"May 15, 1860.

"Mr. Wilson showed me, confidentially, the reports of the Committees of Council on the constitution of the Government of India, and on the relations between the Government and those of the subordinate Presidencies. I must confess that neither document struck me as going to the root of the matter, or as likely to form a useful guide as to the course to be pursued.

"The evils of the present system, regarding which all parties seem agreed, are briefly:—

"1. The Governor-General is overtaxed with work. It is an utter impossibility in the quietest times and with the greatest ability for him to do justice to it.

"2. The general legislation of the Empire is ill done and local legislation is hardly attempted.

"3. Consequently the subordinate provinces are discontented and ill-governed and the administration everywhere is enfeebled.

"It seems to me that the remedies proposed by your Committee will, many of them, add to the Governor-General's work and seriously diminish his power to do it. They will moreover tend to draw more power to England, and this raises the question which must be decided before all others—where and in whose hands is the active administrative government of India to rest?

"When last you considered this question in Parliament, all seemed agreed that India must be governed *in* India. The best available statesman must be secured as Governor-General; he must have the best men as his advisers; and he must have the largest possible powers, being responsible to England for the mode in which he exercised his high trust.

"But our practice ever since has been the exact opposite to these principles. The Indian Government refers, and the English Government exacts more reference than ever, and now, under pretence of increasing the Governor-General's powers, your Indian Council proposes to cut down his Councillors into Secretaries, and to make other changes which render it inevitable that the Governor-General shall in future take no important step, without knowing that it will be approved by a majority of the Indian Council at home.

"Now, if you are going to reverse the policy last agreed on in Parliament and to govern India in England, let it be done effectually—abolish the whole fabric of the Supreme Government, and deal with India as the Colonial Office deals with its Colonies.*

"You will not then long retain India. My conviction on this point rests, not on any distrust of an English Minister and House of Commons, but on the impossibility of their giving due attention to the element of *time;* and in Indian administration, as in war, time is everything; even Napoleon could not have conducted a campaign from St. Helena, and it will be quite as impossible to administer India from London.

"Steamers and electric telegraphs only increase the difficulty. You cannot argue by telegraph, but the rapidity with which you send news, begets an habitual impatience of delay, and these facilities of communication only make it more necessary that the Governor-General should act and decide at once. If you compel him, as your Indian Council's plan will, always to refer to you for instructions, his decisions may always escape reversal, but they will always be too late.

"I must confess, were I re-arranging the machinery of Indian Government, I should advocate a course the exact opposite of that suggested by your Committee of Council. I should select from the Council as many under-secretaries as you require and dispense with the rest, retaining only sufficient to enable the Secretary of State to act as the Indian Minister in the Imperial Cabinet, and to deal with Indian questions in Parliament—tasks ample for any mortal man, without attempting the impossible task of conducting, as *de facto* Governor-General, the detail administration of India.

"Why should you deal with the Governor-General of India differently from the Governor of New South Wales? The one is necessarily an autocrat, the other the head of a representative Government. But the reasons which induce you to abstain from interference in detail—to be content with general instructions, to leave him to do his best, and to judge him by results—are much stronger in the case of the

* That is, its *Crown* Colonies. The chief Australian Colonies, one of which is referred to at the end of this letter, had responsible Governments of their own.

Viceroy of India than in dealing with a Governor-General of Canada or New South Wales."

He writes again to Sir Charles Wood on the same subject :—

"August 8, 1860.

"Seeing all that I do daily and hourly in the course of the current business of Government, I should not be justified in concealing from you my impression that the Governor-General's difficulties are greatly increased by the very peculiar constitution, or rather the peculiar course of action of the Home Government of India. It is quite impossible to say what subjects will be taken up, to what extent orders will be passed on them at the instance of your Council. This uncertainty paralyzes action on all matters which are likely to be taken up, and often thwarts the best-considered measures of this Government, undertaken in the belief that your Council would not interfere. I need not go farther for an example than last mail. Mr. Wilson had shown by figures, what we already knew as a general fact, that, next to the army, the police are the branch of the service, the reformation of which was most important to our finances. On the necessity for reform we were all agreed, and we set about it in earnest, the Governor-General having led the way, some months ago, in his admirable letters to the Governments of the Punjab and North-West Provinces, of which you have had copies. I had not—nor, I think, had Lord Canning—seen Mr. Wilson's printed Minute on an Indian constabulary, when Mr. Wilson sent it to you, and there was much in it to which we should have demurred if we had seen it, and which Mr. Wilson would, I am sure, have modified on a fuller discussion of the matter. This discussion was in progress, and we were agreed on principles, and seeing our way to useful action, both in reducing the cost and increasing the efficiency of our various bodies of police, when we hear that a despatch may be expected embodying the views of your Council on the subject and prescribing a course of action which may or may not accord with the views held by the Governor-General and his advisers, or with what has been already done in the matter. Of course the immediate consequence is more or less to impede any action, and when we get the despatch we may find it

necessary to retrace our steps or to make further reference to you; and the least evil which will result must be delay, both in reducing expense and in getting rid of the costly incubus which is, in every point of view, such a drag upon us.

"This would be a very serious evil, however sound might be the views embodied in the despatch; but if those views are, as I understand them to be in the main, those of Sir J. Lawrence, the result must be still more disastrous. He adheres, I am told, mainly to his Punjab police in the very features in which it differs from the model proposed by Sir Henry Lawrence and in which Sir R. Montgomery and his best officers now find it faulty, and we must either go back to this system, just as it has been condemned by the Punjab, and give up the effort to reduce cost, or act in opposition to the declared views of your Council, or, what is almost as great an evil, suspend all action while we discuss the oft-debated question afresh. . . .

"I feel certain you will pardon the freedom with which I write; but not a mail arrives without some fresh proof of the evil resulting from the misapplied energy of the Council of India, originating measures and usurping the functions of the Executive Government of India, and that not on any one principle, but in a manner so uncertain as to render it difficult to say when they will or will not act.

"I feel this more especially in this matter of police, because, as I have often mentioned before, I think we have no time to lose in setting our house in order, whether we look to your horizon in Europe or to ours in Asia."

To which Sir Charles Wood replied :—

"September 17, 1860.

"I am much obliged to you for your letter, but you must forgive me for saying that I am a little surprised at what you say. Now, do not suppose that I wish you to do otherwise than write to me fully, frankly, and freely on all subjects, not excluding your views as to myself and Council. Except upon the subject of the police, I do not know in what case we can be said to have interfered with the functions of the Government of India. I shall write to you as freely as you have written to me, and shall

expect as free a rejoinder; and shall be very much obliged to you to point out where you think our interference has been unwise. It may prevent our committing a fault again.

"To return, however, to the police. . . . I appointed a Committee of my Council, one member from each presidency, and on their report a despatch has been framed. It was considered by every Member of Council who took an interest in the matter, and has gone with their unanimous concurrence.

"We saw no sign of action on your part except an increase in, as we thought, a bad shape—battalions of foot and horse, more like troops than police. In Madras we saw a police being formed which the Madras Members of Council thought inadequate, and undoubtedly we had Sir J. Lawrence's strong opinion of the tried qualities of the Punjab police. Now, I must beg you to remember that there is a greater variety of knowledge of different parts of India on my Council than at Calcutta. It seemed high time that something should be done, and we thought that we should be giving you assistance by bringing together all that we could as to the police of India. . . .

"The Council may have been wrong, but unless the concentrated knowledge of all India which exists in the Council is to be brought to bear upon such questions, I really do not know of what use the Council is. . . .

"I have endeavoured to explain to you our reasons for what we have done as to the police; but I shall be obliged to you to explain more fully what you mean by the Council 'interfering with the functions, or usurping the functions of the Government of India, not on any one principle, etc.' . . .

"Doing anything of this kind is far from my intentions, and equally so, I am sure, from that of the Council, nor am I conscious in what way we can be said to have done so.

"Pray, however, let me know in what way you think we have done so.

"At all events, it is advisable that we should *understand* each other. We may decide to interfere or avoid it, but we shall not be in our proper relative positions unless we understand clearly what we are and what we are not to do."

Frere's answer was as follows :—

"October 22, 1860.

"I received by the Bombay Mail your letter of September 17, and rather fear from its tenor that you thought I had written too strongly on the interference of your Council, especially in the matter of police. But on careful reflection I cannot think I overstated anything, and as every day confirms the view I then expressed, I avail myself of your kind injunction to state my views freely and without reserve, trusting that whatever you may think of the opinions you will believe them to be sincere and expressed only in accordance with the strong conviction of what my duty to the public service requires.

"First, as to police. I am sanguine that the public despatches you will have received shortly after you wrote, will have convinced you that the Governor-General and his Council had not forgotten the subject nor omitted to act as vigorously as circumstances allow in reducing the enormous police and semi-military charges. You will have seen that while on his tour the Governor-General took up the question as affecting Oude, the North-West Provinces, and the Punjab, in which reduction was more necessary and most easy; that he pointed out clearly how reduction was to be made, and what should be its extent, and there really remained nothing for the Government of India to do but to keep these Governments to the path marked out and to aid them in the unpopular and disagreeable work of reduction.

"The Police Commission, whose first report you will have received, will, I trust, give valuable assistance in both ways. With their plan before them, no man can say he does not know how to reduce or what to substitute for the existing system, and the new police will be more efficient than any of the old police bodies, while it will cost much less than the double police, half of it a civil police and half a civil army, which is eating us up in the Punjab and North-West Provinces, and has begun to do so in Bengal. This latter point you will see more clearly when you get the result of the Commission's financial inquiry. I need hardly observe you have never yet seen the real cost of the double police, because a part of the expense is always looked on as a set-off against reductions in the regular army, which, however, very rarely follow. Now

this double system is really what the police despatch authorizes. It is true you insist on reductions, and a few men will be reduced here and there, but it is the double system which is the true cause of expense, and till that is altered any large reduction is hopeless. At present the Punjab and North-West Provinces have a police very much in accordance with the views set out in your despatch—stronger perhaps than you would approve—but the reduction need not be large, and cannot approach to what Lord Canning ordered peremptorily and on the soundest grounds in April, and which, I trust, the Police Commission will aid him to carry out. I feel certain you will have approved the course the Governor-General took in deciding to go on with the plan he had sketched out before he knew we were to have a plan from home; but the despatch has very much increased the difficulty of reform and retrenchment. . . .

"This brings me to your question whether there is not a greater variety of knowledge of different parts of India in the Home Council than in Calcutta, and whether it does not possess the best concentrated Indian experience.

"To this I must with all respect answer in the negative. As regards police the subject is comparatively a new one in India. I doubt if there is much of value on record more than ten or fifteen years old. Even now there are really very few men who have studied the subject in a manner to entitle their opinion to weight; fewer still who have studied it at all in connection with finance. I can hardly think of one who has so studied it and is now in England, save Sir C. Trevelyan; but, apart from police, I cannot, with all due respect, admit that the Home Council is the best, or even at all an adequate, representative of the best Indian experience. I have the highest respect for many of the members, and some of them are confessedly among our foremost men, but the Governor-General has, if not in Calcutta, certainly within his reach in India, a far greater amount of Indian experience on every subject, and, what is even of higher importance, the experience is of later years. It is this which, especially since the Mutinies, renders Indian experience in India so much more valuable than Indian experience of men in England, some of whom have not seen this country for many years. India is changing even faster than England, and nothing can be

more misleading than mere Indian experience of ten years back. I do not now speak of statesmen, but simply of our first-class public servants. The wisdom of such men as Mountstuart Elphinstone is never obsolete. Nor, I feel confident, will you for a moment suppose that what I have said applies to the remarks or instructions of the Secretary of State himself. Nothing could be more valuable, and, I should think, more necessary to the Governor-General than the fullest expression of the Secretary of State's own views; but, in consulting Indian experiences, my view is that the Secretary of State would be better guided by what the Governor-General collects in India, than by men who had seen no more of India than many men still in this country, and whose experience, however great at the time, is now sure to be obsolete.

"You ask, if the Council are not to be consulted in such matter, of what use are they? I must frankly admit that I cannot answer this question, for I have always looked on such a Council as a most useless encumbrance to any statesman charged with the duties of Secretary of State for India. As under-secretaries, to aid him by their local knowledge of the several departments and provinces in which they have served, a moderate number of them would be most useful, but in their present number and with their present anomalous functions, it seems to me they can only prove a bad imitation of the Court of Directors; that they must mislead and do active mischief by preventing the two English statesmen who are charged with the destinies of India from properly dividing the great work they have in hand—the one to rule India as Viceroy, collecting and acting on the best Indian experience we can gather, the other to connect the vast machine of Indian Government with the Government and people of England. A similar division is now recognized between the duties of the Colonial Office and Colonial Governments. The Indian Council seem to me in danger of leading to a state of things similar to that which existed some years ago when the Colonial Office endeavoured to carry on in detail the Government of all the Colonies of England, and very nearly lost them in the attempt."

In sending a copy of this correspondence to Lord Canning, he says—

"I fear the truth may not be acceptable to Sir Charles Wood, but . . . holding [the] opinion [I do], I hardly think I should have been justified in not expressing it when occasion offered. The evil threatening seems to me a mortal one, and I have devoted a life-time to India to little purpose if I were to be silent from a wish to speak only smooth things, and I trust you will think I am right."

To this Lord Canning replied:—

"October 24, 1860.

"I return the letters to and from Sir Charles Wood. I am very glad indeed that you have defended your first position so firmly and conclusively. I do not think that a word too much is said, in letter or in spirit. Indeed, I rather wish you had instanced one or two more cases of ill-judged intervention. They are not hard to seek [find].

"I told Sir Charles Wood that I would write to him on the subject of his letter to you, by next mail; and I shall feel bound to re-echo what you have said.

"There is no fear of his taking anything amiss that is openly outspoken. He is himself hasty and snappish, but very fair, and much too thick-skinned to be resentful of anything that we are likely to write. . . ."

Writing to Lord de Grey seven or eight months afterwards, Frere makes the same complaint:—

"June 9, 1861.

"I wish I could agree with you in your treatment of us in the matter of the Contract Bill. It is just one of those measures which ruinously impair the authority of the Governor-General. Had the despatch laid down general principles and said, 'It is only a Bill framed in accordance with these views which I can approve,' we should have had no ground for complaint, and your object would have been secured. Still better would it have been to have done the same in an unofficial letter to the Governor-General and so put him on his guard. Best of all, in my humble opinion, to have waited till you saw what shape the measure would take when it left the hands of the Governor-General and his Council, warning us, if you thought it necessary, not to pass such a measure without

the ordinary three months' consideration between the second and third readings. . . .

"As it is, you have allowed a section of the community here (with whose views, remember, I agree in the main), in concert with a few members of the House of Commons, to dictate to the Governor-General. If this is often done, a timid Governor-General will refer every measure to you beforehand, and will do nothing till you have considered the measure in the India House, and committed yourselves to support him, while a headstrong and self-willed Governor-General will be always resorting to expedients to commit himself and you, if possible, before there can be time for remonstrance. Both are most mischievous results.

"Please remember I have no objection to your beheading a Governor-General and his Council too, if they do wrong or omit to do right; but hold the sword over us like men, and don't keep us in leading-strings like children. . . .

"You have no idea the trouble you cause us in the present irritated and divided state of public feeling out here, to prevent explosions in and out of the Legislative Council, which, however impotent in themselves, seriously embarrass us. I hope this has been avoided in the present case; but it has cost time and trouble, which I greatly grudge, as they might have been more usefully employed.

"But it is the principle of interfering with the Governor-General, except in the way of criticism by punishment or praise, as the case may be, *after* he has acted, to which I object, as leading to your governing India in Westminster instead of in India. I do not say 'Calcutta,' for it is, I think, the worst place in India for the seat of Supreme Government—a place where no man can do a good day's work for more than nine months in the year, and which costs you in one year four such men as Wilson, Outram, Barnes, and Laing, all of whom in any other part of India might at this day, humanly speaking, have been still at work."

The chief object of the "Contract-Bill," referred to in the above letter, was to endeavour to settle the differences between the Indigo planters of Lower Bengal and the

Ryots. Nowhere was the antipathy between Europeans and natives so bitter and so dangerous. A Commission, of which Mr. W. S. Seton Karr, Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was President, had been appointed in the previous year to inquire into the grievances complained of.* The general purport of their report was, that the Ryots had been systematically oppressed, that indigo was a crop which it was not profitable to them to cultivate, and that without coercion they would hardly grow it at all. The irritable state of public feeling on the subject at this time was shown by the following incident.

A certain Bengalee play, reflecting the native feeling against the Indigo planters, was translated into English and printed, apparently merely as a literary curiosity, by Mr. Long, a missionary, who was in the habit of translating native literature for the Government, and by Mr. Seton Karr. Mr. Seton Karr sent several copies to his friends, and unfortunately they were inadvertently enclosed in wrappers marked "On Public Service," as though the translation were intended to be circulated officially, and many of the leading journals had copies. The play was a sort of satire on the planter-class—"very much the kind of melodrama which would have delighted a Surrey-side audience twenty years ago," Frere writes, "substituting Indigo-planters for bloated aristocrats, or Jesuits, or the Italian Count who does the horrible in the English melodrama."

* The question arose whether a breach of contract by Ryots to sow indigo should be punishable by fine and imprisonment. Mr. Seton Karr and two of the Commissioners said No. The two other Commissioners said Yes. The Lieutenant-Governor (Mr. Peter Grant) sided with Mr. Seton Karr. The Government of India took the opposite side. Sir Charles Wood said that he should veto a Bill with such a provision. So it was dropped.

Amongst the Europeans a storm of fury arose against the authors and publishers of the translation. The planters combined to prosecute for libel, first the printer, and then Mr. Long. The trial of the latter was disgracefully conducted. He was ill-defended; and the Judge summed up in the most outrageously partial terms and with indecent violence of manner and expression. Sentence was reserved for the full Court. The proceedings before the full Court were not much more fair. Eventually Long was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and to pay a fine of a thousand rupees. The Chief Justice made no secret of his opinion that a still more severe sentence should have been passed.

"I must say [writes Frere] it has been rather a shock to all my notions. I had much sympathy with the planters, which has been pretty well corrected by their un-English hatred of free discussion, and vindictive alliance with the Press to punish a man for a libel not half as bad as the Press publishes daily on Government, and to punish him by a form of trial which does not admit of his pleading the truth or meeting the charge fairly.

"But one does not expect much from Press or planters, and the sight of English Judges behaving as —— and —— have done, throws everything else into the shade."

The planters were determined to proceed to institute a prosecution against Mr. Seton Karr. It was announced that in that event the Chief Justice intended to try the case, though in the usual routine it would have come before a puisné Judge, and it seemed likely that he would be convicted and sentenced to a much longer term of imprisonment than Mr. Long. Matters were getting so serious—it even seemed probable that a conflict between the Executive and the Judicial Bench might occur—that the Government took the matter into its own hand, and

Lord Canning published a Minute, in which censure was bestowed, amongst others, on Mr. Seton Karr.* By this step the more moderate planters were conciliated, and prevailed upon the others to drop the idea of prosecution. Had the prosecution of Mr. Seton Karr succeeded, the violent party among the planters had proposed to proceed against the Lieutenant-Governor himself, whom they fancied they could implicate in the matter; but nothing more was now heard of this.

Sir Charles Wood thought—and Frere quite agreed with him—that too much had been made of the matter. He writes, in answer to a detailed account from Frere of the whole business:—

"January 17, 1862.

"All that I thought of Lord Canning's Minute was that it was too *severe* [on Mr. Seton Karr]. Nobody here considers the publication as a libel, and Lord Stanley said to me the other day it would go hard with Charles Dickens for such a publication as 'Hard Times' if he were to be tried by Sir B. Peacock and a Calcutta jury. The only defence which a learned member of my Council can suggest is that the law of libel is not the same in England and India—which it ought to be."

Upon the old question of frontier-policy Frere had occasion again to express his opinion.

In the spring of 1860 took place one of the periodical expeditions against one of the marauding border tribes of the Punjab. The recurrence of this border warfare was, as we have seen, always a sore point with Frere. Upon receiving the official Report, he wrote the following Minute:—

* Frere to Sir Charles Wood, December 4, 1861, and to Lord de Grey, September 9, 1861. Mr. Seton Karr was soon afterwards, on the nomination of Lord Canning, made a puisné Judge of the High Court of Justice at Calcutta, and was subsequently Foreign Secretary to the Government of India under Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo.

"May 22, 1860.

"I trust I may not be misunderstood as in any way undervaluing the great military skill with which this expedition has been conducted, if I express my doubts whether any permanent good is likely to result from a system of laying waste the country and destroying crops in the fashion described in this Report.

"I do not doubt that some effect is produced by every such exhibition of our power, but I believe it to be such an effect as Edward I. may have produced in Scotland or the French in Algeria, sufficient to enforce submission for a time, but certain to leave behind a feeling of bitter hostility, such as ages of good government will hardly eradicate.

"It is true that there has been in this present expedition some attempt to discriminate between the guilty and the unoffending.

"The Lieutenant-Governor applauds the discriminating forbearance shown, and trusts that, conjoined with the merited punishment inflicted on the guilty, 'it may lead the Wuzzeerees to recognize the equal justice which dictated the resolutions of the British Government.'

"But what was this discriminating forbearance? It must be remembered that we were making *war* on a tribe which does not acknowledge our sovereignty. The Wuzzeerees, if robbers and murderers, were not rebels or mutineers.

"The commander, in describing the operations, says, 'we found large sheets of cultivation, so large indeed that we were unable to destroy them all; we therefore selected that that belonged to tribes that are notoriously mischievous, hoping that the distinction thus drawn might make the true object of our expedition more marked.'

"Whether a distinction made in consequence of inability to destroy more was likely to be very accurate or well observed, may be doubted, but probably among the Wuzzeerees, as among all other plundering tribes on that frontier, there are always two classes—the class that lives by plunder and the class that lives by cultivation or on the produce of its flocks and herds. Many individuals doubtless do a little in both ways, but as a general rule the border riders do not plough, nor do the ploughmen habitually plunder. Now, what is the effect of

destroying the cultivation of a tribe in the wholesale manner here described? Simply to unite the whole tribe, non-plunderers as well as plunderers, against us—and this result is clearly shown in this paper. . . .

"We are told that the cultivation of the mischievous Nana Khail tribe was destroyed and trampled down by the troops when we could eat no more; and again, 'In the course of the fortnight we have been in the hills, a very large amount of crops has been eaten up and destroyed; a great deal was done in this way on the Shuboor side, and we have completely lapped up the whole cultivation in the valley between Kundval and Shinghee.' The Commissioner then calculates the damage at twelve hundred rupees per diem to the Wuzzeerees, 'who depend entirely on it,' and can only replace it as food by importation. How this imported food is to be paid for, when their villages have been burnt and their cattle driven off, is not explained, but he estimates, on good authority, that the damage done was equal to eight years of successful plundering.

"Having thus treated all, bad and good, alike, is it to be wondered at that the Commissioner found the Mahsoods thoroughly united and able to keep their counsels quiet; that he could get no information either from members of the tribe or from spies sent among them; and that as a consequence Colonel Lumsden's camp was surprised and only saved from destruction by the determined gallantry of his soldiers?

"What can these people think of us? Bad as they may be themselves, do we give them any cause for thinking better of us, or for believing that we war in a more generous or chivalrous fashion? Is it to be wondered at that when offered the privilege of taking away their slain, they did not trust us? I do not find mention of a single prisoner throughout these proceedings. Surely some must have been taken among the wounded.

"I say nothing of higher motives, but I must confess to a feeling which I am not anxious to define very accurately when I read of such proceedings being successful 'under the guidance of Providence,' and that 'it will not be in the power (with God's blessing) of the whole tribe to arrest' the march of the force. But I do very deeply regret that brave and excellent men should delude them-

selves into the belief that even as mere matters of policy such proceedings can ever be successful. It is, I know, a fashionable doctrine that this is the only way to treat people like the frontier tribes; but knowing, as I do, that by a different treatment—a treatment more in unison with our own religion and laws and customs of warfare—they can be brought not only to respect us, but to have an almost superstitious veneration for brave and generous gentlemen like Colonels Chamberlain and Lumsden, I cannot but lament a policy which induces such officers to act, as I am confident they must have acted, contrary to their own natural feelings and principles, and which persuades them that expediency requires recourse to measures which their own instinct tells them are wrong."

In the press of other work requiring immediate attention, this Minute seems to have passed without notice for nearly six months. In a letter to Frere, Lord Canning writes:—

"November 8, 1860.

"Here is a very interesting paper which I have left too long—Brigadier-General Chamberlain's account of his expedition against the Mahsood Wuzzeerees.

"I know that you have much to say against the policy which prescribes these expeditions, therefore I have not as yet written any note upon this paper, in order that if the policy question be raised, I may write on the two points—(1) policy, and (2) Chamberlain's individual execution of the work—at once.

"Upon the latter point I think there can be no doubt that the greatest credit and praise is due to him and to those under his command, in any case.

"Upon the former it appears to me that the measures which have been carried out do not, although they were on a large scale, exhibit a strong case against the policy, because the provocations from the Mahsood Wuzzeerees have been unusually great, and their strength and inaccessible position and character are such as to make gentle measures more than usually hopeless, and because pains have been taken to make the punishment discriminating, in a roughish way. But on this you will perhaps differ from me. The weakness of this case is

that after a difficult and successful (in its immediate objects) expedition, we find the Mahsoods firing into our rear-guard up to the last moment. But I am by no means sure that this as an indication of failure is not much more apparent than real. . . .

"The fuller report which we now have, shows that more trouble was taken to make punishment discriminating than would be gathered from the imperfect one."

To this Frere wrote a long and exhaustive reply, from which the following are extracts :—

"November 15, 1860.

"Of Chamberlain's share in the business and of the whole expedition as a military operation, it is impossible, I think, to speak too highly. . . .

"Nor, as a part of the general frontier policy of the Punjab, do I find fault with General Chamberlain's own proceedings as narrated by himself. It is clear that he felt that indiscriminate destruction in these expeditions was one of the weak and indefensible points of the usual system, and he did his best to make a distinction between the property of the innocent and the guilty—perhaps the line was as clearly drawn as is possible in an operation on such a scale; at any rate, it would not be just to find fault with him if, in this, which, as far as I know, is the first attempt of the kind, he did not carry out his just and merciful purpose as completely as he would have wished.

"But his whole proceedings show the unsoundness of the canons laid down with such assumption of authority in the Punjab Report of 1856, which Chamberlain very inconsistently quotes at the end of his Report. Sir J. Lawrence, speaking through Temple, declares it to be impossible to make distinction between guilt and innocence in this frontier warfare; according to him, all are equally worthy of punishment, and should be all treated as you would the various branches of an enemy's army.

"General Chamberlain's practice shows that it *is* possible to make such distinctions even among the members of the most generally guilty and united tribe of the whole frontier, and that it is not only possible but that all the expected results follow. He spared the crops and villages of the Ahmedzye Wuzzeerees as soon as he marched into their

country. They at once understood the distinction made, received his force as friends and furnished supplies. . . .

"Taken as a whole, this expedition does not raise the question of the general frontier policy of the Punjab Government, because the Wuzzeerees are, as Chamberlain points out, exceptional in their unity of action, and claim to be independent, which renders it possible to treat them as a distinct power, neither subject to Cabool nor Lahore, to be treated, therefore, not as robbers and rebels against us or our ally, but as a hostile nation and independent power.

"Against such a tribe I would, of course, defer hostilities as long as possible, and try every other possible expedient to make them good neighbours, but if they obstinately hold out and continue to make constant aggressions, robbing and murdering in our territory, and refusing to punish or give up offenders, there is nothing for it but an appeal to force of arms—they must be taught that their courage and difficult country are no sufficient protection to them in evil-doing, and that as they acknowledge no superior government to which we can appeal, we have the power to punish them as a distinct people and government for not doing their duty to their neighbours. . . .

"Surely our language should be, 'we will never rest till that malefactor—the individual offender—is caught and punished; all who harbour or aid him shall be punished too, but no innocent man shall suffer for him.'

"The constant reply to this from the Punjab officers is, that it is impossible to enforce such a demand. I do not believe in such an impossibility. General Chamberlain's Report shows it does not exist. I do not say we should organize such an expedition to punish every murder, but I am convinced it would be better to go to any expense to secure the individual malefactor, rather than to be content with easy redress from the community.

"In this Wuzzeeree Campaign I find no specific demand for specific malefactors to be given up. It may have been made, but I cannot trace it; and if it was omitted, it remains doubtful whether the tribe would have acted as they did under a threat of general tribal humiliation and punishment. It is quite possible that the result might have been different had the Mahsood chiefs, when they came to General Chamberlain's camp, been furnished with

a list of men to be given up. It is certain that had such a list been made known to the tribe, the malefactors named would have shared the odium of the subsequent house and crop-burning, and the owners of the property destroyed would have been more guarded in future in making common cause with thieves and murderers. . . .

"It is the Punjab fashion to say that the Northern tribes are more powerful and warlike, the country more difficult, and the people more bigoted. I have never seen the slightest ground for this assertion. Our armies, when they went up by the Bolan and down by the Kyber, found no such difference. The Beloochees may be more true and honest, but they are just as brave and barbarous—quite as bigoted and impatient of foreign control as the Affghans.

"It is little use my publicly urging these views, but I do not scruple to place them before your Lordship, knowing that you have faith in the power of such principles, and that you do not believe in the possibility of a principle being true in one place and false in another. I feel sure that from you they would find acceptance with men like Sir R. Montgomery, Chamberlain, and many more in that quarter—men as just and merciful as any in the world, blinded though they may be for the time by the apparent success of an unsound policy, and bound by a mistaken feeling of honour and consistency to uphold in public writing what in their hearts they detest and condemn. Opportunities will not be wanting of telling them what you think, and, without any sudden or even perceptible change, you may greatly accelerate the change which I see taking place in their practice, though they still adhere to the erroneous formularies of bygone Punjab Reports. . . ."

To Major H. Green he writes on the same subject :—

"July 2, 1860.

"From all I have seen since I came here, I am quite convinced that if you two and Merewether were moved North and left to your own devices, we should in three years have every tribe from the Indus to Guzni and Cabool, and probably the old Dost himself, wanting us to call them our subjects, and ready to do whatever we ask them. Rely on it, all this will appear some day as clear to others as it does to you and me. But we must have patience."

Lord Canning and his advisers were loyally supported by the Home Government during this difficult time. On occasions when they considered they had cause for complaint they said so, plainly enough, as has been mentioned. But from public opinion and the press in England they got little encouragement. The English people, at that time generally ignorant and indifferent about events outside Europe, had been roused to keen but temporary interest in India by the outbreak of the Mutiny, and by the peril and heroism of their fellow-countrymen. But the interest had waned with the danger. If India was known to be in difficulties the Mutiny was set down as the ultimate and sufficient cause; and the Mutiny was supposed to have been an unfortunate accident, which was nobody's fault, and which no wisdom could have foreseen or averted.

Nor, it must be confessed, did the Anglo-Indians then in England, whose careers had justly gained them prominence and respectful admiration, contribute much to the general enlightenment. Speaking at Glasgow in September, 1860, Sir John Lawrence repudiated the supposition that Lord Dalhousie's annexations had had any material effect in stirring up hostility to English rule, and attributed the Mutiny to the insufficiency of the number of European troops in India at the time, and to the ignorance and superstition of the native troops in objecting to the greased cartridges; he recommended as a remedy to teach Christianity in Government schools, and thereby gradually eliminate superstition.

Colonel Herbert Edwardes went a step further in search of causes for the Mutiny. He made a speech at the Church Missionary Society's Meeting in London, in May, 1860, as to which Frere writes to Lord Canning :—

"June 14, 1860.

"Colonel Edwardes' speech is worth reading, if only as

an instance of the sort of half-truths which tell on such occasions. But it is melancholy to see a man like him labouring to prove that indisposition to mutiny was a consequence of [there being] a few Christian sepoys in the Madras army, and leaving his hearers to infer that had there been as many in the Bengal army it would not have mutinied. One may question whether religion is served by his theory of special providences favouring the Punjab; but one feels something stronger than regret to find him claiming a peculiarly Christian character for the Punjab administration, when one remembers the frightful stories of regiments 'accounted for,' wholesale, under the orders of these very men, and a frontier policy defended as just and necessary, which he would be the very first to condemn if carried out by a French or Russian border-warden."

To men who, like Canning and Frere and Clerk, were spending all their strength in tearing up the roots of misgovernment and neglect, and in striving to amend what was wrong, it was not encouraging to hear that their countrymen at home were being told, on what seemed good authority, that there was nothing of consequence to mend —nothing at any rate which *they* would be likely to set right. It was probably after reading the Glasgow speech that Canning wrote in a postscript to a letter to Frere:—

"November 1, 1860.

"Really Sir John Lawrence ought to be shut up, and Edwardes have his head shaved. The latter is exactly what Mahomet would have been if born at Clapham instead of Mecca."

Frere had strongly disapproved of Lord Dalhousie's wholesale annexations from the time when, as has been related, he opposed that of Sattara, which was the first of the series;* and it was with deep satisfaction that he found

* Pasted into Frere's diary for 1861 is a newspaper cutting, part of which runs thus:—

"The acquisitions of territory made by Lord Dalhousie on one pretext or another were as follows:—

himself in agreement with Lord Canning on the question, and able to give him hearty support in initiating a change

		Square miles.
	(By Conquest.)	
1849.	The Punjab	73,534
1852.	Pegu	20,000
	(SEIZED FOR MISCONDUCT OR MISRULE.)	
1850.	Part of Sikkim	1,670
1852.	Sind (Ali Morad)	5,412
1853.	Country of Tularam Sonaputtee	2,160
1856.	Oude	23,738
	(ALLEGED FAILURE OF HEIRS.)	
1848.	Sattara	10,222
1849.	Jitpore	165
1849.	Sumbulpore	4,693
1850.	Baghat	30
1852.	Odeypore	2,306
1854.	Nagpore	80,000
1854.	Jhansi	2,532
1855.	Bhoodawal Candeish	
1856.	Tanjore	

'In addition to the above figures, Lord Dalhousie's Government recommended the Court of Directors to escheat the following principalities :—

	(ALLEGED FAILURE OF HEIRS.)	
1852.	Kerowlee (Rajpootana)	1,800
1855.	Adjyghur (Boondela)	340
1856.	Inchalmeranjee	800

"The Court of Directors forbade the annexation in the case of Kerowlee, and a succession by adoption was permitted."

Sir George Clerk, writing to Frere on this subject, says :—

"May 17, 1860.

"Government writers in the *Friend of India* have already cost us forty millions sterling (at least that was my estimate given when the rebellion burst forth, and I see now little reason to modify it), and if great care is not taken there may be another very long bill incurred in a similar way.

"You know how warmly the gentlemen of the essay-writing school in the Punjab and Calcutta . . . welcomed the fiat of the god of their idolatry at Serampore: 'You must wipe out and have done with the

of policy in reference to the adoption of heirs by native Princes.

He writes to Sir George Clerk—

"June 14, 1860.

"I hope you approve of Lord Canning's letters about adoptions generally. . . . I had no idea till he came down that he held such opinions, and think it a great pity that the fact is not more known. He seems to me to be sometimes overscrupulous in doing anything which can look like a reflection on his predecessor, and but for this feeling he would, I think, have done much more to correct the mistakes of the last fifteen years. . . ."

In Frere's view the principles laid down in Lord Canning's famous "Adoption Despatch" constituted a change from an unjust to a just policy, and an altered attitude of the British Government in the face of all native India from that of an aggressive into a protecting Power. In a letter to Lord Canning, he says—

"I think your Lordship and every one with you and belonging to you ought to pass a very happy Christmas, if happiness can be reflected; for I am sure your noble Adoption-Despatch will be read with joy in every Durbar in India, and in many a village far enough from Durbars, as a charter of a more generous policy than we have ever yet publicly avowed."

His Minute on the subject is too long to be transcribed at length. The following extracts will suffice to indicate its tenor :—

"The statement as to the extent of doubt and mistrust existing in the minds of native rulers and of all connected

rotten system of Princelings, Rajalings, and Taloukdarlings, and having so coloured all the map of India red, civilization and Christianity will make rapid progress.'

"I do not grudge the cost of this lesson in money a bit; but oh! the deplorable cost in the blood of innocent women and children, and with rare exceptions, inoffensive missionaries. . . ."

with them, on the subject of the future fate of their families and states, is, I sincerely believe, much within the truth. The present condition of the question discussed in the despatch has deeply impressed all parties affected by it with the belief, not only that any want of direct heirs male would involve risk of the absorption of their State, but that there was a strong and consistent desire on the part of the Home Government to overrule any arguments which might be adduced by local officers or Government in favour of the continuance of a native State. It could hardly be otherwise, seeing how prevalent this belief has been of late years among all European officers who are interested in such matters. I have repeatedly heard it expressed in so many words, by natives, but I was never more struck by it than when lately at Bombay I was visited by many of the native gentlemen I had known formerly in the Deccan. To every inquiry after any native Chief, the answer generally referred more or less to his prospect of leaving direct heirs, with an intimation, where such prospect was remote, that the speaker considered the State as doomed. Once, when I expressed regret at some statement of the mismanagement of a petty State, the reply was, 'What can you expect? The young Chief has no children. It is not likely he will be allowed to adopt. So every one scrambles for what he can get while there is anything to be had.'

"It is impossible to exaggerate the evil of this state of uncertainty. Even the most intelligent Ministers of the states that have best reason to be assured of our goodwill, feel most keenly that we have no fixed policy regarding them; that their fate depends greatly on the character of the British Agent at their Court, and that a harsh or indolent Political Agent may turn the scale against generations of loyalty and good service. . . .

"Nothing could be more blighting to every good and loyal feeling than such a state of doubt as to our intentions. It would be less pernicious if those concerned could depend on a full inquiry into their claims, whenever the question of succession might arise, but I know of no case in which the parties more immediately interested have been told to state their case fully so that Government might form a judicial opinion on its merits. It has, in every case of the details of which I know anything, been left entirely to the

Resident or Political Agent to state his own impression of the rights of both parties, one of which was to be subsequently judge of the case, and the other party, the family dispossessed, never directly knew till it was too late, till the decision of the home authorities was pronounced, on what grounds their claims had been disallowed. . . .

"I feel certain that there never was a time when the effect of the measures suggested by His Excellency the Governor-General would be so great as at present, when it would be regarded as a perfectly spontaneous act of royal favour, calculated to remove the cloud of doubt and distrust which has of late years hung over all our dealings with native states, to give practical effect to the gracious promises conveyed in Her Majesty's Proclamation, and to bind to us and our interests a class which we have of late years done much to alienate, and of whose value to a sound and healthy condition of the Empire we could not have stronger proof than the last three years have afforded. . . .

"But there should be no delay; the opportunity now offered is never likely to recur, when the gift will have all the grace of a free concession, and when it will be recognized as a part of the same vigorous and generous policy which crushed rebellion and mutiny, and granted a general amnesty to vanquished rebels.

"And what is the price to be paid by us for this measure? I sincerely believe it will cost us nothing, not merely because an honest and generous policy must be in the long run the best, but because I see none of these states absorbed by refusing permission to adopt which add as much to our resources as if we had treated them in the manner advocated by His Excellency the Governor-General on this despatch.

"Sattara was supposed to be an extreme case in which the fiscal value of the escheat did not admit of question, but I question if it will be found to have added much to our revenue, after defraying the cost of European troops and European barracks, never needed till the country was annexed. Certainly the surplus is nothing like what would have been gladly and easily paid by the late dynasty as a fine or tribute, in consideration of being left as before in charge of a district which is now a per-

petual source of misgiving and uneasiness to all connected with it.

"There are other escheats like Jhansi, the memory of which we would gladly wipe out at the price of the best province which ever lapsed for want of heirs.

"This question can, in fact, never be looked on as a fiscal question, for there can be no doubt that a province, large or small, is managed much more cheaply by a native ruler than by Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors, or even by Commissioners and Deputy-Commissioners. Which is the better form of Government for the people is a question which will be discussed as long as foreigners rule India. But it is abundantly evident that in our provinces now under direct Government management, we have as much to do as we can do properly for generations to come, and ages must elapse before we can say we have done our work so thoroughly in our own provinces that we are in duty to our subjects bound to undertake the direct administration of Native States. . . ."

The Adoption-Despatch granted, in Frere's view, no more than was strictly just. And it was also consonant with the characteristic chivalry which made him tender of the dignity of native princes no longer able to oppose force to the British power, and with the conviction that it was only by respecting native susceptibilities and social traditions that it was possible to govern India. Lord Canning was entirely in accord with him in this feeling, and it showed itself in many details of administration.

When in Sind, Frere had taken especial care of the captive or pensioned Meers, and of the education of their sons; and Sir G. Clerk, writing to Frere, speaks of "the admirable good sense with which they have met your endeavours to train them for undertaking public duties."

Writing to Sir G. Clerk, he says:—

"November 27, 1860.

"I am very glad you are going to relax the leading-strings in which the Raja of Kolapoor has so long been

kept; but it will be only half done unless you can impress your own views on some of the Politicals down in the southern Mahratta country. You would be much amused at the surprise of some of the gentlemen here at the success of Lord Canning's experiment in giving judicial powers to selected Sirdars in the Punjab, and Talookdars in Oude. . . . Lord Canning will, I think, do all he can to extend the system. Here there is not a Raja or planter, however wealthy or influential, who can legally fine a man an anna, or exercise the commonest powers of a Deccan Patel. Illegally they, of course, kidnap and murder; but legal power they have none; and as a consequence there is not a soul who does possess any legal power in Lower Bengal except, perhaps, the Governor-General and Lieutenant-Governor, and a Judge or two, who possesses a stake of £20,000 property in the country, and probably not one of them has £1000 in land. This cannot be a healthy state of things, and I believe that all the men of property —European and native—here would feel very differently towards Government if they had only the same powers as Justices of the Peace, etc., as you give to such men in Bombay; and I hope ere long to get something of the sort tried here."

In a Minute on "Honorary Magistrates," Frere gives the following instance of the advantage of having them:—

"December 12, 1860.

"In Sind, when the railway commenced, we had an influx of non-official Europeans of all classes. When disputes and assaults occurred between them and the natives, the higher railway employés were apt to think that the official magistrates and Justices of the Peace were biased against the Europeans of the railway. The impression was evidently sincere, though, as far as I could see, unfounded; but it was evident that the feeling was getting every day stronger and increasing in bitterness. The agent and chief engineer of the railway company were gentlemen of the highest character and respectability, and I got them and a couple of the leading European merchants put on the Commission of the Peace, and begged that they would exercise their powers and take a seat on the Bench and a share in the proceedings whenever they could,

especially when any of their own men were brought up for trial. I do not know that they have ever sat on such a case, but the result I anticipated was attained—they felt that they were trusted, and that they had substantial proof of the desire of the Government to ensure fair play to their men. I heard no more complaints of the bias of the magistrates against the railway Europeans, and I believe that the good effects were felt in every class of the non-official community."

It was a recognition of the same principles which led to the creation of the Order of Knighthood of the "Star of India"—a decoration to be conferred alike on Europeans and natives of distinguished rank or merit.

"June 26, 1861.

"It is a symbol of a policy [Frere writes to Lord Canning] often acted on, I believe, without being expressed, sometimes without being distinctly thought of even, and even then the cause of much of our success in India, but never till lately formally and with authority announced. I am certain you will look back on your share in its creation with the same sort of satisfaction as on the Adoption-Despatch and the other cognate acts of your administration, which will continue to bear fruit long after our conquests are mere matters of history.

"I still hope that before you leave India you will see your way to admitting the cadets of such native Princes as are fit to be enrolled in the Order to take their places habitually in the Court of St. James's, perhaps serving the Queen in some way which would entitle them to their spurs on other grounds than their hereditary rank."

The creation of the Order had originally been suggested by the Queen, and she and the Prince Consort took an active interest in its establishment and details.* Lord Canning was its first Grand Master. The magnificent spectacles of the Durbars which he held at Allahabad and Benares, for conferring the decoration, seemed to mark the hour of

* The Prince Consort is represented in the mausoleum at Frogmore wearing the insignia of the Order.

his triumph over the prejudice, calumny, and opposition through which he had toiled on patiently, in the fear not of man but of God, in as terrible a trial as ever tested the faith and strained the powers of an English statesman.

The following are extracts from Frere's letter to Sir Charles Wood, describing, at length, the scenes at Allahabad, Benares, and Lucknow.

"November 6, 1861.

"The first and most important ceremony was the investiture of the Knights of the Star of India on the 1st. You will learn all the details of the ceremonial from the despatches. What struck me was the very different way in which it seemed to affect each chief, though the result in all was satisfactory, and I think exactly what could be wished. Sindia, like most Maharattas, is rather suspicious, and was at first inclined to be unmannerly,* but it was curious to see how much he thawed, and he went away in the best of humours. Though self-willed, violent in temper and fickle, with other faults of his race, he has some very good qualities, and appeared to me really anxious to do and be all that was wished by Lord Canning, for whom he seems to have a great personal admiration and respect. We had several long and unreserved talks when he found I could converse with him in Maharatta, which is not spoken in Hindoostan, and I was much struck with his good sense and quickness. At parting he went out of his way to assure me with great apparent earnestness how much he was gratified by the favour he had received from the Queen, and at the mode in which it had been conveyed to him by Lord Canning, and how earnestly he hoped to govern as Lord Canning wished. This desire to meet Lord Canning's wishes appears, indeed, a ruling principle

* Sindia's demands were so unreasonable, and his temper so bad, that Frere seems to have spent a good part of a day between Lord Canning's tent and his. Being able to speak Mahratta, Frere could converse freely with him, and finally succeeded in bringing him to a better frame of mind. Sindia had remained faithful during the Mutiny; but at one time he had wavered. "I have hot coals in my stomach," he had said to Dinkur Row, his Minister. "Then take care to keep them there," was the reply.

with him, and showing itself, as his very able Dewan Dinkur Row told me, sometimes in a way rather inconvenient to the older fashioned among his courtiers and Ministers. There is evidently much good in him, and I should say that few of the recipients of the honour here or elsewhere were more deeply and usefully impressed by the ceremony than Sindia. . . . The Begum of Bopal is a really charming old lady, full of wit and repartee as well as of shrewd and sensible remark. I saw her under great advantages at informal interviews, when Colonel Durand, who was an old friend of hers, introduced me to her and the other three generations of her house—her old and rather bitter and bigoted, but very voluble mother, her daughter (who alone of the party retains the "purdah" or screen, which is dispensed with when a lady reaches a certain age and has to look after public business), and her little arch and very mischievous grand-daughter, a child of five years old. The Begum cross-questioned us closely on the subject of female knights, and was evidently greatly pleased by the interest her honours excited among our own ladies. She wound up her questions with, 'Well, I think any one may say I am in luck to get a star without going to heaven for it.'

"Her reply, when Lord Canning invested her, will not, I suppose, appear in the official report. She said: 'It was impossible to express sufficient gratitude for such great honours bestowed on one who had done so little to deserve them. It was the wont of great sovereigns so to honour their sincere and loyal well-wishers, and many others had so distinguished eminent men who had served them faithfully. But it was reserved for the Queen of England to distinguish her own (the Begum's) sex by conferring such an honour on a loyal woman.'

"Sindia, who has an unfortunate impediment in his speech, received his honours in silence. Pattiala, briefly, and in very becoming terms, expressed his gratitude and sense of the honour, and nothing could be better than the effect when the little lady, with the utmost self-possession, in a very clear and distinct voice, and in very elegant Oordoo, broke the silence which followed Lord Canning's address, spoken in that deep, clear, and emphatic tone of his, which seems peculiarly suited for such occasions. . . .

"The ceremonial was very magnificent, and no experience

of ordinary Indian camp life among Indian native potentates, can give any adequate idea of the extent, order, and magnificence of such a camp as the Governor-General's.

"But the most remarkable result, in my opinion, was the degree to which the Chiefs and their followers seemed to understand the sort of fellowship with our men of rank and eminence, which is one great feature of an Order of Knighthood. There was, of course, a great gathering of European officers and ladies from all the neighbouring provinces, and they generally seemed to feel correctly the object of the ceremony, and in many ways gave natural expression to their feelings. This was to be expected, but I had not hoped it would have been so well understood as it was on the other side by the Chiefs and their courtiers. This was notably the case with the Begum, partly perhaps owing to the smaller size of her principality, to her quicker woman's perception, and to her seeing ladies as well as gentlemen, when they called to pay their respects; but it was more or less marked in all.

"At Lucknow I observed a very marked improvement in the appearance of the Talookdars. The deputation of them which came to Calcutta some time ago were certainly not fair specimens of the race; they were shabbily dressed, and the impression they left was one rather of disappointment; but it would be difficult to find a finer body of men than the hundred and fifty or two hundred who assembled to meet Lord Canning and present the address on the subject of infanticide;—generally handsome, well-dressed men, with many marks of great intelligence and energy about them; thoroughly well pleased with themselves and with their government, and possessed with a feeling of communion with us and our objects, of which I have seen little evidence since I came round to Calcutta. As Mr. Yule, himself a Bengal civilian, remarked, when looking at them assembled, it was grievous to think what an amount of valuable material for administration, in men possessed of so much property, local influence, and intelligence, we have for years systematically neglected and thrust from us. Every one spoke well of the results of the experiment made in entrusting the Talookdars with a share in the administration. I am convinced that it is the greatest and most urgently needed of all improvements on this side of India, and I cannot imagine how society and the

administration have kept together so long without it. Nothing strikes a man from Madras or Bombay so much as the entire exclusion from all power and all share in the administration, of all native and non-official property, rank, local influence, and intelligence. To me it goes far to explain the rebellion which followed on the Mutiny, and I feel assured that unless the example set in Oude be followed elsewhere, our tenure of the country must remain extremely precarious. I think Mr. Yule feels this, and I only wish there were a few more men of his great experience, sound judgment, and natural sagacity, to make a beginning elsewhere. At present very few of the older civilians in Bengal or the North-West are advocates for the Oude system, possibly because they have difficulty in imagining anything so unlike the unnatural system to which they are used; but there is a marked change in the tone of all who have had the means of comparing the two systems."

"Calcutta, November 17.

"I am rather pressed for time to describe the Benares meeting, to my mind, in some respects, the most remarkable of all. The assembly was a very striking one, thoroughly Hindoo, and thoroughly unlike anything to be seen in the Presidency towns. Except in Rajpootana, it would be impossible to see anything more characteristic. But I did not understand its full significance till afterwards, when I was going over the city under the guidance of a very intelligent young Brahmin, a man of considerable local property and influence, and well educated in English as well as Sanscrit. He did not volunteer his remarks, nor were they addressed to me, but to my companion Colonel Bruce, who happened to ask whether the ceremony had gone off as they wished, and whether the Governor-General's reply had given satisfaction. After saying it had, the Brahmin observed—

"'It is a remarkable fact that till to-day no Governor-General, as far as I can learn, has, ever since Warren Hastings was here, received such an address from the people of Benares.'

"Colonel Bruce asked, 'What particularly induced the people of Benares so to distinguish Lord Canning? He had never been much at Benares nor connected with it.'

"The man replied, 'There is a very prevalent feeling among us all who are Hindoos that he has done more than any Governor-General to secure us our rights and to restore that confidence in the British Government which has been much shaken of late years.' In reply to further questions he specified, not only the sanction of the right of adoption, but the general tenor of Lord Canning's policy, and added, 'I hardly think that English officers in general are aware how much the character of Government suffered, of late years, in the estimation of the less well-informed classes, and of the extent to which even the better informed had got alarmed and were prepared to believe that they might any day be deprived of their property and rights.' Pressed for instances, he said that he was himself an admirer of Lord Dalhousie, and thought that no one could justly find fault with the annexation of the Punjab or conquest of Pegu, but that the annexations of Nagpoor and of Oude were not justifiable with any reference to treaty obligations, and were universally considered by the natives as indicating our intention to aggrandize the Government without any regard to either abstract justice or covenanted faith.

"'But,' he added, 'what struck us most with Lord Canning, and went further than anything to reassure us and win our confidence, was that, while the Government was in danger and we at least thought the hold of the country very precarious, he said not a word, he made no promises and held out no hopes. But when the rebellion was fairly extinguished and the country under his heel, then he did what he thought just and right, and even the most bigoted and prejudiced are inclined to believe the Government in earnest and to trust its assurances.'

"In different ways and under different forms I had heard all this a dozen times before, but it never seemed to me more striking or instructive than after the meeting at Benares."

Alas! close upon these trumpet-notes of rejoicing and hopes of returning peace, there fell suddenly on Lord Canning the crushing stroke of a heavy calamity. Lady Canning was attacked by fever, of which, after little more than a week's illness, she died.

Frere writes to Sir Charles Wood:—

"November 18, 1861.

"He [Lord Canning] seemed to forebode the result even before the physicians were alarmed, and I have never seen him so much moved as he was when he learnt the real character of her disorder. When told that little hope remained he was literally struck down by the blow, and, knowing his power of self-control, I shall be very anxious for the effect of the strain on him.

"I believe no man could be associated with him in public life as intimately as you have been, without feeling the warmest personal regard for him and a deep interest in all that concerns him; and no one could be even slightly acquainted with her and fail to be struck by her peculiarly noble and perfect character. You who, I believe, knew her well, can understand that in India, wherever she was personally known, her loss will be regarded as a public calamity. She is, I believe, most justly looked on as one of the few who, through good or evil report, cheered him on in a course of singular difficulty when everything seemed against us, and when he so nobly maintained the national character, almost as much endangered in success as in disaster. Now that his countrymen are beginning to do him justice, they feel what they owe to her who was so much to him in the hour of great peril, and they even who know her not as one of the noblest and best of women, do her reverence as one to whom England owes a deep debt of gratitude. . . ."

Lady Canning had been one of the Ladies-in-waiting to the Queen, by whom she was much beloved. Frere feared lest the news of her death, coming without any previous intimation of her illness, should be a painfully sudden shock to the Queen, saddened as she already was by the recent death of the Duchess of Kent. He, therefore, on his own responsibility, at once telegraphed an order to Bombay to despatch a special steamer to convey the news of her illness, so that it might reach England some time before the intelligence of its fatal termination.

Dissatisfied, in many respects, as Frere had been before

coming to Calcutta with much of the administration of the Supreme Government, he had then no prepossessions in favour of Lord Canning as an administrator, greatly as he had admired his firmness and moderation in the midst of the peril and angry passions of the Mutiny. But once on his Council, he was not long in perceiving and appreciating his high merit, and realizing the great difficulties he had to contend with in the prejudices and opposition of most of those by whom he was surrounded, and through whom he had to work. When he mentions Lord Canning in his letters, his expressions become gradually more and more cordial, more full of admiration and respect.

Thus he writes to Sir G. Clerk:—

"May 26, 1860.

"I like very much what I have seen of Lord Canning, and only wonder that he has been so unlucky and is so little popular. He is generally so right and high-minded in all his principles and intentions, that it vexes me to hear him continually run down here by the people who still, almost to a man, worship Lord Dalhousie and his buccaneering policy."

And again—

"October 17, 1860.

"Lord Canning is quite at one with you as to the treatment of natives, high and low. He is almost the only man I see or hear of on this side who thoroughly agrees with you on such matters. I mean men in high station. Many of them are inclined enough to patronize native Chiefs, etc., under their own immediate orders, but the idea of being liberal and courteous to all without patronizing seems seldom to occur to them."

To Mr. G. T. Clark he writes:—

"June 19, 1861.

"I have been very agreeably surprised in Lord Canning. He is by far the ablest and most liberal man I know in India, and one of the most judicious and best-informed—

scrupulous, if such a thing is possible, to a fault, and very courageous. If his nature were a little more sympathizing and genial he would be perfect as a Viceroy. As it is, he would be one of the best and most successful Governors-General if he had better instruments to work with. But till I came round here, I had no notion of the extent of his difficulties in that respect, and I often wonder how he kept things together at all."

Sir George Clerk wrote afterwards to Frere :—

"September 8, 1862.

"I admired Lord Canning because you, who saw him near, saw so many estimable qualities in him, and I regard your judgment as most sound. My estimate of him as a Governor-General is that first his views were wrong, but latterly right. I doubt whether any one but you and I—and Lord Stanley—well know the course of his conversion. He shines brightly (not in abilities, but in honourable and discreet government) in comparison with his predecessor, who was wrong from first to last."

Some of those * who, being in contact with Lord Canning at Calcutta, had better opportunities of observing him than Sir George Clerk, had noticed a gradual change in him from the time Frere became one of his advisers. Not only was Frere's character and society attractive to him; not only had his arguments and opinions great weight with him, but his more genial manners and greater tolerance of other men's foibles were constantly and successfully exercised in endeavouring to establish more cordial relations between the Governor-General and his subordinates, and still more with the non-official Calcutta Europeans, some of whom had not long before petitioned for his recall. He had become, it was said, another man.

With the beginning of the year 1862 the time for Lord Canning's leaving India drew near. Frere's private letters

* Notably Sir George Balfour, to whom Lord Canning once said of Frere, "No man ever had a better adviser."

show that he, too, was looking wistfully towards home and England. He had spoken on the subject of his taking furlough to Lord Canning, when up the country with him in November. Then came Lady Canning's death, and he had to promise him that he would not leave him. And now that Lord Canning was going, he was wanted to assist his successor, Lord Elgin, on his taking up the government.

He writes to Sir G. Clerk :—

"March 12, 1862.

"I felt very thankful that my own health stands pretty well, and that I have some useful work before me here.

"It is not such as I like, for it is little a man can do in this Council. All one's strength goes in preventing others doing harm, and in getting a few men here and there—such as Yule in Oude—room and liberty to work free from the endless pedantic meddling of the old stagers here. While alone with Lord Canning, I helped forward many a good work he took heartily in hand ; but then the labour was very great—too great to last. Owing to paucity of hands with a full Council, more than half my time goes in stopping mischief or removing obstacles thrown in the way which never ought to have been put there, and little time is left for doing anything actively useful.

"I used often to long to ask for Nagpoor, or Mysore, or anything where I could work and see what came of the work. . . .

"The guns have fired to tell us to go and meet Lord Elgin. Lord Canning will probably leave in the *Feroze* on Monday. I only hope we may find half as much to respect in Lord Elgin. He has been much overworked of late, and is looking very worn. . . ."

The entry in his Diary for March 18 is as follows :—

"To see Lord Canning at 3 p.m. He was at Barrackpore by her grave alone. Spoke of many things in hand : police, land-tax redemption, etc. Told me my fault was trying to reform too much at once and too radically Very kind in all he said—would write often and expect only one letter for three. Much affected at parting. A

large meeting in the great room to say good-bye, and at the Prinsep's Ghaut. He left about six. [Here is pasted in a slip of paper marked, 'The last label of the last box received from Lord Canning. 18, 3, 62.']"

In his home also he was now left lonely. All his children were in England. Lady Frere's sister, Miss Georgina Arthur, who had made her home with them, was now married. And Lady Frere had suffered so much from the Calcutta climate that, under peremptory doctor's orders, her passage had been taken for England, and she sailed from Calcutta within a few days of Lord Canning's departure.

Lord Canning writes to Frere from Galle :—

"March 25, 1862.

"We anchored here at sunset yesterday. . . . I have been thinking much of you being now left alone. I hope that as Lady Frere has done your bidding in leaving you, so sorely against her own wish, you will honestly repay her by breaking away the moment that Goodeve—or, still more, your own feelings—tells you that you ought to do so. The wear and tear of the Council has become such as it never was before—*e.g.* Low, Ricketts, Wilson, Beadon, Laing, Outram, all fairly prostrated in my time,—and it is absurd and wrong to hold the six months' absence which is claimed by a Member of Council to be an indulgence to be taken only at the last gasp. I shall speak to Sir Charles Wood strongly in this sense. . . . If you go to Bombay I shall have no fear . . . but stewing on in Calcutta is quite another thing. . . .

"I have found here a letter from my sister [Lady Clanricarde], speaking in the most grateful terms of your great kindness in sending her some translations from native newspapers. It is very good and friendly of you, my dear Sir Bartle. God bless you!"

But Frere was not long to outstay his chief at Calcutta. Sir G. Clerk had been compelled by ill-health to resign his post at Bombay, and a letter from Sir Charles Wood was

on its way, telling him that he had been appointed Clerk's successor, without the usual preliminary inquiry whether he was willing. Sir Charles Wood's letter is characteristically frank.

"March 3, 1862.

"I have had under consideration for some time whether I should recommend you for the Government of Bombay. I was aware of Lord Canning's opinion of your fitness for the place, but I had great doubts from two or three reasons: first, there is an objection to sending a man to supersede his seniors in his own presidency, as it is pretty sure to create difficulties for him in his administration next, that in your case this was aggravated by your own brother being one of them, and that he also was in Council; and lastly, I did not wish to deprive the new Governor-General, so soon after his arrival, of the benefit of your advice and assistance.

"I have failed, however, in obtaining the services of one or two men whom I considered fit for the place; and this being so, I have come to the conclusion that the advantages of appointing you outweigh the objections—and I have recommended you to the Queen, who has approved your appointment, and your commission to take up the government, *on Clerk's coming away*, goes out by this mail. . . .

"I have written to you quite frankly what were my difficulties in appointing you, and you will see that they in no respect affected your own fitness for the office. Indeed, I do not think that any one whom I could have appointed would have united so many of the qualities required at present as you do. I therefore feel quite confident as to your career at Bombay. You have witnessed and taken part in Lord Canning's recent policy, which Sir George Clerk most highly approved and pursued. You are sensible of the necessity of the reductions which Clerk has made, and I can look to you with confidence to pursue the same policy which has been recently pursued, and from which I look for much and marked benefit to our Indian subjects."

Frere at once accepted. He writes to Lord Canning:—

"April 3, 1862.

"You can easily imagine how delighted my wife was. She heard the news at Madras, and telegraphed to say she felt so much better, she was sure the change to Bombay would be sufficient; then for leave to land, and then that she had landed, and the steamer had gone on, before I sent her Goodeve's not very dubious assent, on condition that she promised to go to England next year."

Lord Canning writes from Aden on his way home:—

"I have barely time for one line, but it must be written. I have just seen in the *Overland Mail* your appointment at Bombay, and in a succeeding one that of Morehead as your successor. There can then be no doubt that justice has been done, notwithstanding 'Friends in Council.'

"I do not know when I have read anything with such unmixed pleasure. It has given me a fillip, and a new start in the interest for India, which I take away with me. God grant you health and strength to do your work in your own noble spirit!"

And again from Alexandria:—

"We sail for Malta this morning, after having passed the whole of yesterday here. I have seen the Pacha, and thanked him heartily for his good services to us in 1857. Outram is here. He has death in his face, and yet is said to be looking better than a fortnight ago. . . .

"I have found letters from Sir Charles Wood announcing your appointment, and replying to a letter of mine, in which I took exception (rather ungratefully) to the passage in his despatch upon the Lucknow and Benares meetings, in which he spoke of the feeling as 'conciliatory.' I hate the word, and I said so—and that I wished he had used the true and more complete epithet 'just.' His answer is curious. The gist of it being that he does not object to the criticism, but that he could not have carried the word 'just' on his Council.

"I did not say half what was in my mind when I wrote from Aden. I do hope that now that you have got the chief burden to bear on your own shoulders, you will take more care of yourself, and not run risks from overwork. It will be inexcusable if, with the help of Poonah and

Mahableshwur, you do not so husband yourself as to be able to work out your full time of usefulness.

"I wish Lady Frere had overtaken me (as she threatened to do). I should so like to congratulate her."

Frere, writing from Bombay, replied :—

May 12, 1862.

"I am not surprised at Sir Charles Wood's difficulty in getting his Council to agree to call your policy 'just,' and that they preferred to call it 'conciliatory.' With some of them, I fear, the latter is the better word, and there are few who would agree with you that it is faint praise unless coupled with the former. Sir George Clerk will be able to tell you of many cases here in which he was unable to do all he would have done, because he could only say it was just.

"I hope better times are coming; but Sir Charles Wood must be on his guard to prevent a reaction against your policy, which it will take years to put out of danger.

"I found here many details of a conspiracy which began, I think, to be unravelled before you left. It is an evident offshoot of the discontent which lost its chosen leaders in the Nana, Tantya Topee, etc., and which still smoulders in Central India and the Mahratta country. From all I can learn, any spark, such as a war in Europe or with America, would have been followed by a number of concerted but separate insurrections in all parts of India between the Vindya Mountains and the Towchundra. It was clearly checked and discredited about the time of your Allahabad and Oude Durbars, and by the admission of natives to the Legislative Council, the relaxation of direct taxation, and, above all, by the general expression of native feeling at your departure, that you had tried to govern justly, and that in so doing you had given expression to the fixed intention of the English Crown, and to what is likely to be for some time the declared and honestly intended policy of the English Government and nation. I will try and get together the scattered evidence on which my conviction rests, as soon as the inquiries which are still in progress are complete; but I found Colonel Wallace, at Baroda, had come independently to the same result, and I hear much from old Mahratta acquaintances who came down to see me, and

all tell the same tale—high-handed proceedings of every kind and grasping spoliation up to 1857,—their wild hopes that we were to be shaken off, in which so many joined, that it became an act of loyalty in any native of influence to be prudent and wait events. You may thank Lord Elphinstone that he thoroughly entered into your wishes and policy, and that there was here so little to regret in what was done in the heat of action. Since 1858–59 the tide has set steadily the other way, and in a few years, if we go on in the same course, we may rely on something stronger than English bayonets to secure the neutrality of the people when next we are in trouble. But there is much yet to be done and a vast amount of English prejudice to overcome, as well as of native dissatisfaction and sense of wrong to eradicate."

Lord Canning's letter, to which this letter is an answer, was the last he ever wrote to Frere, and is so labelled in Frere's handwriting. He had not "husbanded" himself. In less than six months after he had left Calcutta his name was added to the bright roll of statesmen who, leaving English homes of ease and comfort for the service of the Queen in India, have spent their best years in unremitting and exhausting toil, and met a premature death in middle-age ere they could wear the honours they had won.

Frere felt Lord Canning's death as a great personal loss. He also felt it deeply as depriving India of the benefit of a good and wise influence at the India Office, which might have had much effect in modifying and shaping its policy.

As the members of Lord Canning's Council—Outram, Wilson, Laing—had, one by one, died or gone home in broken health, Frere had, before the end of his first year, found himself the senior, and, finally, the only Civil member of the Council. By degrees he had become, as has been described, Lord Canning's chief adviser; their

intimacy had borne fruit, for, though of such different manner of life and demeanour, they were on essential questions like-minded. As measure after measure was passed, and point after point gained which he had long and earnestly contended for, Frere gave the credit to Lord Canning, his Chief, as he had formerly given the credit of the work they did together to Jacob, his lieutenant. There is no need now, even if it were possible, to apportion it between them; no need to do more than mark the harmony with which the two traced the lines of a better system of administration, and struck the key-note of a changed and juster policy, under which India, casting behind her the angry memories of the Mutiny, entered upon a period during which, for the first time in her history, her two hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, differing as widely as it is possible to differ in race, religion, civilization and manners, and steeped in traditions of bitter hostility, have lived for more than a generation, and are living still, protected alike from foreign invasion and civil conflict, in security and at peace.

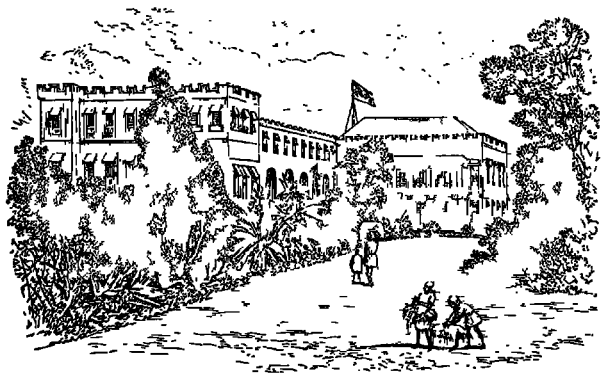
CHAPTER XI.

BOMBAY.

Arrival at Bombay—Cotton cultivation and transport—Road-making—Friction with Calcutta Public Works Department—Conference of Engineers at Poona—Death of Lord Elgin—Sir John Lawrence Governor-General—Frere's Minute on Frontier Policy—Relations of Lawrence and Frere—Kattywar—Income-tax repealed—Minute on Local Taxation.

FRERE'S time was so fully taken up in public business with Lord Elgin during his last days at Calcutta that he had little leisure for leave-taking. The Parsee community presented him with an address of congratulation on his new appointment, which bore testimony to his influence in bringing about improved relations between the European and native communities. The Civil servants and leading people wished to give him a farewell dinner; but the Governorship of Bombay being a high prize, and one rarely conferred on a member of the India Civil Service, he conceived that his appointment to it might have raised some feelings of disappointment in the minds of his seniors in the service, and especially of the distinguished civilian who was then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to whom expectation at Calcutta had assigned the post, which made it the more courteous and considerate course to decline any public demonstration of satisfaction at his appointment.

Sir George Clerk was anxious for him to reach Bombay before he himself left for England, that he might see him and hand over the reins of Government to him without an interregnum. He left Calcutta by the mail steamer on April 9, and joined Lady Frere at Madras on the 13th. Thence they went by railway across the Peninsula to Beypore on the west coast, a railway only just completed, their train being the first that had crossed India from sea to sea. From Beypore H.M.S. *Auckland* took them to Bombay, where they landed on the 22nd. Sir George Clerk was ill at Poona, and thither Frere went on



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PARELL, BOMBAY.

the same night to join him, arriving there at five in the morning, and travelling back with him next day to Bombay. The following day Sir George Clerk sailed for England, Frere seeing him off and returning to be sworn in at the Town Hall.

It was a great satisfaction to him to succeed a man with whom on public matters he was so thoroughly in accord. "It is, as you know," he says in a letter to Outram, "no easy task to succeed such a man; but it is a comfort to find all that one's predecessor did so just,

wise, and generous, that there is nothing to regret or wish altered in what has been done of late years."

Taking office at such short notice, Frere had his staff appointments to fill up, and many household matters to attend to without delay. And a serious loss had just befallen him. When he left Calcutta, all his movable goods were packed and put on board the *Turon*—a French sailing vessel bound for Bombay. The ship was stranded and lost on the James and Mary sandbank in the Hooghly, and scarcely anything was saved. Amongst the lost things were thirty-two cases of books and papers—a valuable library, which he had been carefully collecting all his life—collections of coins, antiquities, curiosities, and hunting trophies, and many letters, memoranda, and other papers, the loss of which was irreparable. Nor did he obtain the usual sum of £2500 allowed to a new Governor of a Presidency for expenses of outfit; for by a rule, for which it is not easy to see the reason, this allowance is not made if the government is taken up by an official already in India, who does not come from England.

He was received in his old Presidency with a prolonged jubilant shout of acclamation from Europeans and natives—officials and non-officials,—his old Sind colleagues leading the chorus. Overworked and wearied as he was, such a welcome could not fail to give him fresh hope and vigour; and refreshed by the change from the depressing climate of Calcutta to the drier and less enervating air of Western India, he abandoned for five more years all thoughts of rest and home, and applied himself at once to his new work.

His work indeed was already more than begun, and his plans of action more than half formed. In many districts of the Presidency he was familiar with almost every village, hill, and stream. Travelling, generally

alone, as he had done in the early years of his service, day after day, and week after week, through districts undeveloped and sometimes in abject poverty through failure of crops, his mind had acquired the habit of contriving, elaborating, and storing up in his memory for possible future use, plans for public works to meet the wants of each locality.

The Bombay Council consisted of three members besides the Governor, one of them being the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Presidency, who, though his duties were chiefly confined to military matters, assisted in the discussion of most of the important questions which came before Council. Of the two civil members, one took the revenue and finance, and the other the judicial and other kindred departments, the Governor himself taking one or two departments under his own more especial direction (in Frere's case the Political, Military, and Public Works). According to its importance, the business of each department was disposed of by its head, or by him and the Governor, or by both civil members and the Governor, or, in case of difference of opinion, by the whole Council. In general, each transacted the business of his department with the Governor separately, and only when they differed was the other member called in. The routine business was done by the secretaries to the departments, the chief of which were the Finance, Judicial, and Public Works secretaries; and it was these secretaries who communicated, as occasion required, with the corresponding departments of the Government of India at Calcutta or Simla. Matters of importance came before the Governor and the whole Council and were discussed at their meetings, which ordinarily took place weekly, and were minuted upon by him.

Under the Act of 1862, a Legislative Council for

Bombay had been created, similar to that of Calcutta, being made up of the Executive Council with eight members added to it. These eight members were nominated by the Governor, some being official, some non-official, and some natives.

The Legislative Council met for the first time under his Presidency at Poona on July 15, 1862. It sat once a week, sometimes oftener, till the middle of October; then met again at Bombay in December and sat till April. Bills when passed by it had to be ratified by the Governor-General in Council and by the Secretary of State in England.

The Bombay Presidency comprises a vast territory, and at that time sent its officers as far as Zanzibar, Aden, and the shores of the Persian Gulf. Time and space made it impossible for Frere to establish the same close personal relations with every Civil servant under his authority, as he had done in Sind. But many were former colleagues and old friends, and there was the same spirit, the same accessibility and sympathy, the same intimate knowledge of details and appreciation of good work. He gave public breakfasts once or twice a week, at which any civilian, or any one else with an introduction, could speak with him. And for those at a distance—when the trouble or perplexity exceeded what written counsel could dispel—there was always an invitation to come and stay a week with him at Bombay, and talk it over.

The first important matter Frere had to take in hand was that of the production of cotton.

When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, and a blockade of the ports of the Southern States followed, it became evident that the supply of cotton from thence would cease. Little cotton, comparatively, came to

England from any other country at that time, and it seemed as if the manufacture on which the livelihood of hundreds of thousands in Lancashire depended would be stopped altogether for an indefinite time. India had for some years been exporting to England a relatively insignificant quantity, mostly of inferior staple and quality, amounting for the year 1858 to the value of about four millions sterling. Could this small yield be improved and increased so as to come near to meeting the want?

To Frere it was no new subject. Long before, in Sind, he had turned his attention to the introduction of finer kinds of cotton, and to the improvement of the methods of growing and cleaning it. In February, 1861, he had written a memorandum on the subject for Lord Canning —to be used as a resolution, or as a letter to the local governments—pointing out what the local authorities should do, and what they should avoid doing.

They must not, he says, take upon themselves the cultivation, for they would, by so doing, discourage the private cultivator and capitalist; nor must they directly, or indirectly, enforce its cultivation on landowners or labourers. But, indirectly, Government might give much useful encouragement by publishing information and statistics as to the supply and price of cotton; and by sending competent officers, who might be accompanied by members of the mercantile community, to examine and report upon the best means of communication between each cotton-growing district and the nearest port; and especially by facilitating communication and improving roads, and making, where there were no roads, tracks practicable for country bullock-carts going at a rate of from two and a half to three miles an hour; for it was the difficulty and cost of conveying the cotton to the coast which mainly prevented any great increase in its cultivation.

He had written to his friend Mr. Bourchier :—

"October 6, 1861.

"Cotton has always been a special hobby of mine, and when first a check in the American supply was threatened, I found Lord Canning fully alive to the importance of the question as affecting India, and despite the sneers of some of the old Indians, he adopted measures, the wisdom of which is now admitted by all parties here and in England, I think. The capacity of India to supply cotton is absolutely unlimited; but while America could supply all you wanted much cheaper, India was only looked to in years of occasional scarcity. India, therefore, grew grain and other crops, for which there was a steady demand. But if the demand for cotton continues, there can be no doubt we can supply all you want. There is no denying we have been backward in improving our roads and river navigation; but I trust we have turned over a new leaf in this respect also, and that England will henceforth have no reason to reproach us with neglect of her interests in this particular."

A small import duty on cotton goods coming to India was levied for purposes of revenue, and the Manchester cotton spinners became alarmed, lest, in addition to their other troubles, a competition by Indian manufacturers might be fostered thereby, which would interfere with their trade to India.

In answer to a letter from Lord Elgin,* asking for information about this, Frere writes :—

"July 1, 1862.

"I see Manchester is agitating stoutly to get off the remaining 5 and 5½ per cent. import duty; but its entire omission would do them no good. If mills can live, and spinning-jennies and power-looms work at a profit in Bombay, with only 5 per cent. duty on English goods, what chance will the English goods have against a factory in the Nerbudda districts, in sight of both coal and cotton fields, and with food and labour so much cheaper than in Bombay? The difference in cost of production will be

* Lord Elgin to Sir B. Frere, May 24, 1862.