

more than 5 per cent., and the establishment of the factories is certain to follow the railway now in course of construction.

“But, as I think I once told you, I am convinced the growth of cotton factories in India is the very best thing which could happen for Manchester. It is doubtful whether India can ever compete with Manchester in the finer kinds of goods—those in which the cost of the raw material is a small element—compared with the cost of spinning and weaving it. But it is certain that on the spot machinery will beat the spinning-wheel and hand-loom, and that for a long time to come the Indian mills will find their most profitable work in superseding the native hand-made goods.

“But for steam-driven machinery of any kind, you require better cotton, cleaner and more carefully picked than any now used for hand-made goods; and the first effect of an extension of mills in India will be an improvement in the quality of the cotton used for local purposes and by India manufacturers.

“This is just what Manchester wants. At present the vast quantities of cotton locally consumed in India are useless for English purposes, for the cheap, ill-cleaned cotton, which satisfies the Indian spinster and hand-loom weavers, is almost unworkable by English steam-driven machinery.

“But once improve the general quality of Indian cotton, so as to make it workable by such machinery, and you create a vast supply which is always in reserve for, and at the command of, the long purse of the English manufacturer. If the cotton exists and is to be purchased, he will get it in time of American scarcity; at other times he does not want it. The great evil is, not that cotton is dear, but that it is not procurable. England derives little help from India, because Indian cotton is not grown and prepared for machine-driven mills, and is useless to any but the hand-weaver. Supersede the hand-loom by the factory, and you will at once improve the quality of the cotton, and you will make it of a kind which England will continue to use when other kinds fail. . . .

“Dinkur Row's proposal was far more sensible than that of the Manchester agitators for a repeal of our import duties. He said, keep the import duties on, and put an

excise on the Indian factory produce, then tax at equivalent rates all sales of hand-made cloth. This cloth tax is, or rather was, one of the most universal and profitable indirect Indian taxes, and I believe Dinkur Row was quite right in saying that it would enable you to give up every direct tax except the large incomes."

Casting about for every possible means of improving the communications with the cotton districts, Frere noticed that in the country through which lines of railway ran, the roads leading to the stations on the line had been so worn with the unusual traffic as to become nearly impassable, and in such a condition from the passage of draft animals over them as to become, in wet weather, quagmires which were absolutely pestilential.* Such a matter in a European country would be set right by local authorities, but in India it depended upon the chance of its falling under the notice of some official, and Frere found it necessary, by a paper sent round to the consulting engineer of the railway department, to call attention to the clauses in the railway contracts, which bind the railways to provide roads from their stations to the nearest town or made road. "Above the Ghauts," he says, "there is rarely any visible road to any station, and, except at Poona, I have not seen a single road at any station from Tanna to

* Mr. Shaw Stewart, the then Collector of Dharwar, writes: "I write from here while the senses of smell and sight are still suffering acutely from the dreadful state of the approaches to the stations at Kandalia and Campoolie, to ask your authority to speak to Scott and Malcolm on the subject. About two or three hundred yards of road approaching either of these stations is absolutely half knee-deep in the most offensive and malarious black mud. . . . It is disgraceful to our Public Works Department, most unhealthy to the wretched people, European and native, who have to live in the neighbourhood, and most offensive to all railway passengers." He goes on to suggest that the roads in question should be made good at once, leaving the question of cost to be adjusted afterwards between the Public Works Department and the Railway Company.

Sholapur which was not a discredit and blemish to the great work with which it ought to communicate.”

To Sir Charles Trevelyan, then just returned from England to take charge of the Finance Department in the Supreme Council at Calcutta, he writes—

“January 28, 1863.

“You desire my views as to what should be done if you have a surplus of one million. I should say ‘make roads and canals.’ And if you have two or three millions I should still say ‘make roads and canals,’ and this, not only because they will in a thousand ways tend to increase your resources, but because they will, if well designed and executed, wipe out the greater part of fifty millions of debt, for till you make your railways pay, the expenditure on them is so much addition to your debt.

“At present your railways are like the *Great Eastern*, with nothing but canoes and catamarans to load and unload her. We are doing well in this Presidency as regards traffic on all open lines, but I see everywhere that it can be increased, perhaps doubled, by a good network of roads affording the necessary complement to the great carrying engine already provided.

“After roads and canals, I should say pay your Courts of Justice better, and give a much larger assignment to education. I am thoroughly ashamed of the parsimony with which our education grant is doled out, and with the consequent delay in giving effect to the great despatch of 1854.

“I would not for the present either pay off debt or remit taxation.”

But all his intentions and plans were rudely checked by a sudden order from Calcutta, alluded to in the following letter to Sir George Clerk :—

‘February 12, 1863.

“At Calcutta we seem getting back to the good old days when the secretaries led the Governor-General as they pleased. I only hope Trevelyan will do something to keep us out of the old groove, but unfortunately it is just the groove into which a man of his turn of mind is peculiarly apt to slip himself without knowing it.

“Just before he came out we were preparing a budget of Public Works, considerably in excess of last year’s—nothing very new or extravagant, but barracks, roads, and canals, long since approved and sanctioned and urgently wanted—when a telegram comes desiring us to cut down our military works to two lacs less than last year, and our general Public Works Budget to ten lacs less. This seemed so absurd, with an overflowing treasury, that I thought the telegram was a mistake. But the letter came and showed us that Madras was even worse off, being reduced twelve lacs. Bengal, North-West Provinces, and Punjab only six lacs, while the Central Provinces (Nagpore, etc.), Oude, Burmah, and the minor administrations under the Government of India, have between them an increase of six lacs. It is the old story. We have remonstrated publicly, and I have written privately to Trevelyan and Lord Elgin, urging the folly of stopping all useful and necessary works just when we ought to be doubling our expenditure on them. I can conceive nothing else that could possibly be done so sure to unite all classes in abusing the Government of India, and to leave it no friends even in this country but the Secretaries and their creatures. John Bright himself could not have planned things better to show the justice of his own views.

“Unless our remonstrances are successful, almost every cotton road and every barrack now making must stop on April 30th, and no new ones can be commenced, and this with cash balances three millions over the safe working-mark and an increasing revenue.”

He writes on the same subject to Sir Charles Wood—

“January 27, 1863.

“I trust there will be no check to road-making through our own Public Works Department. We have been dismayed by an order from the Government of India to restrict our Budget of Public Works expenditure for next year, 1863–64, to a sum ten lacs less than the very inadequate assignment for the current year. I send you a copy of our letter submitting our Budget, and pointing out what works must be stopped or lie over if the limitation is insisted on. You will see that it amounts practically to a stoppage of all our outlay on new roads and works of

or three centuries ago, but almost unknown among men of English or German race in our day—that *men* looking on were unable to restrain their tears. At Sattara and in Sind the regret at losing him was softened by the knowledge that his departure was due to a recognition of his merit; that he was being promoted in a service in which his influence might some day extend with heightened power to the country he was leaving. It was far otherwise when he left the Cape. On that occasion the regret of the colonists was mingled with indignation, and embittered by a sense of wrong.

No one who has not associated with colonists in their homes can rightly enter into the mixed feelings with which they regard the mother country. As with a son who is gone forth into the world, there is often on one side the conceit of youth and impatience of restraint, shown in uncalled-for acts of self-assertion or in dogmatic speech; and on the other side a supercilious want of sympathy with the changed surroundings, the pursuits and the aspirations of a younger generation. It seems as if there were no bond left between the two. But a day of trial comes; parent or offspring is threatened by a stranger; and then it is seen that the old instinct and yearnings are not dead, but only latent. Amid many mistakes, the mother country had hitherto not been forgetful of its natural obligations to its South African offspring. Lately, at a critical time, it had bestowed the best of its gifts, it had sent as Governor, a statesman trained from youth and practised in carrying out the best traditions of the old country, and with a varied experience such as probably no other living Englishman possessed—such as could not possibly be gained by any colonial politician, to whom statesmanship in the early days of a Colony comes but as an interlude in the struggle for subsist-

ence. He had not flattered the colonists. So far from it, he had single-handedly dismissed a Ministry commanding a majority in a Legislative Assembly sensitively jealous of any interference with its prerogative. Yet so completely had he gained their confidence and seized upon their affections, that with him and him only of living statesmen as their guide, east and west, Cape colonist and Natalian, Englishman and Dutchman, were ready to join in one great confederation, bound together by common loyalty to the British Crown. With strange perversity the consummation of this great work was marred by one British Ministry and destroyed by the Ministry which succeeded it. The gift of bread from the parent country was exchanged for a stone. Those who on that fateful evening watched the hull of the *Pretoria* slowly dipping below the western horizon felt that if, as seemed only too probable, dismemberment of the British Empire in South Africa were sooner or later to follow, the fault did not lie with the colonists. It was not they or their Ministers who were disloyal, it was the mother country which was looking on in apathy while its Government sacrificed the welfare of South Africa and endangered the integrity of the Empire, in order to conciliate an ignorant and fanatical clique and to maintain a party majority in the House of Commons.

they shipped last year cotton to the value of three million sterling, besides other produce.

“But it is merely a roadstead for coasting craft. There is a small creek where the cotton is put into small boats and sent across a dangerous bar to native coasting craft lying at anchor in the roadstead, or aground on the beach. These take it to Bombay; but even these small craft have no shelter, and are forced to put to sea and scud for the nearest headland when it comes on to blow. Moreover, the port is separated from the mainland by a wide estuary, across which the cotton has to be ferried. . . .

“I doubt if you have in all your dominions a province which will so immediately respond to expenditure on roads as North Canara would. It is opposite one of the only three depressions which break the barriers of the Western Ghats, and it has a naturally good port (Sedashegur), which the other two depressions have not.

“It has a magnificent back country, embracing, in Dharwar and Mysore, our best cotton, coffee, and betelnut districts, with forests of the finest timber, and a rich and very civilized coast population. It only wants roads. The Madras Government lined out some admirable ones, and roughly opened a few, which are already covered with traffic to an extent which the road-makers could never have expected, so much does it exceed the road's capacity for bearing traffic. We are doing our best to supply deficiencies, but all must come to a stop within two months from the 1st May next, unless you relent and give us more money for our public works.

“In the belief that the finances would justify your giving us more money for public works, and that, having it to give, you would be sure to give it, we had been preparing for a greatly increased expenditure on roads and works of irrigation. I am certain we could most economically and to the best advantage lay out in this presidency half a crore* more than we have this year; and you may imagine our disappointment at finding that you intended next season to cut us down ten lacs below this year's most inefficient assignment. . . .

“I gave Sir C. Trevelyan a few of the reasons why I think there is no case for reducing taxation. The fact is that the late enormous importations of bullion have so

* A crore is a million sterling.

raised prices that neither landowners nor cultivators, artisans nor traders, feel taxation as they did three years ago; and there is no class which will really thank us for remitting taxes except that with fixed incomes, which is a very small one. On the other hand, it is impossible to exaggerate the want of common roads, or the evils it produces. It is the great cause of the comparative non-productiveness of your railway expenditure, which forces into bolder relief the barbarous modes of travelling everywhere off the solitary grand trunk road. . . . I found it required a whole day to land at the capital of the district (Honore), owing to the want of such a pier as every herring fisher's village has in England; and that when at the capital, and wanting to go twelve miles to this place, one of our great cotton ports, another day's delay was needed to make preparations, not for a Nabob's progress, but for simple locomotion by any means other than walking. The choice lay between landing a horse and posting bearers to carry me in a muncheel, either of which operations required a whole day. I expected to have ridden through a desert, and was surprised to find a country very much resembling, but richer, if possible, and better populated than, that between Galle and Colombo. The sole obstacles to cart-traffic, along a road which was studded with large, scattered villages, were two rivers, either of them capable of being bridged for three thousand pounds, but which at present forced me to unsaddle and tow my horse after me in a canoe. It is for want of these bridges that at Honore the only wheel carriage was the native judge's palkee carriage, drawn by two ancient bullocks; and that no one in these parts seems ever to quit his own immediate neighbourhood, unless by sea or on foot or in a muncheel, and that they are so old-fashioned, that when we want their cotton or coffee or pepper we can find nothing they want in return from us except our money or bullion, though they evidently would, if the country were more accessible, take a vast amount of our manufactures."

From Coompta Frere went to Beitcul, whence he made a thorough investigation of the port and neighbourhood of Sedashegur—a natural harbour, to which the attention of several Manchester merchants had been already drawn.

Sir William Denison had visited it from Madras before it had been transferred to Bombay, and since its transfer in April, 1862, Government had been pushing on the work of making it available by connecting it by roads over the Ghaut with the cotton-growing country in the interior. Complaint had been made in Parliament, and a claim for damages instituted against the Government by the Manchester Cotton Company, on the ground that there had been culpable delay, and that an undertaking to complete certain roads and landing-places had not been fulfilled. Frere wrote from Beiticul to Sir Charles Wood a minute and detailed description of the position and features of the harbour and the country near it, and of the progress and condition of the roads that were being made. The harbour itself, he found, required little doing to it, except the addition of a pier and a wharf wall. The great want was that of cart-roads to the interior. One had been opened, but, owing to a severe visitation of fever, which had incapacitated or scared away the labourers, was incomplete.

He writes to Sir Charles Wood :—

“ February 22, 1863.

“ Almost every man we met had been, or was, when we saw him, fever stricken ; and from the miserable, emaciated figures, and enlarged spleens of some of the poor wretches, I can well believe the tale we were told of its ravages among the wild, ill-fed, and ill-clothed people of these forest tracts. It spares no one, and though it yields easily to treatment, and is seldom fatal to those who clothe and live well, is constantly recurring, and seems to strike terror into every class, especially the workmen, who generally abscond after a few days' stay, and cannot now be got to engage at all on the Ghaut works.

“ Such visitations appear to recur periodically at intervals of fifty or sixty years, and we therefore hope this, which has now been on the increase for three years, may abate. But Dr. Leith's conclusions are entirely negative. It is

not apparently of atmospheric origin, nor dependent on race, food, water, or mode of living, save that the poorest and weakest suffer most. . . .

"I had a meeting yesterday, at which all the local European agencies of Bombay houses and the Manchester Cotton Company were represented by five or six gentlemen from all parts of the world—Manchester, Glasgow, Germany, and Australia. The Government engineers, Revenue officers, Surveyors, and Foresters, and all Government officials were present, and we discussed everything relating to the place and province, came to a better mutual understanding on many points, and removed some grievances, real or imaginary, so that I hope things will go on more smoothly in future. The mercantile men ended by declaring they had nothing to suggest or complain of, and, with the exception of an early completion of the Arbyle Ghaut road, nothing to wish for which we could do for them, so I trust you will find their employers in somewhat better humour hereafter. . . ."

Sir Charles Wood supported Frere in his remonstrance against anything being withheld of the amount originally destined for expenditure on public works. He writes:—

"March 18, 1863.

"I have written very strongly to Trevelyan by the last two or three mails, and I repeat my views by the present mail. I agree with you, and I am very glad to have seen the copy of your letter to him. I have told him that I entirely approve of what you have said to him. I devoutly trust that my letters will have arrived in time to prevent their committing so grievous a mistake as reducing the assignment for public works in 1863-4."

And again:—

"April, 1863.

"I am very much obliged to you for your long and interesting letter from Sedashegur. . . . It is melancholy to read your accounts of the fever, which my Manchester friends say that we have got up for the occasion, in order to justify our shortcomings. This is a specimen of their candour. However, nobody much credits what they say.

. . . Trevelyan has sent me a good deal of correspondence. He has got into a strange notion of a surplus which he thinks may be inconvenient, forgetting that a larger appropriation for public works—the very thing that we all want—will make this fancied surplus disappear, whatever it may be for 1863-4. . . . I cannot conceive what has been running in his head, for we had talked it all over before he went from home, and I thought that he had understood my views and wishes completely.”

Lord Elgin supported Frere's views as to expenditure. In answer to Frere's letter from Coompta, he says :—

“ March 11, 1863.

“ I entirely agree as to the inexpediency of applying our surplus, if we have any, to the reduction of taxation. I expressed my views on this head very strongly to Sir C. Trevelyan before I left Calcutta, and I hope that my arguments were not without some effect on his mind.”

The Government of India seems at this time to have been so impressed with the expediency of showing a favourable balance as the result of each year's finance—because it would give confidence to English capitalists and tempt capital to India—that it failed to realize that the supply of the crying need of stricken Lancashire and the protection of Indian districts from the risk of famine were obligations paramount to that of producing a showy budget. However, on this occasion, whether convinced by Frere, or under Sir Charles Wood's or Lord Elgin's pressure, it gave way, and the money for the works was supplied. It was an inexpressible relief to Frere. “ It has done more,” he says, in reply to the letter announcing the decision, “ than the climate up here (Mahableschwur) to set me on my legs again.”

Another impediment to the introduction and use of cotton from India, which Frere set himself to remove, was the serious adulteration to which it was liable before

it was shipped from Bombay. Cotton of inferior staple was put in to fill up, and there was tampering with it when it was pressed, and during its transport overland. But the worst pilfering was done by the native sailors—sons or grandsons of men whose trade had been piracy—in the small coasting vessels which carried it along the coast to Bombay. These men used to cut open the bales, pilfer the cotton, put in stones and dirt to make the weight right, and then sew them up again.

A measure to prevent or punish these frauds was introduced into and passed by the Legislative Council. Frere would not make it a Government Bill, because he preferred that the responsibility and credit for it should rest on the mercantile community, and it was therefore introduced by a merchant member; but he warmly supported it, and no doubt originally suggested, and had a chief hand in formulating it. Under its provisions a staff of inspectors and special police was appointed to watch over the cotton in its various stages of transit. The presses were licensed, and each had its stamp, so as to facilitate the tracing of fraud. It was made penal to bring adulterated cotton to be pressed. A small fee was charged for licensing presses and for stamping, which sufficed to cover all expenses of inspection and special police, and to make the machinery of the Act self-supporting. It came into force on the 1st of January, 1864, and had a very beneficial effect on the quality of the cotton exported; though as the Act applied only to the Bombay Presidency, some of the cotton which came down the Indus from the Punjab, to be shipped at Kurrachee, was only partially protected by it.

In order to remove, as far as possible, all red tape friction and jealousy between heads of departments and the executive engineers of the different districts, and to

reduce to a minimum the weary waste of time and energy spent upon correspondence and report writing, Frere invited them all to meet in a conference at Poona. The freest discussion was allowed, and all were on equal terms; the highest official had to listen to the most searching criticism of his methods and plans; the humblest man could obtain a hearing for his pet scheme, or his tale of delay or neglect. Sharp things were sometimes said; but Frere's tact and courtesy, and his acknowledged competence and good judgment on engineering questions, sufficed to maintain harmony and good feeling throughout the protracted discussions. The Conference was a great success, and it was repeated annually during his term of office.

Writing about it to Lord Elgin, Frere says :—

“ October 10, 1863.

“ We ordered all the principal Revenue and Public Works officers to meet the Council, and by oral discussion, continued from day to day for some weeks, did more actual work, and came to a clearer understanding of the actual position and relative duties of all connected with public works, than has been effected by the written correspondence of many years past.

“ Much indirect good was done by the full discussions and explanations which these meetings permitted; old feuds between different departments were explained away and reconciled; the good, hard-working men who too often get soured by isolation and compulsory idleness were encouraged; mistakes, where any existed, were explained and cleared up, and we often got most valuable information on points on which Government was in error. The very few idlers who exist in the Public Works Department were exposed, and one or two were deservedly shelved.

“ We found that we could not reduce the numbers or cost of the superior grades of superintending or executive engineers. But we found that the establishments we have got, though a minimum for the smallest possible expendi-

ture, could all of them undertake more work within the limits of their own charges than had been previously assigned to them. If each executive engineer were working full power, the whole body could undertake to build barracks, and make roads and canals, costing altogether more than half a million sterling in excess of the assignments you had already sanctioned, with an addition of subordinate establishment of less than one per cent. on the sum to be expended."

To Sir Charles Wood, Frere writes of the Conference :—

" August 8, 1863.

"The time will not have been wasted even should the result be confined to correcting the feeling which I find prevails very generally among some of our best and most zealous revenue, as well as public works officers, that the Government here and in Calcutta are combined with your Council to stop all public improvement, and to reduce our public servants to mere machines. No one who has not seen it, in our remote stations, can have an idea how deeply such errors rust into the minds of zealous public officers secluded from all intercourse beyond the society of their own station, nor how quickly these errors rub off in the course of a few days of personal intercourse with other officers of Government above and below them at a large station like Poona and Bombay."

Prominent among the questions discussed was what public works were most urgent, and how and at what expense they could be carried out. Thus one immediate practical result of the Conference was that the Government became possessed of the best obtainable collection of engineering opinion in the Presidency, on which to found their plans and estimates for the coming year.

General Fife, R.E., writing his reminiscences of these Conferences, relates how—

"On one occasion, Colonel —, an officer in political employ, ventured to read a short paper in which he said

that public roads could be constructed for about one-fifth of what they cost under the engineers. Sir Bartle had, in calling upon Colonel —— to read his paper, led us to suppose that he was inclined to agree with him. A storm arose. Some flagrant oversights on Colonel ——'s part were pointed out, but as the paper had been drawn up with some care, at any rate, and the engineers had no warning of the attack that would be made upon them, their rejoinders were not at once so conclusive as they might have been. Subsequently several, including myself, placed our ideas on paper, with, I am afraid, not a little acrimony, and the papers were duly laid before the Governor and might have drawn forth some rather severe remarks from him ; but he took all in the most kindly way.

“Public works received a great stimulus by the Conferences. As in Sind, every one was electrified by the sympathetic interest which Sir Bartle displayed, and never before were the engineers so actively employed.”

Upon the subject of irrigation, Frere writes to Sir Charles Wood :—

“April 10, 1863.

“Last monsoon the rains failed us in the Deccan and Candeish, and we had to spend several lakhs of rupees in affording relief by famine works, etc. They are provinces in which irrigation pays well, and where, from the small Ryotwar tenancies, it must be done by Government. I inquired how much we had spent on new irrigational works within the last ten years, and found it was about £7000, positively not more than £700 a year in a country larger than Scotland. There were at the time more than two hundred schemes for irrigational works, some of them on a very large scale, in the records of our Public Works Department and awaiting execution. Inquiring the reason of this extraordinary state of things, I was assured that the utility of such works was so great, and the facilities so obvious, that zealous officers were perpetually sending up plans, but that, partly owing to the want of money, and the constant changes in the department, few or none of any size were ever undertaken. The great obstacle to really doing anything was the want of a separate set of

officers to undertake works of this kind, and the impossibility of combining them with the ordinary duties of an executive engineer, such as road-making and barrack-building and repairs.

“Captain Fife, who had devoted twelve years to irrigational works in Sind, and had executed a great project of Colonel Baker’s with great ability and success, happened to come out from England at the time, and I set him to work, not to start new schemes, but to revise some of the two hundred we had on hand, and to select the most promising and profitable for execution. All this was duly reported to the Government of India, and I did not suppose there would be two opinions as to the almost self-evident necessity for what we proposed. Captain Fife spent several months in travelling and had a large stock of well-considered and most paying schemes to begin with next season, when a letter from Colonel Strachey comes, many months after we had reported our plans for approval, upsetting, with a few sarcastic remarks, all we had done, and directing Captain Fife to refund all the salary he had drawn. I have no doubt all will be rectified as soon as I can explain to Lord Elgin and get him to look into it and form his own opinions.”

Ultimately this *was* rectified, and after much waste of time and writing, Captain Fife was confirmed in his appointment.

It is sometimes asserted that famines in India are more frequent than formerly. The contrary is the fact. Until comparatively recent times, a province might, owing to a failure of the usual rainfall, be desolated by famine and a million or two of people starved to death without any one more than a few hundred miles off knowing anything about it. Frere was once asked by one of his children why he was perpetually thinking and talking of irrigation. “If you had seen men’s bones as I have,” he answered, “lying unburied by the roadside, and on entering a village had found it untenanted by a living person, you would understand why.”

In a rainless country like Upper Sind regular irrigation is at all times essential to cultivation, and where there is no irrigation there can be no permanent population. But in the Deccan cultivation was, in ordinary years, carried on by means of water supplied from small tanks, filled in the rainy season. This uncertain supply necessarily failed in exceptionally dry years, for the average rainfall is only about twenty-five inches, and falls in four months of the year. Periodical famines were the result. On the mountain range of the Western Ghats, running parallel to the coast, there is in the driest years a very heavy rainfall, whence in the rainy season the rivers bring down a great volume of water. Frere, after much consultation with Colonel Fife, determined to carry out the idea originally suggested by Sir Arthur Cotton, of storing the water of the river Moola, which flows by Poona, by means of a great lake. To make this lake, a huge dam of solid masonry, about a mile long and nearly a hundred feet high at the deepest part, was constructed at a point ten miles from Poona up the valley. By means of this dam was formed a sheet of water—named after its constructor Lake Fife—twelve miles long and at its broadest part a mile and a half wide. There was no fear of its not being filled every season, for at the head of the valley, in the mountains, there is a rainfall of two hundred inches a year. By this work, which with the canals cost about half a million, and was seven or eight years in construction, the town of Poona, and the cantonments, and about eighty-six thousand acres of land were supplied with water.

This, which was only one among many schemes for irrigation projected and commenced at that time, needed all Frere's support, and that of his successor, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, to get it carried out, otherwise it would have been shelved for an indefinite time. Afterward irrigation

works for the Deccan became more general, and the department expanded from a nucleus of three or four officers till it possessed a large staff. By the year 1884, so much progress had been made that it was estimated that the area of cultivation actually protected from famine was as much as a million and a half acres—a result the more remarkable owing to the extreme roughness of the country, which in some places makes it impossible to irrigate.

It soon appeared that the incident of the sudden check to the supplies by the Government of India at the beginning of the year was not to be exceptional, but was to be followed by a series of similar difficulties and delays.

A traditional jealousy of old standing existed between the departments of the Government of India at Calcutta and those of the Bombay Government. The Bombay Governor and his Council are appointed directly by the Crown; they were naturally tenacious of such independence of action as they were entitled to exercise, and chafed at being interfered with in matters of detail by the officials at Calcutta. The Calcutta Secretaries, on their side, were not likely to lose sight of the fact that their departments were those of the Supreme Government.

Before the days of railways and telegraphs, distance made it practically impossible to govern Bombay from Calcutta, and in matters of pressing importance the Bombay Government acted first, and asked for sanction afterwards. But during Lord Dalhousie's rule a change had taken place. His policy tended to restrain the independent action of the Presidencies and to gather the threads of all departments of administration, even to the smallest details, into the hands of the Government of India, and under his own personal supervision as Governor-General. Opinions are still divided as to

whether the result was a brilliant success or a disastrous failure. But however that might be, one consequence of the increased centralization was that the work of the Government of India grew to be so great that no one man could any longer superintend it. The departments at Calcutta became more and more independent, each Secretary administering his own with less and less consultation with his colleagues or control by the Governor-General, who often knew little of what was being done till he was appealed to to put an end to friction or to settle a dispute.

The Secretary to the Public Works Department of the Government of India at this time was Colonel R. Strachey, an able man, with a considerable reputation. Unfortunately, he had fallen into the fatal mistake, too common at that time amongst Indian officials, of assuming that experience gained in one province was equally applicable and a sufficient guide to the circumstances and requirements of another, and of imagining that his official position imposed upon him the duty of stopping or postponing all undertakings, however highly recommended, as to the nature and expediency of which he had not himself the local knowledge to enable him to form a correct judgment. His mistake was aggravated by the adoption of a style and method of expressing himself in his letters which was very unfortunate. The Bombay Government was not even left to reform and organize its own Public Works Department in its own way, but was ordered to make it conform to the Calcutta Secretary's notions of what was best. Frere, anxious if possible to avoid friction, did not appeal, as he well might have done, to Lord Elgin, but yielded the point. Nor did he on his own account resent the tone of the official letters, which he did not permit for a moment to trouble the even surface of his courteous

temper. But it was otherwise with his Secretaries and lieutenants.

Matters reached a crisis when, early in September, 1863, the Bombay Government sent in a supplementary estimate of what would be required for expenditure on public works during the ensuing financial year. Based on the result of the deliberations of the Poona Public Works Conference, it had been prepared with more than ordinary care, and was sent in in conformity with the request of the Government of India. The answer from the Public Works Department at Calcutta, was a flat refusal to consider it.*

Frere thereupon wrote to Lord Elgin, explaining in detail the circumstances connected with the estimate, and the treatment it had received from the Calcutta Public Works Department. The three most prominent items of expenditure were for cotton-roads, barracks, and irrigation.

Of the want of roads enough has been said. As to the urgency of the need for new barracks and for irrigation, Frere writes as follows to Lord Elgin :—

“October 10, 1863.

“Sir William Mansfield completed during last season a personal examination of all our great permanent European stations. The state of things he found and reported was briefly this: Three men are habitually quartered in shelter designed for two; more than half the quarters were never designed as permanent barracks; half the permanent barracks are of a design and construction now exploded and condemned; men are frequently living in

* This answer contained the following paragraph :—

“It is quite impossible for the Governor-General to make any satisfactory selection from the long list of works submitted, so as to reduce the estimated outlay to the sanctioned amount, complicated as the present demand is by large additional requirements for repairs and establishments. His Excellency, therefore, instructs me to state that no orders can be given on the communication now under reply, but that, when proposals are made in conformity with the instructions of the Government of India before given, they will receive attention.”

buildings long since condemned as insecure and unfit for habitation (one of these has fallen since Sir William saw it last year; the men have been removed from another and sent into tents). Fully half the hospitals are defective, or unsuitable, and there is a general want of proper sanitary arrangements.*

“Altogether, he showed half a million sterling was wanted to house your European troops, not luxuriously, but according to the ordinary and admitted requirements of life in India.

“So with irrigation. The country was starving and prices higher than at Delhi during the late famine, because Government, the great landowner hereabouts, has done nothing for forty years to make the supply of food equal to the rapidly increasing demands for it. Nothing kept us from the most serious scarcity but the enormous demand for unskilled labour, caused by railway-making and the development of trade in Bombay, giving all labourers who can travel such wages as enabled them to bear the high price of food, the food being brought from a great distance,

* Sir W. Mansfield’s memoranda, when on a tour of inspection, contain the following description of some invalid barracks which he visited :—

“The barracks which, I understand, were originally intended to last two years, are of the very worst temporary description. They are simply sheds supported on poles, the walls being filled in with lath and plaster. They are raised about three feet, and have large double weather verandahs. The floors are of rammed earth cow-dunged.

“If we recollect that about a hundred and fifty inches of rain fall during the monsoon; that during that season damp fogs prevail in all hills when rain is not actually falling, and these floors so constructed are constantly absorbent of moisture, we may form to ourselves some idea of the dampness of these wretched buildings for six months of the year, and of the carelessness, amounting to cruelty, in leaving them in such a state, while our military invalids are ordered into them.

“How is it possible to expect that change of air or scene can possibly avail to restore the health of the invalids, if we wantonly expose them to such evil influence? I confess I was shocked when I saw the barracks, the more especially when the executive engineer who accompanied me reminded me of the fact that the discussion about rebuilding, sites, unhealthiness, etc., had lasted for ten years.”

when it might be produced at our doors if we invested money at from ten to twenty-five per cent. in irrigational works, which would return to our farmers cent. per cent. on their enhanced outlay."

He wrote a short letter, summing up the matter, to Sir C. Trevelyan:—

"October 12, 1863.

"I must beg your early and particular attention to our correspondence with Colonel Strachey regarding our supplementary Public Works Budget, sent in with a long explanatory letter. He answers by a flat refusal to consider our letter.

"I have written at length privately to Lord Elgin, for it seems to me absolute insanity to hold our hands just now in spending any money we can spare on cotton-roads, railway feeders, barracks, and works of irrigation.

"We fully believed that, in acting as we did, we were only doing our best to carry out the views of Lord Elgin's Government as explained by you in your speech of April 3rd.* We were more than ever convinced we were right when Sir Charles Wood quoted your words on the subject of Public Works assignments with so much approbation in the House of Commons, and when we read his despatch on the Report of the Royal Sanitary Commission; as regards military works, we had a positive invitation to submit plans for immediate sanction, as late as June 1st, from the Government of India.

"But I cannot believe we have in any way misunderstood you, or that any one but Colonel Strachey would say that with money in the Treasury, with means organized for spending it most economically, with a cotton famine in

* In that speech Sir C. Trevelyan said: "This Government [*i.e.* the Government of India] desires it may be clearly understood that any funds that can be expended with advantage on cotton-roads, or works of irrigation or navigation, or on any other useful works, will be granted during the ensuing year. There will be no difficulty as far as money is concerned, the only limit will be the impossibility in particular cases in getting value for outlay."

On July 23rd, Sir Charles Wood, in laying the India Budget before the House of Commons, quoted these words, and added, "I can assure the House that, for some years past, there has been no check whatsoever as far as money goes."

Lancashire and a food famine impending in the Deccan, with a possibility not remote of the Americans going to war with France or with us, and still further curtailing the cotton supply, with all the materials for a serious attack in Parliament about all these questions, about guaranteed Railway mismanagement or deficient barrack accommodation,—with all this in prospect during the next six months that we should say, ‘We will not make these roads for cotton or grain, nor these works for irrigation, nor railway feeders, nor barracks, for the next eighteen months, because a Budget rule, which we have made and remade half a dozen times and which we constantly violate, would be violated once more.’

“For all the essentials of the Budget system the supplement we submitted is far better and more carefully prepared, and more in order than any we have ever sent.

“As for the style of the snubbing, it brought over the most valuable (to me) of my colleagues with a formal tender of his resignation, and I only appeased him by a very confident assurance that it could not have been sanctioned by Lord Elgin. He was perfectly in earnest, and his loss would be a serious one to me.” *

* Frere, quite indifferent to official arrogance when directed against himself, was especially careful to check any manifestation of it to others on the part of officials under his authority. He writes on one occasion to the Chief Secretary of the Bombay Government :—

“ March 24, 1863.

“I do not like to put on record any censure of your excellent Deputy Secretary, but I wish you would instruct him to be more careful in the terms of the letters to the High Court.

“His letter of March 11 is very curt and dictatorial, and not at all in the tone which even the mildest of Chief Justices would like to receive from the most despotic of paternal Governments.

“It ought never to have gone, however worded, without my seeing it. I have often begged that every letter differing from or censuring any high official should be sent to me before it goes. And this is specially necessary when the High Court is to be told that we cannot do what they want. This kind of snubbing does nothing but irritate and make correspondence.

“I hope you will keep W—— from falling into this snare of young Secretariat officers.”

To Colonel Strachey himself he writes in terms of grave but friendly remonstrance :—

“October 12, 1863.

“Your letter of September 25 has brought matters to a crisis with our Government, and I have been compelled to lay the matter before Lord Elgin, privately as well as publicly, in terms I would gladly have avoided.

“Rely on it, my dear Strachey, you cannot be both Superintending Engineer of every work in India, and also Secretary in the Public Works Department to the Government of India. You may very easily ensure that not a work is commenced throughout India till you have been satisfied as to the minutest detail of plan and estimate. But you will find this will end in the paralysis of the Public Works Department. You wish to ensure a maximum of work and efficiency and a minimum of expense. The means you adopt will ensure the reverse. All our money will go in establishments and designs and writing; the work done will be a minimum.

“I cannot admit that for four-fifths of the work you have any advantage over provincial engineers. There are many great engineering problems, in solving which you have an immense advantage over us, and are more likely to be right. But in the humdrum work of roads and bridges—plain earth-work and masonry—the only problem is how to get as much as possible for the money, and the more you check and correspond, the less is done. A wise imperial Public Works Department would do absolutely nothing in such matters, but give all the money it could spare to the local Governments and judge by results whether it had been well spent.”

The correspondence in the mean time had gone home to Sir Charles Wood. He writes, not knowing of Lord Elgin's illness, to Frere :—

“November 16, 1863.

“I am very sorry, indeed, for the disagreement with the Government of India on the Public Works matter. Nothing can be more uncourteous, to say the least of it, than Strachey's letter, and you are quite right to remonstrate with Lord Elgin. But something or other has gone wrong

about the expenditure on public works. I authorized, more than a year ago, expenditure on useful reproductive works not exceeding £3,000,000. They said they could not spend it. I urged them to do something. Then they proposed barracks. I said, 'No; do your barracks out of revenue, and don't be in a hurry, for the Sanitary Commission here are afraid of your getting wrong in the mode of construction. Spend money from cash balances, *i.e.* beyond your surplus in reproductive works.' Then Trevelyan says, 'I can provide for all we can spend advantageously out of surplus revenue;' and so convinced are the Government of India of this, that they reduce taxation, and then Trevelyan begs me to pay off debt, as it is a shame to keep money idle for which we are paying interest. I do this, and then out comes a minute from Lord Elgin, saying that I had *ordered* £3,000,000 on public works, and he rather reproaches me for changing my mind. I only changed in consequence of what they said, and in compliance with their request. They have, in fact, money enough for both purposes, and for all that they can do. I shall have paid off the dissentient debenture-holders on my creating a new 5 per cent. stock; and there will be somewhat more than £3,000,000 to spend upon any useful purposes. I mention this to you, that you may know what has passed in case there should be anything in Lord Elgin's letter to you as if I had checked expenditure. I hope that his answer will put all straight."

The remonstrance never reached Lord Elgin. In November he was travelling by a mountain pass over one of the spurs of the Himalaya, when he was seized by illness and could not proceed. He died on November 20th, a little more than a year and a half after his arrival in India.

A recent Punjab frontier disturbance at Umbeyla, which had assumed a serious aspect from a British force having been surprised and two guns taken, was then attracting attention, and seemed likely, apart from other evils which it was causing, to cost much money and cause a curtailment in the supplics which were so much needed

for other purposes. Not knowing, in this sudden and unexpected vacancy, who would be sent out to replace Lord Elgin, Frere thought it was an opportunity which ought not to be missed of calling the attention of the new Viceroy, whoever he might be, to the old question whether these unfortunate chronic disturbances on the frontier were not the direct result of a vicious policy. He therefore wrote to Sir Charles Wood :—

“ November 28, 1863.

“ Colonel Durand tells me that he has urged on you the necessity of directing Lord Elgin’s successor to proceed to the Punjab as soon as he can. This is no doubt very sound advice, though winter will probably have put a stop to active warfare on the frontier before the new Governor-General can arrive, and his first wish and duty will probably be to consider with Sir Charles Trevelyan how his finances stand.

“ But I trust you will also impress on him the necessity for forming his own judgment on the general question of the Punjab Frontier Policy, and for judging for himself as to what sound policy requires, without giving undue weight to mere length of residence and experience in India, or even in the Punjab itself. I am very unwilling to speak dogmatically on the subject, for my official knowledge of what has lately been passing is very imperfect, and I have always had the misfortune to differ from some of the highest and most able Punjab officers, from Sir John Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Robert Napier and Mr. Temple. But the question is so important, that a Governor-General can hardly hear it too fully discussed, and when I see our difficulties on that frontier taking the exact form always foretold by Sir George Clerk, by General John Jacob, by Sir Charles Napier, Lord Clyde, Sir W. Mansfield, and others, who were not blind to the peculiar features of that frontier, the event seems to me to afford strong ground for doubting the soundness of a system which I never heard defended on principle or by any arguments, other than those founded on some supposed peculiarity of circumstance such as it is argued must justify departure from principle. As for

any arguments derived from the supposed success of the Punjab frontier policy, you can judge of their value by the present state of affairs up there, and by the undisguised alarm with which it is regarded even by some of the best-informed men in the Punjab itself.

“You have now got Sir George Clerk at home, and I trust that the new Governor-General will hear and carefully weigh his views on this question. . . .

“As far as we can judge, General Chamberlain has made no mistake in carrying out the plan laid down for him, and has done his best with the large force under his command, and the real blame must rest on the system, which creates many heads, political and fiscal as well as military, which deals with these tribes on principles different from those observed in dealing with regular governments, and which thus imperfectly secures their respect and confidence.

“All this is rank heresy in the Punjab, and in other quarters too, I fear. But if, as is undoubtedly the case just now, a single check in an expedition like this makes your Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer nervous for his surplus, and creates such panic in Northern India that your Government of India and Commander-in-Chief would think it a most inopportune time to send our surplus force to England or Canada, it is clearly desirable that a new Viceroy should weigh well whether experienced statesmen, like Sir George Clerk, and old soldiers, like Sir C. Napier and Lord Clyde, were altogether wrong in the view they took of the Punjab frontier system.”

Writing (Nov. 29, 1863) to Colonel Herbert Bruce, then Inspector-General of Police, a valued friend with whom he had become intimate when at Calcutta, Frere mentions that he had written strongly to Sir Charles Wood, pointing out this Punjab frontier policy as one of the very important questions for his new Governor-General to consider and form his own opinion upon without being bound to follow in the Punjab track, but that he had little expectation of its doing any good; that in England there was always a constituted authority on such questions, and that Sir John Lawrence was then that authority. Even if he were not

sent out as Lord Elgin's successor, the India Office and the new Governor-General would probably be entirely guided by his views and advice on the matter.

“ However, *magna est veritas*, and one of these days they will find out the truth, and your views will be acted on, but not while Lawrence has anything to say to it.

“ I hear nothing from any one but Sir H. Rose. He sent me an account of the affair of November 20th, in which Chamberlain was wounded. It arrived just in time to go home and prevent a newspaper version of ‘ General Chamberlain killed ; forty thousand men will be required to re-establish our position.’ This latter part was actually in type as an extra to go home by the mail. So much for the Punjab system of ‘ keeping these things quiet.’ ”

Frere followed up his letter to Sir Charles Wood by writing and sending him a Minute, in which he repeated shortly the old arguments and principles he had so often, in concert with John Jacob, and afterwards at Calcutta, sought to enforce, in the hope that it might be read and considered by the new Viceroy, whoever he might be, before he left England. But before the Minute could arrive, Sir John Lawrence had been appointed Governor-General, and had already sailed. Frere, on hearing this, writes to Sir Charles Wood :—

“ January 1, 1864.

“ Everything will be in readiness for Sir J. Lawrence going up to the Punjab at once. His firm will, clear sense, and great experience will do good wherever he goes, and I sincerely trust you will hear of everything quieting down in and around the Punjab. Much will depend, as to the permanence of the quiet, on whether he looks at questions up there in the light in which you or any English statesman would view them, or as, with few exceptions, our Punjab men do. . . . I will tell Sir J. Lawrence, as frankly as I have told you, my views on the subject and the important bearing of the question on the finances, and having done so, whether we agree or not, you may rely on

my loyally supporting him to the best of my power as long as I remain in India.”

Frere, finding that Sir John Lawrence had left England without having seen the Minute, sent a copy of it to meet him at Galle, enclosed in the following letter :—

“ January 7, 1864.

“ This will hardly be in time to welcome you to India, but you will, I trust, be assured that no one in India is more sincerely desirous than I am that health, strength, and wisdom may be granted to you to enable you to discharge efficiently the great task which is before you.

“ I believe you will find your greatest difficulty, for the present at all events, in that part of India with which you are best acquainted, and I should hesitate in offering my opinions unasked, if I thought you could possibly have seen, as clearly as those in India, during the last three or four years, the growth of feelings and opinions which seem to me to threaten serious and speedy mischief unless some corrective can be applied to them.

“ I have stated my views very fully in the enclosed Minute. It was written when I supposed you would have dealt with it in London, instead of in Calcutta. I should not have materially altered its substance had I known you were coming out as Governor-General, but I might in that case have deferred their expression till you were able to consider our position on the spot.”

And to Sir Charles Wood he writes—

“ January 13, 1864.

“ I have sent Sir John Lawrence a copy of the Minute I sent you on our frontier policy. When I wrote it I expected him to have criticized it with you in London, and I do not now expect him to express concurrence in its views. But I trust when he looks at the question by the light of his English experience of what we say of our neighbours in Europe when they invade and shoot and burn villages to ‘make an impression’ on savage or in-subordinate borderers, he will feel that a change is necessary in the Punjab policy, and I trust he may be able to effect it.”

Upon the vexed question of the control of the details of Bombay Public Works by the Calcutta Secretary, Sir Charles Wood writes—

“ January 4, 1864.

“ It is hardly worth while going into the discussion on the Public Works question, as I talked it all over with Sir John Lawrence before he went, and he is not at all disposed to strain the control of the Government of India over the expenditure of the other presidencies. I agree with you that in all minor matters, such as ordinary roads and such like, the control of the Supreme Government is merely financial, *i.e.* we can allow you so many lacs for them. When I say merely financial, I mean that they must not go into the mode of execution. But financial control may and ought to mean more in works of importance ; that is to say, that the Government of India, before it sanctions beginning a work, like a large annicut, for instance, which may cost a quarter of a million, has a right and ought to be satisfied that the estimate is a probable estimate.

“ As to barracks, the sanitary people here don't think any place safe unless they have seen it. They say that the best constructed barracks are deficient in some very essential particulars, and therefore all plans for new barracks, or for extensive alterations in old barracks, are to come home to be criticized and amended.”

Frere was prepared for this check to the building of new barracks. He had written to Trevelyan :—

“ November 24, 1863.

“ I hear that all barrack building is to be suspended till Colonels S—— and C—— have decided on 'standard-plans' for barracks all over India.

“ If this is the case, rely on it their time will be wasted and your money misspent. Of all crotchets, this 'standard-plan' crotchet is the most runaway of hobbies. Of course the barracks can be built according to the 'standard,' but they must be at best necessarily unsuitable in a ratio varying as the distance of the site where they are built, from the spot where the standard plan-maker learnt his notions of comfort.

“Had this ‘standard-plan’ fashion been in vogue ten years ago, you would have had the huge barrack for a hundred and two hundred men stereotyped. Even now, the science of how to house a thousand Europeans in India, with least injury to their health, is quite in its infancy, and the experiments necessary to teach us can only be postponed by this ‘standard-plan’ drawing.

“The antidote to the evil lies in the fact, always overlooked by those who advocate such attempts at enforced uniformity, that you cannot reduce English engineers to blind copying machines, and that each man, as he rises in the department, revenges himself for so many years of compulsory building, according to his predecessor’s standard, by setting up a new ‘standard’ of his own. The ‘standard’ is altered by each successive head of the department, and common sense thus tardily has something to say in deciding what is to be built.

“But the mischief done meantime is incalculable. So I hope you will set your face against the system. Let us all try who can do best for our soldiers with the money you can give us. Let us compare notes, and learn by each other’s success or failures, and then, in ten years more, you may be able to tell how soldiers should be housed in each province. But the ‘standard’ set up by experience for one province, will always differ more or less from the ‘standard’ of its neighbours.”

As to the incorrectness of estimates, which Sir Charles Wood said required to be checked by the Supreme Government, Frere says, in a letter to him :—

“July 22, 1864.

“I am far from defending Indian Public Works estimates in general. I know that they are too often very vague and inaccurate guides as to what is proposed or probable in the way of cost. But my argument is that the further you remove the authority which is to examine into their correctness or sufficiency, the less chance have you of real accuracy. If the officer making the estimate knows that it is to be dealt with promptly and practically, with a view to immediate execution, by some authority near at hand, he is careful to make it as careful and

accurate as possible. But if he knows it is to be sent to the other side of India, and to be there delayed and criticized not on its real merits, but according to some paper pattern of perfection, he inevitably becomes careless. I frequently elicit, sometimes in so many words, but oftener in substance, that an officer 'supposed the estimate was only wanted to send to Calcutta,' 'was sure the execution would be so long delayed that fresh designs would be called for,' as excuses for carelessness in framing estimates, and I have found men in superior situations, who ought to know better, excusing themselves for letting estimates pass imperfectly revised, by saying they knew it would all be pulled to pieces when it reached the Government of India.

"The root of the evil is the incongruous character of the functions attempted by the Government of India—to direct details in some of the minor administrations, and to lay down principles for the larger Governments.—No man can at one moment criticize the arches of a bridge in Coorg or Oude, and the next moment remember that it is the general direction of the road from Madras to Bombay, and not the details of execution, which he has to discuss with the Madras and Bombay Governments.

"The result is a great show of accuracy on paper, but utter paralysis of executive power, besides much irritation and want of due subordination to the Government of India, which is the more vexatious when we are very cordially desirous to obey, and to aid the Governor-General in any object he may have in view."

"Financial control," it was clear, might be made to include or exclude almost any sort of control, according to the fancy of the controller. It soon became evident that the Calcutta Government considered itself by no means precluded from "going into the mode of execution" of matters which could not be said to be specially important. The question of financial control in matters of detail was raised by the following incident.

In March, Dhuleep Singh, the deposed ruler of the Punjab, arrived at Bombay on his way back to England,

after visiting India to attend his mother's funeral, and was received as a guest at Government House. Before leaving he had considerable expenses to meet, and finding that he was £2000 short, asked Frere if the Government would lend it to him. For many reasons it was expedient that it should not be withheld ; and there was no risk of loss, as Dhuleep Singh enjoyed a large pension from Government. Frere complied, but not knowing how the disbursement, not being provided for under any established head of Budget expenditure, would be received at Calcutta, he wrote at once to Lawrence to say what he had done :—

“April 4, 1864.

“I thought you would wish me to do this, if only to facilitate his return to Europe, and to prevent the necessity for his borrowing here in the bazaar.

“So I have ordered 20,000 rupees to be advanced to him.

“If you approve of my doing so, I must beg you to let the Financial Department know, so as to prevent their telegraphing to lock the Treasury.

“When I was lately in Guzerat, I found that we had repeated at Surat and Ahmedabad the error for which we are now paying so dearly here in Bombay and elsewhere. We had made no provision for the land needed for approaches, etc., near our railway stations till after the railway was opened, and the land was rising rapidly in value.

“I found the Municipal Commissioners prepared to relieve Government of the greater part of their responsibility, provided Government could aid them to buy the land at once. To do this they asked for an advance of money, for which they would pay Government interest.

“So I gave them an advance, and thereby saved, as I thought, for Government, some three or four lacs of rupees.

“But without inquiry as to what I had done, or why, we get a telegram from E. Lushington, and a letter from Mr. Peachey, saying that you had peremptorily forbidden the advance.

"I know Mr. Peachey to be an excellent man and a good accountant, and had he been with me at Surat and Ahmedabad, he would no doubt have satisfied you and Trevelyan that what I had done was a certain saving of several lacs of rupees, which will now fall on Government as an inevitable charge, partly railway and partly Public Works.

"All this we have explained in proper official detail.

"But this obliges me to trouble you about this small affair of the Maharajah's advance. For I do not want him, if he goes to the Treasury on the strength of my promise, to find the door shut by a telegram from Calcutta conveying an order from you."

Sir John Lawrence's answer was as follows :—

"April 14, 1864.

"You will have received my telegram regarding the advance to the Maharajah.

"As regards the other matters touched on in your letter, Trevelyan strongly objects, as indeed do the other Members of Council, to your using Government money in the manner you describe, especially without authority first obtained. What they say is that if you can do it in one case, you can do it in another. If you can advance one lakh of rupees, you may advance twenty; and that, in short, there can be no financial control under such a system. Now, I think there is a great deal of force in what is said. I think that in most cases time would admit of a previous reference, and when it did, such a reference would greatly facilitate business in the long run, and of course, in emergent cases, you could telegraph. In the case of the Maharajah, I would not authorize the advance until I had asked Trevelyan's consent. . . .

"We are now barely able, as you know, to make the income balance the expenditure. New demands are every day coming upon us, and if we are to meet them we must economize as far as practicable, and this we cannot do if we let the control of the finances pass out of our hands. You may depend upon my helping you, whenever I can do so consistently with my duty."

Frere's reply was as follows :—

“ May 11, 1864.

“ From some expressions in your letter of April 14, I am not sure that you are aware how much the restrictions now put on us are in excess of what has been usual hitherto.

“ Formerly, as you know, up to 1860, the Government of India was content with a somewhat irregular and imperfect assertion of its legitimate power of control over the finances of the Madras and Bombay Governments. Its action was vexatious to those Governments without being effective. The Budget system was to remedy all this, to give the Government of India an effective and regular power of control, while it allowed the local Governments greater liberty of action within certain defined limits.

“ The old customary restrictions on the creation of new appointments, on the alteration of salary, etc., were reasserted. The several branches of service were defined and classified under fixed heads, for each of which a sum was fixed in the Budget. Within that sum the local Governments were to be allowed more than their old liberty of action, provided they created no new offices, altered no fixed rates of salary, did not exceed the whole sum allowed for each head of service, and made no transfer from one head of service to another without the leave of the Government of India.

“ All this has in practice been altered within the last two years, and we are now strictly tied down to the exact details entered in the Budget without the slightest power to vary them without your previous sanction.

“ What used to be required was your subsequent approval and sanction ; the practical difference is immense.

“ It is not easy to make my meaning clear without an example. I will take that of the advance you lately disallowed for purchase of land for roads and railway approaches at Surat. I made much local and personal inquiry on the spot from officers in every department, and I clearly saw that an immediate advance of a lakh of rupees would purchase land which must sooner or later be bought by Government for various public purposes—railway approaches and great trunk-roads, landing piers, etc., and which land, if not bought then at once, would in a few months rise enormously in value. . . . Under the system

heretofore in force the advance would have been made at once. It would have stood at my personal risk, till I was relieved by my colleagues in the Government approving of what had been done by me individually, when away from them. Then, if there were savings under the same head, say 'purchase of land,' at the end of the year, the advance might have been cleared by a simple order of the Bombay Government, otherwise it would have been necessary to satisfy you and to get your sanction to the extra charge by showing that it was an ultimately profitable or necessary purchase.

"But under your late orders, not a shilling can be advanced on any account, no matter what the urgency of the case. You do not treat us as a merchant treats his agents, advancing money and honouring bills on the assurance that when the agent's explanation comes it will be found that all has been done for the good of the firm. You stop by telegram every payment of which, as in this case, you hear accidentally, for which you have not given previous orders.

"You say the practice we followed is objectionable ; that if we are allowed to advance a lakh we may advance twenty, and that there would be an end of all financial control.

"This depends on the understanding between the parties and the degree of confidence reposed in the agent. No power to do good can be given without conceding the power to do mischief.

"But has the power been so abused in times past when it was unquestioned ? Was the Empire worse when you and Lord Elphinstone and Lord Harris incurred expenses, which had not only never been previously sanctioned by the Government of India, but which you were for months unable to report or explain ?

"You will say these are extreme cases, not likely to recur. But I maintain that there is always in India some need for public servants acting without orders, on the assurance that, when their superiors hear their reasons, their acts will be approved and confirmed ; and I hold that when you have extinguished that feeling of mutual confidence between superior and subordinate authorities, and made public men as timid here of acting without orders as they are in England, you will have removed one great

safeguard of our Indian Empire. It does not take long so to bridle a body of public servants as to paralyze their power of acting without orders.

“But, you will say, why not, in the case of the Surat advance, at all events, report your reasons and ask for previous sanction ?

“If you would trust our judgment and discretion this would be easy. We need not have written more than I have written above ; but the Government of India always insist on reasons and explanations at least as full as those we require from our subordinates.

“Your Secretaries treat an opinion on which our Commissioners, Secretaries, and Councillors concur, just as if it came from Oude or Singapor, if anything more critically, requiring the same proof that we require from a Collector or Commissioner. This costs time, and saving of time is the great object.

“I could not give a better example than one which greatly influenced me at Surat. It had just occurred in Bombay.

“Owing to delay in fixing the railway termini and their approaches in Bombay, we shall have to pay at least a quarter of a million sterling more for land than need have been paid had we been more provident when the railway works began. The case I now allude to is only one out of many. Nearly a year ago we fixed as nearly as possible a portion of the Baroda line close to the town, but it was not possible to fix it exactly ; roads were to be diverted, crossings to be made, whether level or by bridging was a subject of controversy, and the exact curve of the line depended on surveys and reclamation schemes which would take months to mature. A small property was to be crossed ; the owner wanted twenty-five thousand rupees for it, the Collector valued it at twenty-two thousand. Had we been acting as prudent private parties, we should have given twenty-five thousand rupees, all the owner asked, taken what we required for our railway and road diversions, and as the event proved, have sold the rest, which we did not require, for twice what we gave for the whole. The Collector proposed so to buy the whole, but was overruled according to official routine. After some months, roads, curves and crossings, etc., are all settled in regular form. We are able to tell the owner the

exact strip of his property we require ; he insists on an enhanced price ; we go to arbitration, and have to pay him more than double his original demand for a portion of his property, leaving the remainder greatly enhanced in value.

“With a dozen such cases before me in Bombay, I proposed to save you from similar results at Surat and Ahmedabad. What I did, would, four years ago, have passed as a matter of course, and you would have said, the Governor did well to take so much personal trouble and responsibility in order to save ultimate charge to the State. If it turned out as he expected you would have praised him. But in any case, whatever the result, you would have supported him. I do not think you would find that real economy is promoted when you discourage the practice of a Government, with such an elaborate apparatus of advisers and councillors as we have here, from acting on its own responsibility and trusting to its finally satisfying you that it has acted well.

“I know you have personally no jealousy of the action of the local Government, and you would give us all possible liberty. But it is otherwise with most of those about you. The abler and better they are, the less, generally, do they believe in the possibility of anything being perfect unless they themselves direct every detail. They can see no urgency in my Surat case, simply because what I saw and heard on the spot they cannot see and hear, and it never occurs to them to rely on my convictions without calling on me to state all that actuated me before I was convinced. Two or three years hence they will be indignant at having to pay heavily for the same land, but they will then have forgotten that had I been allowed to do so, I could have got it for nothing.

“They would equally have doubted the necessity for much of your expenditure in 1857 which had not their previous sanction, and, had the Budget system then existed, would probably have stopped by telegram Sir Henry Lawrence's outlay to provision the Residency because ‘it was not provided for in the Budget, and there was nothing in the Financial Department to satisfy them of the necessity.’ It may not come in our time, but sooner or later this present system of insisting on previous proof satisfactory to all departments at Calcutta or Simla before a rupee is expended, of allowing nothing to be spent at the risk and on

the responsibility of a local Government, in the belief that they will ultimately give good reasons for what they have done, must bear evil fruit. The habit of never treating them otherwise than as they treat their Collectors, of never saying 'though there is nothing to satisfy the forms of the secretariat, still we will trust a Government composed of so many old and experienced servants, at least till we have heard them,' must soon destroy the race of Indian officials who would venture to act on their own responsibility without previous orders."

To all this Lawrence only answered, civilly enough, to the effect that Budget rules were Budget rules, and must be adhered to.

The management of the Electric Telegraph throughout India suffered from similar causes, due to over-centralization and jealousy of local control. It was notoriously execrable. The messages were inaccurate, delayed in delivery, and the clerks were said to take bribes to deliver them to the wrong persons. Instead of being profitable, it was a loss to the revenue of something like a quarter of a million a year. Frere says of it, in 1862—

"October 27.

"It has never outgrown the mistakes of its first organization, when it was a nest of jobbery under men who in very rare cases were gentlemen. They were responsible to no one but the superintendent. . . . No single mortal man can control such a department so scattered over all India, if he concentrates the immediate authority over individuals in his own hands. He must work through local officers armed with authority to inquire and to reward and to punish all the rank and file of the department, who should feel that they are responsible to those who see and know how each officer works."

And in reply to Sir Charles Wood's complaints, he can only write—

"July 8, 1864.

"You desire me to look after the telegraph, but except between Kurrachee and Bussora we have nothing whatever

to do with the telegraphic administration and are most peremptorily forbidden by the Government of India to interfere in any way with the management. Everything is centralized through the Director-General at Calcutta. . . . Some months before Sir John Lawrence came out things had become so bad in the Telegraphic Department that we went up to the Government of India with complaints from merchants and others, and proposed a Commission of Inquiry into the management of the department; but this was refused, with a strong exhortation to mind our own business."

Such being the evils complained of, the head of the telegraphic department at Calcutta met them as follows: A watch was set to detect any messages of a private character sent officially at the public expense. Six or eight cases, involving altogether a sum of fourteen or fifteen rupees, were made a matter of complaint against Bombay officials. In one of them, a young Civil servant applied to know if he could have leave to Europe, as his father had an illness which threatened his life. The answer Frere's private secretary sent was: "His Excellency says you may have the leave you apply for, if Mr. Mansfield approves. The Governor is most sorry to hear of your father's illness." The last sentence of the message was made the subject of a formal complaint as being unofficial, and therefore liable to be paid for. In another case Colonel Marriott, the Military Secretary to the Bombay Government, received a message from an officer asking for leave and requesting an answer by telegraph, for which he offered to pay. Colonel Marriott telegraphed the answer, at a cost of two rupees, ten annas; but "believing that it was his duty to act with a certain discretionary courtesy on the part of the Government," did not charge the recipient with it, but sent it officially. This heinous act drew down upon him the following reprimand from one of the

Secretaries to the Supreme Government : " His Excellency in Council regrets to observe that a public servant in so high and responsible a position should apparently fail to see that when an officer, to whom is entrusted the duty of sending messages on the service of Government and of paying for such messages out of the public revenue, uses the authority of his position to send a private message at the public charge, he is, in fact, guilty of a breach of trust."

With reference to this censure on Colonel Marriott, Frere writes some time afterwards to Sir Charles Wood :—

" January 28, 1866.

" In the telegraph matter . . . Mr. Maine, who was with me when the discussion was forced on me, seemed to doubt whether Sir John Lawrence was aware of the childish system on which the Home Office at Calcutta was acting in its telegraphic criticisms, and I hoped, when the matter came before the Governor-General, he would do justice to Colonel Marriott, one of the most scrupulous and conscientious officers in his army, who had been accused of a 'breach of faith' [trust] . . . I am sure you will agree with me when you see the paper, that if Colonel Marriott deserved the censure passed on him, he must be unworthy to hold the Queen's commission. I feel it the more, because I saw him sorely tried in the share mania a year ago, and he was one of the very few who was never for a moment blinded as to what was becoming in an English public officer of trust. I believe a more sensitively honourable man could not be found in your Indian service."

The relations between the Calcutta and Bombay Government officials did not improve. Frere had again to complain of the tone of the letters from the Calcutta Public Works Department ; and there were counter-complaints against the Bombay Public Works Department, the then head of which, though a very able man, had the reputation in his own Presidency of being somewhat arbitrary and despotic.

He writes to Sir Charles Wood :—

“September 8, 1864.

“You see most of our important correspondence with the Government of India, but you do not see the constant worrying interference in details, which keeps all local officers and departments in a state of chronic irritation and rebellious feeling towards the Government of India, nor can you see a tithe of the labour it costs me to keep our correspondence within the bounds of the respect due to the authority of the Viceroy and his Council. My colleagues share the irritation, but do not feel the responsibility, which rests on me alone in this respect.

“Sir John Lawrence has been good enough to allow me to communicate freely direct with him on all matters, and I have freely availed myself of his permission. But I can see that he regards me as the zealous but rather expensively inclined Commissioner of a district, with a number of deputies who, like the Commissioner, are a little inclined sometimes to run wild. That we are dealing here with a state of things of which nothing to be seen in the Punjab or Bengal could give him a notion, and that after thirty or thirty-five years in India we do not need more control than to have general principles laid down for our guidance never seems to occur to him.

“To show you that I have done my best to keep clear of unpleasant discussions with the Government of India on such matters, I enclose a copy of a long demi-official letter I wrote to him on this subject, some months ago, and a copy of his answer.

“You will see that nothing could be personally more cordial than the spirit of the answer, but it leaves us just in the same state of pupilage as before. . . .

“However, you may rest assured that in future we will keep well within the bounds marked out for us, and you will not blame us if the Government administration stagnates while everything else in the Presidency is advancing.

“I send you copies of my correspondence with Sir J. Lawrence, not in a controversial spirit, but that you may be satisfied I have done my best to convince him of what seems to me a grave error in administration ; and you may rest assured that, having stated my opinion, no exertion shall be wanting on my part to give the utmost effect to

the system which he prefers, repressive and enfeebling as I believe it must prove in its results." *

Lawrence's labours in India had made him—in constitution, though he was not in years—an old man. He had

* * Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, Frere's successor in the Governorship of Bombay, had to complain of similar treatment on the part of the Government of India. Writing to Frere shortly after taking up his Government, he says—

“July 8, 1867.

“I have once or twice written to Northcote as to the vexatious interference with this Government by the Government of India. . . . Lately the interference in petty trifles has become so extraordinary that it would seem as if they wanted to see how far they can go without remonstrance, or as if they wanted to pick a quarrel. A petty work of about four hundred pounds at Ahmedabad is disallowed, pending explanations. The explanations are given, and three months after, a despatch comes to say that the Governor-General in Council thinks the sum seemed too high, and calling for detailed plans and specifications, with a schedule of prices, etc. ! The same week comes a peremptory order disallowing less than twenty pounds for the shelter of Ellis and Mansfield's guard, which the Members of Council have had ever since the Council have come to Poona. But the worst case of interference is with reference to an excess on the estimate for the Poona Engineering College. After explanations given, they allow the excess, but require us to send them the name of the officer who sent in the insufficient estimate, *‘in order that he may be made responsible for having misled the Government.’* Now this strikes at the root of all discipline. If an officer fails in his duty, it surely is for us, and not for the Government of India, to find fault. In this particular instance the engineer was in no way to blame; but the effect can only be pernicious if a public servant is taught to look—not to his own superior, but to some other authority, who may condemn or support him, as the case may be, contrary to the opinion of the Government in whose service he is. This is so objectionable an interference that I have drafted a remonstrance against it, and will write also privately to Sir John Lawrence about it. I cannot bring myself to believe that he knows one half of the despatches that reach us of this nature in his name.”

Again (August 8), he writes—

“The Government of India do not make my work more agreeable. They are more encroaching and uncourteous every day. I have been obliged to remonstrate more than once.”

returned half unwillingly as Viceroy, and had afterwards made it a condition of his remaining that he should spend half of each year at Simla. For him the Punjab and North-West Provinces, the scenes of his early career, outweighed in interest all the rest of India. The remarkable development of Bombay, which in wealth, enterprise, and population, was fast outstripping Calcutta, failed to engage his attention and interest; and he turned a deaf ear to Frere's often-repeated entreaty that he would come and stay with him at Bombay or Poona, and see for himself all that was going on, and what needed to be done.* Always a hard worker, he continued so to the end; but it was impossible for him personally to undertake the direction of more than one department—that of Foreign affairs,—and Frere found that he had to deal with the heads of departments at Calcutta separately, and that Lawrence, if appealed to, would almost always support them without really going into the question for himself, or even giving reasons.

Between Lawrence and Frere there was not the least symptom of personal hostility. Not a single expression can be found in any one of the letters which passed between them in the smallest degree wanting in courtesy. Each had too high a respect for the other, too genuine an appreciation of the services rendered in the great days of the Mutiny for anything of the kind to occur.

“Personally,” Frere writes (June 3, 1866) to his old

* Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, writing to Frere (February, 1868), says, with reference to the construction of a railway terminus at Bombay :—

“Of course the great difficulty will now be with the Government of India. In the first place, any great scheme for the improvement and advantage of Bombay would meet with an ungracious reception; but besides, except Sir W. Mansfield, there was not a single member of the Supreme Government who had ever been in Bombay, or knew what they were talking about.”

chief, Lord Falkland, "Sir J. Lawrence is, I believe, as civil to me as to any one under him who does not belong to the Punjab, or to the county of Derry, or to Exeter Hall." "Nothing can be kinder," he writes to Captain Eastwick, "than Sir John is, and our personal relations are most cordial; and I feel sure you will hear nothing of any disagreeable discussions between the Government of India and Bombay when — and — are gone. But I do not expect that their departure will alter the centralizing policy, which seems to me the great cause of our difficulties." "Sir John still speaks of the excellence of your Government, especially as regards the natives," writes Sir Richard Temple to Frere from Bareilly (December 3, 1866), when the latter was about to return to England, "and was lamenting the loss which Western India will sustain by your departure."

But it was an unfortunate fate which subordinated Frere to a Viceroy who had set himself to follow the lines of the centralizing policy of Lord Dalhousie which, in Frere's opinion, had so nearly lost us India. And it was a sore trial to him, with his ardent temperament, his varied and profound knowledge of India, his quick perception of facts and prescient forecast of events, to be checked and thwarted at every turn by a system and a Government which departed from its Gallic-like attitude towards the Bombay Presidency, only to allow and encourage heads of departments at Calcutta or Simla to paralyze by a stroke of the pen all spontaneous action, however important and beneficial, in countries they had never seen, and as to matters of the details of which they were necessarily absolutely ignorant; or, as in the case of the removal of the lieutenant-colonel in command of the 15th Native Infantry from his regiment, to strike at the very roots of the discipline of the army by revising a decision of the

Commander-in-Chief without any reference to the Bombay Government. It was hard for him to rest content with accomplishing what seemed to his eager spirit so little, when, but for such obstruction, so much more and better work might have been done.

“February 14, 1865.

“I often feel sick and weary,” he confesses to Sir G. Clerk, “of the whole business, and but for the feeling of a sentry on duty, would gladly look out for a turnpike-gate of my own in Gloucestershire, where, with my children, I could rub on in quiet for the rest of my days.”

There were rumours, which were mentioned in Parliament, of his resignation, owing to the way in which he had been treated. But he was not the man to let personal annoyance or disappointment influence him in such a matter. As long as he thought he could do good service he would remain at his post. Alluding to this rumour in a letter to Sir Charles Wood, he says—

“August 1, 1865.

“I need not remind you that some months ago my relations with the Government of India, here in India, were not on a pleasant footing, and I began to doubt whether they were such as were convenient or advantageous to the public service, and whether it would not be better that I should retire and make room for some one whom the Government of India might be disposed to treat with more fairness, if not cordiality.

“But I felt that you must be the best judge of this, and that you would tell me frankly if you thought the public service would benefit by my retirement. . . .

“And whatever may have been my feelings towards the Government of India in this country, I can safely say that nothing has ever occurred to make my feelings towards yourself other than those of the highest respect officially, and of a grateful personal sense of unvarying kindness and consideration.”

The majority of the Indian Council in London were

men who had belonged to the Bengal service, and on questions arising between officials of different Presidencies their natural bias would be for the traditions of their own. And besides this, there was a traditional idea in the governing body of India that, other things being equal, Bombay and Madras must give the first place to Bengal. Sir George Clerk writes to Frere from the India Office :—

“ July 16, 1864.

“ I was very glad to read in one of your late notes to me that you do not care what the Punjabees say against your views of administration in general, and border policy in particular. I did not suppose you would care, but others thought it would shut you up, though hoping otherwise. . . . If you think you are sometimes being snubbed from this, it is not snubbing *you*, but snubbing *Bombay*. It would be just the same were Lord Wodehouse Governor there. With two other Bombay representatives, or even one staunch one, I could hold my own ; but Perry is the only one who is so ; the others are vacillating. . . .”

Sir Charles Wood had, indeed, a difficult task to perform in judging between the widely divergent opinions on so many points of two men of such reputation and powers as Lawrence and Frere. There is something almost pathetic in the candour with which he confesses his conversion to Frere's views, as to the need to govern India in India and not from England, and speaks of his difficulties in language nearly identical with that used by Frere in his correspondence with him five years before. Referring to the progress of electric telegraph construction, Sir Charles Wood says—

“ April 17, 1865.

“ I am afraid that it will lead to more references home, to more interference from home, to shrinking from responsibility in India, and to meddling from home—all which things will not improve the administration of affairs in India. Upon the whole, the Government of India can manage Indian matters better than the Government at

home. There are certain great questions on which the authority of the Home Government is necessary and useful to preserve an even tenor of conduct ; but in all minor matters, the less we meddle, the better. One of the evils of the old Indians in my Council is their disposition to interfere in smaller matters, such as they had been used to deal with when in India. It is, perhaps, inevitable, and they could not have the knowledge of India, which is so useful, without the practical knowledge of the working of the system in detail ; but I have always to check this disposition, and am sometimes told that unless we do this sort of thing, we might as well abdicate. On the whole, the system works reasonably well, and when one considers what an anomaly our Indian Empire is, we have reason to be grateful for any machinery for managing it which works reasonably well. There will also, I fear, be a temptation to more parliamentary interference, and that will always be, not for Indian, but for home or personal objects."

The knowledge possessed by Members of the Council, when founded solely on experience, was apt to be out of date. An instance of this occurred in the case of Kattywar.

Kinloch Forbes, when Acting Resident there in 1860, had drawn attention to the urgent need of reform. Frere found the province in a condition which made him describe it as "the blot on the administration of this part of India." "Justice was not administered ; life and property were unsafe ; private warfare was carried on ; and crimes, indicative of a lawless and disorganized state of society, flourished as they did sixty years before." There were some four hundred independent sovereigns. By the law of the country, estates were divided equally among the sons ; and the confusion was the greater because, owing to the lawless state of the country, the people had to live for protection in towns or large villages, so that a chief's inheritance often consisted of a small portion of a town

or large village. As each nominally exercised independent jurisdiction, sometimes amounting to powers of life and death, there was hopeless confusion. The Resident, whom Frere found there, though a good man in his way, was unequal to the task of grappling with such a state of things. To replace him, Major Keatinge, a distinguished officer of the Bombay Artillery, who had won his Victoria Cross when in Sir Hugh Rose's Central Indian Force, was selected—much to his own surprise, for he did not know that Frere knew anything about him.—He had a long and troublesome task, and his difficulties were aggravated by the opposition of a Member of the Indian Council at the India Office, whose opinion carried weight because he had been Resident at Kattywar a quarter of a century before, and who could not be persuaded that anything needed amendment. Keatinge—as did Pelly and others of Frere's lieutenants, who had specially difficult work on hand—came once or twice every year to stay at Government House and tell his story, and to be cheered by the hearty encouragement and help which was always bestowed in generous measure.

Frere writes to Keatinge :—

“ November 15, 1864.

“ As to the general questions regarding Kattywar, we may be defeated, over and over again, by prejudice and bigotry ; but we have right and truth on our side, and if we hold on steadily we must win in the long run. You have seen too much of public life to suppose that reforms such as you have initiated are ever carried *per saltum*, and you have already made too much progress to be discouraged. We must ply the India Office with facts, and in time they must give in.” . . .

And to Sir Robert Napier he writes—

“ December 14, 1864.

“ You will wonder, when you read all we have on record, why the whole population are not outlaws ; but I believe

Keatinge is on the road to set matters to rights, if the Indian Council would let him."

To Sir Charles Wood he wrote—

"January 27, 1865.

"Major Keatinge would mend matters by and through the chiefs, with the most scrupulous regard for all their rights of property, and for every privilege which a chief can, in the nature of things, long retain in the presence of a great centralized imperial power like ours. He would rid you of the dangerous and anomalous feature of more than four hundred independent sovereigns in a single province, and would leave you, in their place, a strong, well-instructed, and contented aristocracy, such as we so grievously miss in most parts of India.

"I have always held it to be our duty and our best policy to uphold and strengthen and use such a body, wherever we can find it. But this, as you know, has not, of late years, save during Lord Canning's time, been the usual policy of the Government of India; and I much doubt whether the objects you have in view will meet as hearty sympathy on the other side of India as on this." . . .*

Frere wished to have a chief British Resident at Baroda, with authority over the Residents of the five surrounding States, of which Kattywar was one. But this he could not obtain. On the main points of his reforms, however,

* This, it appears, was a policy in which Sir Charles Wood concurred. He had written to Frere with reference to Lord Canning's Adoption policy:—

"August 1, 1862.

"I am quite convinced that the policy of suppressing or suffering to go to ruin all the aristocracy and gentry of India is a mistake. The dead level of nothing between our officers and the people is an unnatural state of society; and surely it must be better in any country, especially in India, where the paucity of our numbers is so glaring, to endeavour to work with, improve as far as you can, but conciliate to our rule the existing state of society. We must be stronger with the natural chiefs and leaders of the people attached to us, than in leaving the people open to the persuasion and seduction of upstart leaders."