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Yours faithfully
W. H. Rere.

THE
SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES

OF

SIR H. B. E. FRERE,

G. C. S. I., K. C. B., D. C. L.

Compiled By

BALKRISHNA NILAJI PITALE.

"The sayings of great men, in their public discourses, have somewhat in them which is worthy to be transmitted to posterity."— *Karl of Carlsle's Speeches & Addresses.*

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TO

HIS HIGHNESS

RAWAL SHRI SIR JASWANTSINGJI BHOWSINGJI,

KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE MOST EXALTED ORDER

OF THE STAR OF INDIA,

THAKORE SAHEB OF BHOWNUGGUR,

This Work

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

S. D. D. 1
BY
HIS HIGHNESS

FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE COMPILER.

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PREFACE.

THE Compiler of this volume trusts that but a few words will suffice to explain the reasons which induced him to submit it to the public in its present shape.

It is an old observation that government is carried on by the pen in British India more than in any other country. The ruling body generally, therefore, is given more to secret and official minute-writing than public speech-making. To this rule Sir Bartle Frere formed an exception, not that he wrote less, but that he spoke more in public than any of his colleagues in office. Whether as Commissioner in Sind, as Member of the Vice-regal Council, or as Governor of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere scarcely ever let pass an opportunity of openly enunciating his views on those social, political, and economic questions of the day that seemed to him to call for a settlement in the interests of India. His speeches are valuable on account both of their matter and their manner. As to their matter, whatever difference of opinion may exist about the soundness of some of his views, this much will be admitted by all that Sir Bartle Frere was no propounder of puzzling paradoxes, no stubborn advocate of exploded theories, but that he took a sober and common sense view of things, free from violence or extremes, not agreeing with many, perhaps, but differing also from few;—in short, as was once said of him, he always travelled on the precipices of men's opinions, and always escaped without a catastrophe. Next as to their manner, it is almost superfluous to remark that the views and opinions thus cautiously formed, were illustrated and accompanied in their expression by a col-

lateral research and literary grace and finish and pliancy of style which imparted to them a peculiar freshness and novelty. The opinions which he advocated are destined to acquire a higher ascendancy hereafter than they have yet attained. The late Governor of Bombay must, therefore, be regarded rather as the exponent of the more advanced views of the best men of his time, as one indeed in the first rank of his contemporaries, whom he desired to raise to the realization of a noble ideal. It is hoped that these pages will furnish evidence of the truth of this view of his character and aims.

The Compiler is aware that this collection is not a perfect reflection of the views and opinions of Sir Bartle Frere on all the various and important public matters on which he had to think and deliver judgment. The Compiler has solely confined himself to the Speeches. His own part in the work is small indeed, viz. classification and arrangement; but he trusts that his humble labours will be appreciated, if not for their own sake, at all events for that of their subject. He has to acknowledge with thanks his obligations to his friend Mr. Máhadeva Govind Ránadè, M. A., L. L. B., for the introductory notice in which he reviews Sir Bartle Frere's public career in India.

To His Highness the late Rawal Shri Sir Jaswantsingji Bhowsingji, K. C. S. I., Thakore Saheb of Bhownuggar, the Compiler's warm acknowledgments are due, for the valuable assistance afforded him in the publication of the work, and he feels sincere pleasure in thus publicly recording his sense of the obligation he is under to that enlightened and generous Prince.

B. N. PITALE.

BOMBAY, 1st November, 1870.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Speeches which have been selected for publication in this volume contain nearly all that is of permanent interest in the matured utterances of Sir Bartle Frere during the last ten years of his active life in India.

The decade succeeding the mutinies has witnessed a most unexampled progress in all that constitutes good government and material prosperity ; and throughout these ten years, Sir Bartle Frere occupied a prominent position before the public eye as a statesman who combined in his own person all that was manly and benignant in the character of the first generation of Anglo-Indian Governors, with the breadth of view and willingness to receive new impressions which the present time so peremptorily requires in those who would worthily rule at the head of affairs. Each individual Englishman, in the early days of conquest, had to sustain his representative character before newly conquered races. Tremendous power for working mischief was joined to a resolute determination to hold that power as a trust,— a benignant black cloud which intervened to protect the country from evils worse than anarchy, and which in its own time would dissolve after vivifying the land with the seeds of a higher and manlier life. Strong personal Government thus found favour with them as being most in accordance with native habits, and the exigencies of foreign sway. Graduated authority, the division of the functions of sovereignty, free admission to the Natives of the country to advise and co-operate in their government as unfranchised fellow-subjects,—these wants of the present times are of later growth, and it will be years before these ideas take deep root in the soil. This generous ambition to help

the native population to elevate themselves, to teach them self-reliance and the strength of lawful combination, animates only a few of the more advanced Indian statesmen even in the present day, and of these select few, no man felt more earnestly his grave responsibilities and acted up to his lights with more singleness of purpose than Sir Bartle Frere.

Endowed with varied intellectual gifts and an imagination which enabled him to realize the men and manners of times the most removed as though he saw them and lived in them, a native simplicity of heart, familiar acquaintance with native speech and usage, affable manners, and a rare gift of speech which communicated its own earnestness to the most indifferent listener, —all these rare gifts pointed him out as a man who would not fail to leave "his footprints on the sands of time," and make his name an heir-loom in the memory of grateful millions. Early in his life in this country, he came to feel for the Ryot population a love and a regard which redeemed many a fault in his official career, and towards the decayed representatives of the old nobility of Maharashtra, he felt a chivalrous affection which refused to deal harshly with the ruins of the present, from a sense of veneration for the past,—the same gentle and mournful affection which makes the traveller tread lightly upon the mouldering fragments of cities in ruin. Early in his life he was appointed to the charge of the Sattara Residency in the most critical period of the fortunes of that State. One year after his appointment at Sattara, the reigning Prince Shabaji died, and in an evil hour the greed of territory blinded the local Government to all just sense of its obligations towards that State. Sir Bartle Frere manfully struggled against great odds to preserve the State from absorption, and never faltered for a moment in pleading earnestly what justice and sound policy required at the hands of the paramount power. He was overborne, and the State was annexed and entrusted to his manage-

ment as Commissioner. Sir Bartle Frere was largely influenced in the estimate he formed and the hopes he entertained of the capacity for progress in purely native administrations by his experience as Resident and Commissioner at Sattara. He entered the service in 1833, when the memories of Elphinstone, Munro, Metcalfe, Malcolm, were still fresh in the recollection of the people, and he gradually moulded his own character upon their model. At Sattara, his native nobility of manners, openness of heart, and his chivalrous tenderness for fallen greatness, found their proper field. He had ample opportunity to study native society, high and low, in perhaps its most advantageous light. Ample justice has not been done to the rare merit of Raja Pratap Sing and his brother Shahaji. Raja Pratap Sing, especially, was a ruler born, a more self-denying prince, a more considerate prince, never sat on any royal throne. The order and discipline he maintained all over his territory was the marvel of his times. Throughout the long discussion which took place here and in England, before Sattara was annexed, there is not a single argument drawn from the ordinary claptrap of native misrule and disorder, and there is much positive testimony on the other side, if indeed, the Roads and the Bridges, and the Dharmashalás which were in such excellent condition when Sattara lapsed to the British Government, the Courts of Law, the active Police superintendence in which he took a special interest, the Survey and the Census of the entire Territory under him, and the encouragement to learning which he gave, are not testimonies enough to speak in his favour. Sir Bartle Frere's residence at Sattara brought him thus into intimate contact with the best characteristics of native society, and he there formed his lasting acquaintances with his numerous friends among the native aristocracy. In the Durbar Speeches which form a part of the collection here made, he most affectingly alludes to these old recollections,

and shows as if the romance of this influence had become a part of his very nature, so wholly possessed he seems to be at times with the subject. The country of Maharashtra with its hill-forts, its picturesque Ghauts, and their wild scenery, its brilliant history and its valorous people, these he loved, he loved to contrast them with the decay and ruin he saw all around him, and sought to awaken the dying embers to a new blaze of life as he caught glimpses of it in far-off visions of the future.

Even before he was appointed to the Sattara Residency, Sir Bartle Frere was engaged along with the early pioneers of the Revenue Survey Settlement in extending to the Ryot peasantry the great blessings of a fixed and certain assessment. This was a great work, the beneficial effects of which were felt throughout the country, and Sir Bartle Frere contracted a love for the new revenue system which stuck to him fast all through his stay in India, and when, after a quarter of a century, he came back to this Presidency he felt the honest confidence of early days in the revenue system, in the inauguration of which he had borne such considerable part. In one of his Speeches in the local Legislature about the time that Act I of 1865 was passed, he pays a most eloquent tribute to the names of the first originators of the measure, and when Native Chiefs came to seek counsel of him, he always recommended them to introduce the Survey in their territory, and lost no time in forcing the good work in Native States, when circumstances permitted more active interference.

Sir Bartle Frere as Commissioner in Sind had free scope allowed to him in carrying out great public works. His zeal in promoting them was another distinguishing feature of his rule. He had an eminently hopeful and constructive genius, he saw the wants of the country at a glance, and spared no pains to interest the authorities in his scheme of new roads and canals; so that in the short space of half a

dozen years he changed entirely the face of the country. He converted Karachi into a flourishing sea-port town, employed the robber Belooch tribes to dig the Begaree Canal, along the banks of which they settled in numbers, and laid the foundation of the first Railway in that Province.

His appointment to a seat in the Imperial Council first raised Sir Bartle Frere from a provincial dignitary into a leading Indian statesman. His great elevation seemed to come to him as his natural belonging, so exactly could he rise to the height of his function. At Calcutta, Sir Bartle Frere, as a Member of the Executive government, and a leading debater in the Legislative Council, had a splendid opportunity of displaying his rare powers of speech, his reach of thought, and his extensive acquaintance with Indian affairs. As a speaker, we seldom remember to have heard one who could so dignify the most commonplace occasion. As he spoke, the soul seemed to beam forth in his expressive countenance, and the upheavings of the heart had an earnestness about them, which was strangely contagious. His style, elevated on occasions combined simplicity of expression with a rare imagery, which seemed to be fitted into it in the most natural way. His Minutes too are masterly specimens in their way,—so lucid in statement, so exhaustive in the views they present of the lights and shades of the subjects, that they seldom failed to work persuasion in the most casual reader. Sir Bartle Frere was Member of the Legislative Council for nearly three years. It was the time of the subsidence of the passions aroused by the mutinies, and the race antagonism which that outbreak had developed could have found no smoother counteracting influence as help-mate by the side of the sternly severe magnanimity of "Clemency" Canning, than the innate temperance and the long cemented friendship and appreciation of native character which Sir Bartle Frere in a pre-eminent degree possessed. The Rajmahal addresses, the great

of a New Frere City in our reclaimed Island, even his over-hopeful temper during the speculative times, and his support of the old Bank of Bombay, can all be explained on no other supposition save his extreme anxiety for seeing this country develop its commercial relations with foreign countries.

Against these few shortcomings in his career, are to be set the many sterling excellencies of his character which we have briefly noticed. His appreciation of the Natives, his intimacy with our noble families, his honest fidelity to their great interests, his habitual judiciousness of temper, his wish to see the Natives grow in loyal manliness of temper, the steady attempts he made to open for them a higher sphere of duties and honours, all these will enshrine him in the hearts of many as a model ruler and a kind governor.

Lastly, his encouragement of scholarly tastes and liberal culture among the ranks of the educated Natives was not the least of his many claims upon the national admiration. His Addresses to the University were state documents, where he deliberately put himself forward as a prophet and a teacher, and embraced in his vision all the future and all the past, contrasting their lights and shades with the dimly seen but hopeful present. The Speech in which he advocates the independence of the Indian Universities is a specimen of a class of elocution very rare in this country. These annual Addresses were rare treats, and their moral influence upon the hearts of the listeners will never fade away. He had the rare gift of disarming opposition by the magic of his sweet face and open speech, and the earnestness was strangely infectious.

The Frere Town is a fairy dream, the Reclamation schemes have turned out abortions, the years which were to place us at the head of the cities of Asia, have brought us low in our humiliation; but the prophet, though falsified in his own time, will not, so long as his gentle elevating influence is among us, fail

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to reap a reward in time not far distant, when under his auspices his most magnificent visions will be surpassed by the reality of our position.

M. G. RÁNADI