any canal. . . .

"I heartily agree with you that both objects are worthy of full and immediate *investigation*, whatever may be the ultimate decision, and with you I am sanguine in expecting that the result of investigation will be most encouraging.

"Nothing that I can do shall be wanting for your aid. I will immediately write to Lord Falkland, mentioning my interest in the subject and bespeaking his aid. I don't see how this Government could write officially until it has something more before it; but that also I will try.

"I hope you will do me the favour of writing again on these and kindred subjects."

Frere writes to his old friend Mr. G. T. Clark:—

"September, 1853.

"You would, even after all you saw of Bombay ignorance and apathy, hardly credit the difficulty of getting anything done. Lord Falkland * is well inclined, and

* Lord Falkland, always his warm friend and supporter, used to call him the "importunate widow," in allusion to the persistence with which he urged the needs of his province.

does all he can, and the Governor-General, in everything that comes before him, acts like a great statesman, which he undoubtedly is; but with all that it is uphill work, officials (Goldsmid always excepted) poohpoohing and throwing cold water, merchants turning up their noses at a commerce of which they have only a huckster's notions, and dreadfully afraid, if they do believe there is any chance of any trade ever coming here, that the growth of a port five hundred miles from their own, and communicating with an entirely distinct region, will ruin Bombay. However, I have great faith in the power of truth, and do my best to be patient."

Whatever may have been the motive power which acted on the Bombay Government, works at the Kurrachee harbour were begun soon after this date. But they proceeded so slowly and intermittently, and so little was done, that the breaking out of the Mutiny in 1857 found it still very inadequate to the requirements it was suddenly called on to fulfil, as the only port through which troops and supplies had to be poured to save North-Western India.

Shortly after the Mutiny had been suppressed, in February, 1859, Frere writes to Lord Stanley, then Under-Secretary for India :—

"I heard by last mail from Colonel Turner that you had the subject of your Kurrachee harbour improvements under consideration, and that you had decided they should not be delayed for want of funds. I cannot express to your lordship how valuable I feel this decision will be, and that a greater benefit has thus been conferred on the Punjab and Sind than any one measure which has been sanctioned since they came under our rule; and I begin to have hopes that what I have for years been trying to impress on Government will be admitted, and that the Government of India and the Punjab will become aware that, for all commercial and military purposes, Kurrachee, and not Calcutta, is the natural port of the Punjab. Had the truth of my constant appeals on this subject been earlier recognized, I feel sure we might have saved millions,

and still have had good roads leading from the interior to the nearest and most accessible sea-boards, in place of the abortive attempt to cross the drainage of the country from Lahore to Peshawur, on which, I am told, half a million has been wasted. Nor should we have risked the temporary loss of the Punjab when it was cut off from Calcutta by the late rebellion and the road through Sind alone was open. It was not till this fact became alarmingly manifest that it was possible to get the Punjab people to look at all in this direction. Even then they took as little as possible from us, and with the worst possible grace."

The harbour works were not yet secure from interruption. Early in 1866, when Frere was Governor of Bombay, ill luck had brought to Kurrachee, to superintend them, an engineer who recorded his opinion that everything that had been done or designed was wrong. Frere delivers his soul in wrath to his friend Captain Eastwick, then a member of the Secretary of State's Council :—

"May 22, 1866.

"I have been more than vexed, I have been positively shocked, by the orders we have received to stop the Kurrachee harbour works and shelve the whole business—shocked, not only because I believe the stoppage to be a most unwise measure in itself, but because it is a conspicuous instance of that capricious change of purpose and policy for which our Indian Government has lately become so notorious, which takes all confidence out of its friends, and knocks all heart and zeal out of its old servants.

"I hardly know where to begin in reasoning on the question. I am ashamed to write to Englishmen of this nineteenth century on the general advantages of harbours, or to discuss the money value of a good harbour as compared with a bad one, when it is the only natural port of millions of our subjects. I had almost as soon begin lecturing on the moral obligations of the Decalogue.

"But I cannot believe you doubt the value of a good port in such a position as Kurrachee. It was almost the only work on the value and necessity of which Lord Dalhousie agreed with Sir Charles Napier. The plans for its

improvement were most carefully devised by the man who was far ahead of the whole engineering profession as a harbour-improver. Mr. Walker was a man whose opinion decided controversies about the improvement of the Mersey or the Clyde, and I can safely say that I never in my life saw designs for any work on which so much care, thought, and labour were bestowed by the engineer. They were approved by Sir C. Wood, himself no mean judge of such matters, and sanctioned by the Court of Directors. They were half finished, and, as far as they had gone, had produced precisely the effects expected by Mr. Walker; and why are they stopped? . . .

"The fact is, not one of those who condemn them had ever studied harbour engineering, nor, with the exception of Colonel Tremenheere, ever seen the works, or pretended to study them on the spot."

Happily, after investigation, the Government of India were satisfied that the plan for the harbour was right after all, and not wrong; and after the loss of much time the works were again proceeded with.

They were fully completed only about ten years ago (in 1883). An entrance channel five hundred feet wide, and of sufficient depth for the largest ships to enter, has been established, and wharves, tramways, railways, steam-cranes, and all the appliances of a modern harbour added, so that it can now claim a place among the most convenient as well as among the most important in the world.

As to the projected railway from Kurrachee to Kotree, a fortnight after Lord Dalhousie's letter was written, Lieutenant Chapman had left Lukkee, where he had been planning a road, and was sailing down the Indus in a native vessel to go on with the survey. In his anxiety to reach Kotree by daylight, he had ordered the vessel to proceed on its way as soon as the moon rose. It had not gone far when it struck against something under water, probably a sunken tree, and began to fill. A boat from the shore made an attempt at rescue, but the rope broke