AN INDIAN CAREER

1858 — 1908.

SIR PHILIP AND LADY HUTCHINS.
(On their 63rd Anniversary, 26th May, 1923).

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 28.—For " Mohomedan " read " Mahomedan."
Page 11, line 18.—For " discomforture " read " discomfiture."
Page 22, line 38.—For " siezed " read " seized."
Page 30, line 10.—For " Masulitatam " read " Masulipatum."
Page 31, line 35.—For " reaction " read " fraction."
Page 40, line 7.—For " that " read " what."
Page 51, line 26.—For " Canare " read " Canara."
Page 52, line 13.—For " Trinchinopoly " read " Trichinopoly."
Page 66, line 2.—For " by " read " my."
Page 78, line 4.—For " ben " read " been."
Page 86, line 3.—For " hoped " read " hope."
Page 92, line 13.—For " Cocacada " read " Cocanada."
Page 115, line 2.—For " siezed " read " seized."
Page 117, line 27.—For " from " read " to."
Page 118, line 38.—For " hears " read " heard."
Page 120, line 30.—For " Durant " read " Durand."
Page 121, line 10.—For " Mert " read " Merk."
Page 128, line 8.—For " maintanence " read " maintenance."
Page 129, line 6.—For " overcone " read " overcome "
Page 130, line 20.—For " valuntary " read " voluntary."
Page 132, line 21.—For " Permanant " read " Permanent."
Page 133, line 26.—For " Muthusany " read " Muttusamy."

as of the ability which God giveth."

PRESTON:
P. W. WORTHEAD, PRINTER, AVENHAM STREET.

AN INDIAN CAREER

1858 — 1908.

BY

SIR PHILIP HUTCHINS, K.C.S.I.

"If any man worketh, let him work as of the ability which God giveth."

PRESTON:
C. W. WHITEHEAD, PRINTER, AVENHAM STREET.

Foreword.

IN writing these reminiscences, at the instance of friends, my aim has been simply to set down events as they came to my recollection. I never had time to keep a diary, but my memory can generally be relied on. I say "generally" because, for example, I am not quite sure whether the Pearl Mosque, which I have mentioned as of surpassing beauty, is the one at Agra or that at Delhi. But in most respects I think I have been quite accurate.

I have submitted this story of my career to two publishing firms, but they did not think that its publication would bring them a profit, and I have no doubt that they have been well advised. But I cannot disappoint those friends and relations who have expressed their desire to see what I have written. I have, therefore, had it printed privately, including about a hundred copies which can be obtained from the League of the Empire, 124 Belgrave Road, S.W. 1., on a remittance of seven shillings, which will include postage.

PHIL. P. HUTCHINS.

13th August, 1926.

CONTENTS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE, 1838 - 55.

I WAS born at 25 Hanover Square, in London, on the 28th January, 1838, and, as I write, I am in my eighty-ninth year. At the time of my birth my mother must have been thirty-nine and my father forty-seven. They had four other sons and six daughters. A sixth son, afterwards Col. A. G. Hutchins, was born three years later.

One of my earliest recollections is being taken to see my eldest brother, William, who was then dying. He had taken a First in Greats, from Worcester College, Oxford, and I have since been given to understand that his early death, at twenty-five, was largely due to overwork. There was no other death in the family for many years, and seven of my brothers and sisters lived to be octogenarians. My father died in his ninety-seventh year, and my dear mother lived to be ninety.

I believe I nearly died from Croup when a mere baby, but, except for an attack of Quinsey, in 1866, that is the only serious illness I can recall in my long life.

My father gave me a grounding in Latin, and about my eighth birthday I was sent to school at Streatham Academy, then kept by Mr. Lewis Edwards. My father then had a nice house at the foot of Streatham Common, only separated from the school by the Grey Hound Lane. The family used to spend the summer months there, chartering an omnibus or two for their removal. My father only came for week-ends.

Our Streatham house and grounds are now built over, and the Streatham Common Station occupies part of our lower field. Streatham was then real country. Men of business were taken up to London every morning in an omnibus. Once, when I was six or seven, some of us younger children were driven to Putney in our grandfather's (Dr. Thomas') carriage, and had a picnic dinner at a riverside inn, the chief course consisting of flounders which we had helped to catch. At that time Putney was a small and quiet village, and my recollection is that it had only a wooden bridge.

Mr. Edwards must have regarded me as a promising pupil for, on two occasions in granting the school a half-holiday, he made it a condition that I should do something in Latin, and the other boys kept crowding round to help, as they supposed, by hearing me repeat my lesson.

I left Streatham Academy at twelve and went to Merchant Taylors' School, then on the site now occupied by Cannon Street Station. But I remember going back to the old school for one night which has stamped itself on my memory by reason of a funny incident. There was a slipper fight between the boys in my dormitory and those in another. Whether I took part or not I do not recollect, but my young brother's bed was next to the door, and he had to defend it. After a brief hush someone silently approached the door and was well slippered by my brother, who then found to his dismay that his victim was Mr. Edwards himself! We feared for some awful punishment but Edwards let him off altogether, partly because the attack had not been aimed at himself, and partly, as he was kind enough to say, because I was there.

I remained at Merchant Taylors' School till Christmas, 1855, and worked my way up from the Third Form to the Monitors' Table. At that time the education given was mainly classical—in Latin and Greek, with a little Hebrew for the highest Forms. There was a French Master to whom the boys paid little attention, but on one occasion I did a translation from English into French which, to both my own and the Master's astonishment, gained high commendation. He was clearly doubtful whether I could have done it without assistance, but the real fact was that I had mentally turned most of the English into Latin, and then contrived to give the Latin words a French appearance.

A little Greek or Roman History was taught on Wednesday afternoons, but it was only in Mathematics that we had any real chance of acquiring any non-classical knowledge. This was mainly due to the skill and enthusiasm of a newly-appointed master, Rev. J. A. L. Airey, a second Wrangler. Even he quite failed with most of the boys of my own standing, and it really is surprising how stupid in regard to Mathematics are many who achieve classical dictinction. Under Airey's encouragement I was able to make great progress, and I was head of the school in Mathematics during 1854-5, though I am afraid that in Classics I hardly kept pace with others who gave Classics their undivided attention.

Hanover Square was fully three miles from the school, and I

generally walked the distance after a very scratch breakfast. Once when I was too late even to catch an omnibus I ran the whole way and just got to school before nine. All this was rather trying to a small boy, and I often had to cut the afternoon school by Wednesday or Thursday with a sick headache. Sometimes I made use of the penny Steamboats which ran in those days between Westminster and the City. There was even a halfpenny boat until one of them blew up !

In December, 1855, I left school for the holidays. It was then thought that I should try in the spring for an open scholarship at Cambridge. If I failed I had a good chance of securing one of the School Exhibitions, either at Oxford or Cambridge. But before Christmas came my prospects were completely changed. My brother Arthur, three years my senior, had received from Sir James Weir Hogg a nomination to the Madras Civil Service, and had done fairly well in his first term at Haileybury College. This was the last time that the Directors of the East India Company would be allowed to make such nominations, and seven of their nominees had failed to qualify. Sir James had, somehow, learnt that my mother had another son who might be able to pass the Examination, and he offered her the chance if I should be able to pass in a week. A week gave me ample time to get up Paley's Evidences. I chose the Ajax and Agamemnon, two Greek plays which we had recently read, and for other subjects—English History, Greek Testament and Mathematics—I trusted to my memory. I remember having an interview with Sir James just before the Examination. He seemed surprised that I had been able to read through Paley once or twice, and warned me not to " flabbergast " myself! In the end all the seven new nominees qualified, but I was given to understand that I had passed first. So in the middle of January I found myself at Haileybury, then the H.E.I. Company's Training College, and pledged to a wholly unlooked for Indian Career.

But before taking final leave of my school, I must say a word about one or two of my best chums there, and about cricket, as I was very early put into the School Eleven. One of my best friends was W. Rivington Blackburn. His father was Rector of Yarmouth, near Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight. I paid him one or two very pleasant visits at Yarmouth, and well remember having arrived there half-drowned. I had crossed to Cowes but the steamer was late and I found that the Yarmouth Coach had gone. The only alternative was to charter an open boat and get rowed to Yarmouth.

Before we were half way round it rained heavily, and I must have looked very like a drowned rat when I reported myself at the Rectory, where they had quite given me up. Blackburn was afterwards a Postmaster of Merton College, and I paid him a short visit there during my two years' probation at Haileybury. He died shortly after I went to Madras, but I have very pleasant recollections of him, as well as of his father and sister.

But my best chum was W. F. Traill, who always reminded me of Traddles, the friend of David Copperfield. We were the two bowlers in the School Eleven. When quite a boy I bowled rather well, and can even now recall my pride at knocking down the middle stump of my brother Frederick, who was then, or had lately been, Captain of the Rugby Eleven. Traill afterwards went far ahead of me, and in 1856-7 was the leading bowler for Oxford. But we were great friends apart from cricket. His father was a Magistrate at Greenwich, and we often stayed at one another's houses. Many years later, somewhere in the nineties, Traill and I were looking on together at a County match, and our talk turned to the Tichborne Case. I remarked on the absurdity of supposing the Claimant to be the real Tichborne when he could not remember any of the events of his early life. "If you or I were in the same predicament," I said, "either of us could easily recall incidents which would put our identity beyond question." We then tried the experiment. He named something which had attracted his attention at my house while I recalled something in which we had both taken part at his. But I had no recollection of his incident, and he was equally oblivious of mine. The obvious explanation was that what had seemed strange to each at the other's house was really so ordinary an occurrence there that it passed unnoticed by anyone but a comparative stranger.

If the discussion had continued I could have mentioned many things which Traill would have remembered. One day when he was staying with me we went to the Haymarket Theatre, but found the price for seats exceeded what we had in our pockets. Fortunately, our hosier's shop was close by, and I ran there and borrowed what was wanted. I forget what play we had come to see, but it was at the Haymarket that I saw the great Macready as King Lear. Many times have I seen Phelps at old Sadler's Wells, and I particularly remember him as Bottom. Other old actors of whom I have a vivid memory were Robson and Mrs. Stirling, at the Olympic; the Charles Keans, Walter Lacy and the Keelys, at the Princess's; Mde. Celeste,

Miss Woolgar, Wright and Paul Bedford, at the Adelphi; Mde. Vestris and Charles Matthews, at the Lyceum. I also remember being taken to Cremorne and either Vauxhall or Rosherville Gardens. I must have been about fourteen when the old Duke of Wellington died. From a friend's house, in Piccadilly, I witnessed the great funeral procession, and I afterwards went over Apsley House, where I saw his narrow iron bedstead about which he said :—" Turn Sir ? if you want to turn in bed you had better turn out."

Both before I went to Merchant Taylors' and for some years afterwards, my eldest sister, Mrs. Foss, was living at Street End House, just out of Canterbury. I often stayed with her in August, finding the Canterbury Cricket Week a great attraction. One match in particular will never be forgotten. In those days the first match of the week was always Kent v. England, and in that year England just won by some nine runs. George Parr, Guy and Box each made fifty for England, but in their second innings Kent was making runs fast. Pilch and Wenman were well set and Pilch made a grand cut just behind point. Parr ran after the ball and from a hundred yards threw it over the trees right into Box's hands, a bare yard from the top of the wicket. Wenman had chanced a fifth run for the throw and was run out. That must have been about 1849, when I was eleven. There were no boundaries in those days. The second match of the week was the same, but with only amateurs playing. In the same year, or perhaps the year following, one of the Gentlemen—I think Willes, playing for Kent—hit three sevens and one eight! Once I was nearly killed during the lunch hour, when practice was allowed. I had been watching Capt. Dickens (I think) bat, and had turned to see someone else when he struck a ball which caught me just above the left ear, and rolled me over like a rabbit. Fred. Ponsonby picked me up and got me some brandy and water. When I applied this externally to the bruise he was much amused. It was with some difficulty that I walked back to my sister's house, and at dinner I broke down completely.

My brother Frederick, to whom I have just referred, wrote a good deal of poetry as a young man, and under the name of Thomas Leigh published " Garlands of Verse " in 1856. He afterwards became a leading city solicitor in the firm Murray and Hutchins. He was also very clever in theatricals, and under his management some really good Charades were given in Hanover Square, as well as the play Bombastes Furioso. Among the Charades I vividly remember Nectar, Coldbrand and Blunderbore. In the last two Fritz himself

impersonated the giant, while I, being small and as always young looking for my age, which must have been thirteen or fourteen, took the part of Jack, who outwitted and killed him. Each of the earlier scenes of Blunderbore was founded on a good play. The Blunder was taken from a comedy by Scribe, in which the young lover tried to get into his lady's household as a private secretary, but became engaged as a cook, the real cook being taken on as secretary. The Bore was a man who at " two o'clock in the morning," having failed to waken the people of his own house, was taken in by a neighbour, whom he kept out of his bed for the rest of the night. I well remember the Chartists outbreak, in 1848, and the truncheon given to Frederick, as a Special Constable.

CHAPTER II.

AT HAILEYBURY COLLEGE, 1856-7.

I WENT to Haileybury College in January, 1856. We had lectures in Classics, Mathematics, Sanskrit and Law. The Law Professor was not very satisfactory as it became quite usual for someone to ask a question which set him off on some irrelevant subject for the best part of his hour, leaving only a few minutes for the proper lecture. We sat in alphabetical order until Easter, when there was a general examination. To my surprise I stood first, being first in Mathematics and Sanskrit, first but equal to Garrett (who had been head boy at Rugby) in Classics, and, I believe, fifth in Law. Those who had done fairly well in any subject were awarded a "Great" in it; those who were deemed to have just passed in it were marked "Good"; others got an "L" or "F," indicating little proficiency or total failure. From that time I sat at the head of the Term, but at the end of the two years' course, Charles Bernard passed out before me. This was due to my having neglected to write an essay which had been set as a voluntary holiday task.

Ours was a much larger term than the average, including, as it did, the seven who had come in to save the Directors' nominations, while later on it was increased by one or two failures from senior terms. At the end we must have numbered about thirty, or nearly double the average. But for that we should probably have been sent out to India at the end of our third term, or in the autumn of 1857. As it was we remained to complete the usual two full years, and fairly filled the college, though I remember I was allowed two rooms in my last term, instead of the usual study with a bed in an alcove.

There is not much to say about my time at Haileybury. On the whole I enjoyed it thoroughly. One of my best friends was Alick Lawrence—soon to be Sir Alexander—son of Henry Lawrence of Lucknow fame. I did not play much cricket, being accounted a good field, but not much of a batsman. But I took to rackets regularly, and soon played a fair game. The court, however, had no backwall, and seemed to have been meant for fives rather than

proper rackets. In our second term we had two additional subjects, an Indian vernacular language and Political Economy with Indian History. The professor in the latter subject—Pol. Econ, as we caalled it—was Sir James Stephen. His lectures were very interesting and a great contrast to those on Law. As I had a Madras Appointment my vernacular was Telugu. I always managed to take the prize in Telugu as well as in Sanskrit and Mathematics, and at the end of our time I obtained the gold medal for each of those subjects. The other prizes always consisted of handsomely bound books, as regards which the Court of Directors were very generous. So much so that, including some five or six volumes which I had gained at school, I acquired quite a good library—just a hundred handsome volumes, and among them such standard words as Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and the collected works of Pope and Burke.

The only other thing worth recording in connection with Haileybury is our reception of the news of the capture of Delhi. Everyone then seemed to go mad, as London did after Mafekin. We built a great bonfire in the quad, and kept supplying it with doors, notebooks or anything we could lay hands on. While we were all jumping through or over the fire or dancing round it, the Dean and Professors came and looked on doubtfully, but they soon retired, evidently feeling that we were beyond control for the time.

The Principal of the College was Canon Melvill, who often gave us most eloquent sermons. The Dean and Classical Lecturer was Buckley. But the most popular of the Professors was Heaviside, who taught Mathematics. He had some amusing mannerisms, and was generally called "Heavy." Later on he became Canon of Norwich, and, late in the nineties, when I presided at the Haileybury Dinner, he was the only surviving Professor. As Chairman I sent him this telegram :—"Ave! Domine! Haileyburienses convivaturi te Salutant," to which he sent a reply—also in Latin but I forget its wording—which I read out at the end of the dinner. Another Professor to whose house I often went was Monier Williams, afterwards Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. I gladly recall the many kindnesses I received from him and Mrs. Williams.

Not long ago I happened to see an old photograph of the men in my term. I was able to recognize all, but was much struck by the length of our hair! It would have horrified the modern youth.

When the College finally closed, in December, 1857, all of us who had been destined for Madras or Bombay were offered an exchange to Bengal. That offer was accepted by most, but I decided to

abide by my original destination. My chief reasons were that I had already learnt something of a Madras Vernacular, and that my brother Arthur had already gone there. Perhaps neither was a very strong reason, but I could hardly have done better had I gone to a Northern Province. When I went to the India House to sign my covenant I was challenged by the Deputy Chairman as to my age. I was then twenty but looked much younger.

So I started for Madras in January, 1858. I remember I would not wait for my birthday, the 28th, just as I had refused to wait for my eighth birthday before going to the school at Streatham. My younger brother came with me as far as Paris, and then I went on alone to Marseilles, where I joined the paddle steamer "Euxine." My cabin comrades were Rev. A. W. Pearson, a Chaplain going to Madras, with whom I had travelled from Paris, and a Dutchman. The latter rather amused us by his extreme modesty in insisting on going early to his upper berth so that he might draw his curtains before we turned in. At that time, of course, there was no Suez Canal. We landed at Alexandria and then proceeded by rail to Cairo. We were two days ahead of the passengers who had come round by Gibraltar, and most of us seized the opportunity to ride out to the Pyramids. I had a capital Arab pony, but the bridle, already knotted, was so rotten that it broke almost immediately and I had to hold the ends, one in either hand. My left hand, too, had to be quite close to the bit, having only an inch or two of leather to hold on to.

To assist us in climbing the Pyramid two or three Arabs attached themselves to each, but being very active in those days I was able to elude them both ascending and coming down. Afterwards a few of us went inside, guided by Arabs with candles. It was rather creepy, especially when our guides blew out the lights and demanded "backshish." Very reluctantly we gave them enough to appease them, and we were all glad to get out again into sunlight.

The next day the Southampton passengers joined us, and the following morning we all left Cairo by train. Beautiful oranges were being offered for sale on the platform. I tendered sixpence for a basketful. The offer was indignantly refused until just as the train started. Then the whole basket was thrust through the window and for my sixpence we had some fifty splendid fruits. The train could only take us part of the way to Suez. We then had lunch in some large tents, and after lunch had to proceed in the old fashion—by Caravan. Each carriage was a kind of small omnibus,

accommodating six passengers, three on one seat facing three on the other. Each was drawn by four animals ; generally two mules in the shafts with two Arab ponies as leaders. We were anxious to arrive first into Suez in order to secure a choice of rooms. To ensure this I sat in front where I kept shouting " Backshish," " Backshish," through the window to the Arab driver. In the end we succeeded in being the first arrivals. The only thing I remember about Suez is that the next morning we pelted Arab boys, mudlarking in the sea, with the remains of our store of oranges.

We then embarked on the " Hindustan," and began to make friends with the Southampton passengers. That " Hindustan " was old and a very slow boat; soon after it was laid up, and eventually wrecked in the Hughly. Later on I have known two other P. and O. boats of the same name. My new cabin comrades were Garrett and Lang, both of my own term at Haileybury. But I made several new friends and chief among them H. G. Pritchard, who was going out to join the Madras Artillery. I saw him from time to time in Madras. Ultimately he was posted to the Department of Military Accounts, and when I joined the Governor General's Council, in 1888, he was Military Accountant General. Having come out to India in the same ship, we finally left Simla on the same day at the end of our respective careers.

The voyage from Suez to Madras, of course, presented many things quite novel to me then, but none of them seems worth recording. We had the usual halts at Aden and Point de Galle, and at the latter I visited several spice plantations. Eventually we arrived at Madras on the 27th February, 1858. But there was on board a Madras Mohomedan returning from the Mecca pilgrimage, and therefore a Hadji, wearing a green turban. From him, in common, I believe, with Garrett and Lang, I had a few lessons in Hindustani which proved useful to me afterwards.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY DAYS IN MADRAS, 1858-9.

MY first night in Madras was spent in a Bungalow attached to the Royal Hotel. One thing that struck me the next morning was the multitude of grey squirrels. Subsequently I found them to be very daring and almost ubiquitous. One day when I was lunching at the Club, a squirrel jumped on to my table and ate pieces of bread which I flicked towards it. If I had lent back he was quite prepared to take the food from my plate, as a tame mongoose once did. Some years later one had made its nest and nursery in the corner of a blind —called a "chick" and made of split bamboo—which used to be let down during the day as a protection against the glare of the sun but was rolled up at night. When it was let down one morning five or six baby squirrels, only just born, fell to the ground. The babies were put in a corner from whence the mother must have removed them to a safer place. For next morning, when the "chick" was again lowered, the whole brood again fell to the ground. These squirrels are marvellously agile, and a great trial to dogs. I have seen dogs chase one when its fate seemed inevitable. Under their very feet it turned sharply on its track and was up a tree and shrilling their discomforture almost before the dogs could check their headlong rush. Another time I saw one, when pursued on the top of the old High Court, jump clear to the roadway, a height of some sixty feet, and run off as if nothing out of the way had happened.

At that time the beach road from the Fort to St. Thomé was unsightly and even squalid. The present well-kept Marina is the work of Sir M. Grant-Duff, who hoped to make it a rival of the Marina at Palermo. The only building on it was the Ice House, which at that time was our sole hope for a cool drink. The manufacture of ice was not then dreamt of. It was brought from America in a sailing ship, and when the ship was delayed there was much gnashing of teeth.

For my first eighteen months I was again in College, as it was called. That is to say I was under the authority of a Board of Examiners and learning Vernaculars with Munshis, or native Instruc-

tors, whom the Board supplied. There was an examination some three weeks after my arrival, and thanks to what I had learnt of Telugu in England I had no difficulty in qualifying. But I had to pass also in Tamil, and that took me another three months, during the greater part of which I and my brother Arthur occupied a small furnished bungalow. Then he was obliged to go home on sick leave. I might then have gone up country to active work, but, having learnt a little Hindustani in England and with the Munshi on board ship, I thought I had better qualify in that language also and earn the " Minor Reward " of 700 Rs. This I succeeded in doing in a couple of months. Later on I became intimate with the chief Examiner, Dr. Balfour, and one day he asked if I had seen him throw over a note to the other Examiner, and he then told me what he had written. It was " He knows the language but God knows how he learnt it." Apparently he was not fully aware of my studies at Haileybury and on the " Hindustan."

After my brother had gone home I was invited to spend a fortnight or so, first by Mr. Shubrick—the Collector of Chingleput—and later by Mr. E. B. Powell, the Director of Public Instruction, whose acquaintance I had made in England. Mrs. Shubrick had known my eldest sister, Mrs. Foss, in England. Afterwards I rented some nice rooms in the Royal Hotel, which had been the family mansion of a former Accountant-General. At this time also I joined the Madras Volunteer Cavalry, which had been enrolled on account of the Mutiny. There had been a good deal of anxiety as to the attitude of a Native Cavalry Regiment, at Arcot, and also of the ex-royal family of Arcot and the large Mohomedan population in Triplicane, a suburb of the Madras City. The Cavalry Regiment had been successfully disbanded just before I joined the Volunteers, but Triplicane remained. I have never been a good rider as I had nothing to do with horses in my youth, but the Cavalry Riding School at least taught me how to manage a horse.

I often rode out for the week-end with one of my fellow troopers to Ennore. This is on a backwater of the sea some ten miles north of Madras. There was a club there, and good boating. Indeed, several residents of Madras kept yachts there, whereas now, I believe, the only regattas are on the Adyar or in the completed harbour. If one wanted to go boating in the morning, it was desirable to get up before daylight. One day a friend of mine was making his early tea in the dark and measured out his tea from what he took to be the usual tin. Being called in a hurry he drank off the infusion and

immediately became violently sick. He had taken a tin containing Cavendish tobacco which was similar to the tea-tin. The misadventure might have been serious if he had not been at once relieved by sickness.

There was generally good bathing in the lake but the bar was always open. One day, just after my swim, a fisherman pulled in two sharks. One was of the usual kind and hardly large enough to be dangerous. The other was a horrible creature—a hammer-headed shark, with something like a hammer projecting from each side of its head. A few miles further north one could sail up a channel to another backwater and Pulicat. Here there had been a Dutch factory, and one or two Dutch houses still remained. The lake was rather larger than that at Ennore, and frequented by all sorts of cranes and other waterfowl. Flamingoes, especially, gave plenty of colour to the scene.

Having gained the minor reward in Hindustani, I thought I might as well go in for the major reward, 1,200 Rs.—as far as I can now remember—in Tamil and Telugu. At my first test in Tamil I was not found quite up to the mark, but six weeks later I succeeded in passing. And about June, 1859, I gained the reward in Telugu. There was then nothing more to keep me in Madras, and I was appointed to be an Assistant Collector and Magistrate in the district of South Arcot.

I should here mention that in December, 1858, I obtained leave from the Board of Examiners to travel in the Tamil Districts. It was thought that this would not prejudice my studies while it might help me to gain some knowledge of the "interior" and of the colloquial language. I went through the North Arcot District to Bangalore, where I spent about a fortnight. Then through Seringapatam and Mysore to Ootacamund, where I only stayed two or three days. I put up at Sylk's Hotel, then known as "Dawson's Punch-House." Then by Coimbatore and Salem to the Shevaroy Hills. Here I was kindly entertained by Mr. Richardson, a coffee planter, and spent Christmas, meeting two Haileybury friends in Alec Webster and McQuhae. The dark glossy leaves of the coffee trees proved a good substitute for holly, but the berries, even when red, were much too large. Descending from these hills by the opposite slope, I joined the then railhead at Goriatam, and reached Madras again early in January. Except for the crossing of the Nilgiri and Shevaroy Hills, when I had a pony, all this travelling was in a "transit"—a sort of caravan drawn by two bullocks. I believe this was the first time such a vehicle had crossed the hills. There was no proper road in many places for a wheeled carriage.

About March, '59, I was joined at the Royal Hotel by my younger brother, Alfred. He had determined to follow me to Madras, and obtained a Commission in the " General List " of the Madras Army. He stayed with me for a month or more, and I am afraid we must have been a great nuisance to others in the Hotel, as we thought nothing of playing cricket in our large verandah. Then he had to join the 2nd European Light Infantry, at Trichinopoly, where my brother Arthur was Assistant Collector. With the money obtained by passing for the major rewards, I had been able to buy two horses and a bullock coach. Some weeks were allowed me for joining time to my own District, and I resolved to go round by Trichinopoly, and to travel by stages of ten to twenty miles a day. Another Haileybury friend, Hathaway, who had just passed for the reward in Hindustani, and had been posted to Trichinopoly, arranged to accompany me, and rode one of my horses. We travelled in this way to the borders of the Trichinopoly District. Then we got tired of riding stages, and thought it would be a good plan to complete the journey by a night in the bullock coach. I wrote to my brother Arthur to post bullocks for us, and he sent out one of his peons. The man reached us in the evening having walked some 50 miles. He travelled on the box of the coach all night, and for a great part of the time drove the bulls himself. The next morning he turned up quite fresh at my brother's office. His endurance rather astonished me, and I wondered whether all Indians were capable of such a feat.

I did not smoke in my young days, but soon after I reached Madras I was induced to try a hookah with a long, snake-like tube. I found it rather pleasant until at the third trial a large black ant got into my mouth, and then a stream of ants poured out from the mouth-piece. Thereafter I gave up smoking till I was forty-eight, when I took to cigarettes.

While I was in Madras, in 1858-9, I had a swim almost every day in the Club Bath. At first I had some difficulty in learning to swim. It was easy enough under water but as soon as my head came up my feet would go down. But when once I had accomplished a few strokes I was up to any tricks, and could swim under water twice the length of the bath. Dr. Cornish also came to the bath almost daily. He was a big heavy man. Once he carried me on his shoulders walking under water across the bath. Then I proposed to do the same thing for him and found this quite easy. His weight kept me down, while with my light weight he must have found walking under the water rather difficult. We used to collect stones thrown into the

water, and also to write sentences with chalk on the bottom. Another trick was to dive through a light rattan hoop. One morning my friend Hathaway came to the bath, but he was not going to swim. For some reason he was arrayed in a frock coat and tall hat. I asked him to hold the hoop and proceeded to dive through it. Cornish followed, but his big feet caught the rattan, which, with Hathaway holding on, was dragged into the water. The " chimney pot " was soon recovered but poor Hathaway had to have a swim after all, while we sent to his quarters for a change of clothes. There was a special peon in charge of the bath. One morning some member coming for an early swim found him lying dead at the bottom of the bath. It was never ascertained how this had happened. There is another tragic story which I have heard applied to several baths in Southern India, and probably it is told in the North also. An officer, after mess, came for a swim before going to bed. He was not aware that the bath had been emptied in order that it might be cleaned. He dived from a height on to the stone floor, and, of course, his head was smashed.

CHAPTER IV.

IN SOUTH ARCOT, 1859-62.

I SPENT a pleasant week with my two brothers at Trichinopoly, and then proceeded to join my own post at Cuddalore, travelling by night, and spent the intervening day at Tanjore, where the Judge, Mr. Beauchamp, hospitably entertained me. The second morning found me at the traveller's bungalow, Cuddalore, but an hour later the Acting Collector, McDonnell, rode up and insisted on my removal to his house. This had been the old Government House, when Fort St. David was the Company's chief factory. The ruined fort is rather over a mile away on a backwater, which at one time could accommodate any moderately sized ships, but is now much silted up. The name Cuddalore—in Tamil Gudalur—means " Junction " of rivers, just as Coblentz is a corruption of Confluentia. The derivation given in " Hobson Jobson " is Kadal-ur, the town on the sea, but that can only have been suggested by the English mispronunciation of the name. The Collector's house has some good rooms on the upper story. The ground floor was only used for offices. At the back is a grassy plain where a gun was fired every noon. The Sepoy in charge used to load it with a modicum of powder and a lot of green leaves, but he managed to produce a loud report.

Attached to the house is a bungalow, which was assigned to me. Also a row of godowns, probably used in old times for storage of the Company's goods, but at that time appropriated as offices (cutcherries) for the Assistant and Head Assistant to the Collector. My bungalow was in a walled garden. Beyond the wall was a Maidan or Esplanade, on which I soon started weekly cricket. Somehow I had never played cricket during my first stay at Madras, though when I went there later I played regularly. Not far off was a good racket court.

The godown used as my office was small and low, and had only one door. In front was a cemented verandah. One day in the hot weather my head peon thought something should be done to mitigate the heat. He surrounded the verandah with a mud bank, about an inch high, and filled the space within with water. I suppose he

thought the wind blowing over it would become a sort of sea-breeze, but as there was but little wind in the heat of the day his device was of less use than it deserved.

In a few days I removed to a bungalow facing the Esplanade, and I lived there for nearly a year with the Deputy Collector, Underwood, son of the Collector of Madras, who, of course, was a covenanted civilian. This bungalow was generally known as the Pepper-box. It had some fair rooms on the ground floor, but above there were only two small chambers, one over the other. The top room of all became my bedroom. During a tropical thunderstorm the light tiles overhead rattled most unpleasantly. Underwood had been in Australia, and told us many stories of his wild life there. He had worked with a gang, and had even been their cook. Once he had been held up by a bushranger, who on his offering resistance said " Do you know who I am : I am Bill Sykes," or whatever his name was. To which Underwood rejoined " And do you know whom I am : I'm Bill Underwood."

The office of Deputy-Collector had only been created a few years earlier, and its creation seems a good example of how a coach-and-four may be driven through an Act of Parliament. The Offices of Assistants to Collectors and Magistrates had been specially reserved by Statute for the Covenanted Civil Service. The Deputies did exactly the same work as the Assistants, but by giving them a new designation it seems to have been thought that the Statute could be avoided. There are now many more Deputies than Assistants, and nearly all of them are Indians.

I think my monthly salary at that time was 300 Rs., and the Rupee was fully equal to two shillings. I had to pass two standards—in Law, Revenue work and Vernaculars—before I could be invested with Magisterial powers. There was a half-yearly examination, and I managed to pass the first standard in December, and the second in the following June. The first gave me 50 Rs. increase per month, and the second would have given me 100 Rs., but I was fortunate enough to do better than this. The pucka (permanent) Head Assistant joined his appointment for a few months, and then took leave for a short time, after which he retired altogether. His going on leave coincided with my qualifying by the First Standard, and his retirement with my passing the Second. I was appointed to act for him just as I was qualified so to officiate, and later to succeed him as soon as I was eligible to do so. Each promotion gave me a substantial increase of pay, and all the time I did not have to change my District.

It may be convenient to mention here what were then the prevailing prices. A groom was paid 10 Rs. a month, and his grass-cutter (generally his wife) 3½ Rs. The wages of an ordinary servant ranged from 12 to 15. A cooly could be hired for 4 annas a day, and a woman for 2. Things are very different nowadays.

At that time nearly everyone drank beer, either English-bottled or bottled in the country. Almost the only alternatives were light claret from Pondicherry or Brandy-and-Soda. Whiskey was hardly known except, perhaps, among Scotsmen. A very even cricket match was played at Madras between E.B's and C.B's, the latter meaning " born in the Country."

Most of the clerks in the English departments of the Collector's office were Anglo-Indians, and even when I went to Madura, in 1872, my Head Writer and two or three under him belonged to the same class. The Head Writer, Mr. Johnson, was a very respectable man, not clever, but intelligent, and thoroughly reliable. Most of the Writers at Cuddalore had Portuguese names, such as DeMonte. Owing to the spread of education their places have probably been taken by pure Indians.

Soon after my arrival in South Arcot the permanent Collector, Hall, relieved McDonnell, who went to Trichinopoly. One of Hall's first acts was to put me in charge of the District Post, with directions to reorganize it. At that time the General Post Office, at Madras, dealt only with the towns of Cuddalore and Pondicherry, leaving communication with the interior of the District to be arranged by the District Officers. I took some trouble in organising the different lines of runners, and submitted a Report with a Time-Table. Mr. Hall left soon after to take his seat in the Board of Revenue at Madras. He must have reported favourably of me, for in little more than a year later I was promoted into the Government Secretariat. The new Collector was named Wood. He seemed rather lazy and left much of his work to the Sub-Collector, but he had much experience, and knew perfectly well what was going on. And everyone liked him. He was somewhat forgetful, and there was a tradition that on his wedding day he went out snipe-shooting and had to be fetched ; he had forgotten all about the wedding! He spent most of his early mornings in a long-arm-chair, watching his horses being exercised.

While I was Assistant the Collector assigned to me such business as he thought fit from time to time, and he was supposed to supervise my decisions. But as Head Assistant I had a separate sub-division, consisting of the two northern Taluks, Tindevanum and Trinomalay,

with headquarters at the village—it could hardly be called a town—of Tindevanum. Here I had an official residence, and one free of rent. As a house it must have been unique. It consisted of three single room bungalows, built on the bank of a tank. In one we slept. Another, two or three hundred yards off, was our drawing-room and dining-room. The third, quite close to the second, I used for my office.

I have now used the plural " we," for on the 26th May, 1860, I had married the eldest daughter of Mr. B. T. Norfor, an Engineer and owner of a sugar factory, and grand-daughter of Colonel Leggatt, who commanded the Pensioners at Cuddalore, and our Sepoy Veterans. These ancient native warriors were the only military element at Cuddalore, until two officers came to organize the new Police. They formed our Treasury Guard, and it was amusing to see them marching to their work, the native officer at their head in full, uniform but protected from the sun by an umbrella.

On my first visit to Tindevanum I went alone, and from there I went west to Gingee, where there is an old deserted fort well worth a visit, and then on to my other Taluk Trinomalay. Here there is a fine temple at the foot of a hill. On climbing the hill and looking down on the temple I could not help noticing its resemblance to pictures of that at Jerusalem. It was the time of a great festival and crowds of Hindus had come for it. The chief ceremony was at night. A great cauldron had been taken to the top of the hill and filled with ghee (clarified butter) with a torch made of rags by way of a wick. When the crowd had been duly excited to the pitch of expectation, a signal was given by means of a rocket and the light on the hill was at once kindled or unveiled. The idea was that the idol had sent up the flame, and there was a tradition that the fire should continue burning until extinguished by the first rains. If this was realised it presaged a favourable S.W. Monsoon. Anyhow the fire was visible for many nights from all the country round about.

There was a large cattle-fair at Trinomalay at the same time as the religious festival. A fine pair of dark bullocks attracted my attention, but the Indians assured me that white ones were far preferable. So I bought a white pair and found them very satisfactory.

From Trinomalay I rode out further west to Chengam, near the border of the Salem District. Here a Sub-Magistrate was stationed, as the Salem thieves constantly crossed over ; probably ours returned the compliment. Next I had a camp in the south of the Taluk, on

the river Panar, which flows out at Cuddalore. The river was nearly dry, but there was enough water in the sandy channel to give me a delightful float, if not a swim. I had no tent with me, but simply my chair and bed under a tree. At that season there was no fear of rain. Having then made myself acquainted with most of my charge and its people, I returned to Cuddalore via Trikovilur and Pondicherry.

Pondicherry is the Capital of the French Settlements in India. It is much like a town in France, the houses being built in streets and not detached. We rented one of them as a Cuddalore Club, and the Governor used to invite us to his Balls. Our ladies were quite accustomed to being asked for a dance by a young Frenchman, who, an hour or two earlier, had sold them gloves over the counter. The boundary between French and English territory is very irregular, necessitating several Sayar or Custom houses. As Assistant Collector I had charge of the Sayar stations. One day it was reported that the District Engineer's servant had tried to smuggle claret across the frontier, and I ordered it to be confiscated. On learning, however, that it was wanted for a party which his master was giving that evening, I allowed it to go through on payment of double or treble duty. Another time when I was driving old Bishop Dealtry into Pondy, the French douaniers insisted on searching the carriage for brandy. I told his lordship that I had never been stopped before, and that he must have been the object of their suspicion. I believe the salary of the French Governor hardly exceeds that of a Head Assistant Collector. When Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras, came to Cuddalore, the question was raised whether the frontier could not be simplified by an exchange of villages, but the French authorities were not disposed to entertain the idea.

On my second visit to Tindevanum my wife accompanied me, and I made a long stay. The bungalows were so far apart that I did not think it safe for her to walk from one to the other in the heat of the day. So the bullockcoach had to come up the bank at least twice daily. The stables were on lower ground, where rice-fields would have been found if the tank had been used for irrigation. On the same low ground were some old mango trees, many of them hollow, and the dwelling-place of large iguanas. These enormous lizards gave great sport to my dogs. I once killed or stunned one—not a large one—with a small pebble thrown almost at random. The peons were delighted as they said it make excellent soup—" very strengthening." Leaning over the tank near the principal bungalow

was a large pipal tree, rather hollow. I had been asked to get some jackals for the Cuddalore Hunt. The request was delegated to the Tahsildar, and he procured some young ones, far too small. On being let go they took refuge in the hollow tree, and remained there some days, coming out at night to finish my dogs' food. A family of screech owls occupied the same quarters, and as their noise at night became very troublesome I resolved to shoot them, or at least frighten them away. Seeing one on a branch I aimed at it, but to my astonishment after the shot there it was still, exactly in the same position. This happened three or four times, and in the end some four dead owls were found in the water.

During this stay at Tindevanum we paid a visit to Markanam, on the sea, where there are famous salt-pans. The pans are flooded with sea water and the salt crystalised by evaporation. The men who own the pans call them their fields and speak of themselves as cultivators. Among other things at Markanam I tested the contents of a heap of salt. This was a most fatiguing duty, lasting from daylight till mid-day, and without any sort of protection from the glare and heat. There was fair bathing in the backwaters. The piers of a bridge had been protected by lumps of old masonary, to which oysters had attached themselves. I dived down and brought up one or two lumps covered with oysters. I cannot remember whether we found them worth eating, but my hands were bleeding and well scarified by their shells. One dismal memory of Markanam is that I lost a very clever dog there—one which, though only a little mongrel, could learn anything. The last trick I tried to teach him was to wash his paws in a finger-glass, but that proved too much, and may have caused his death !

When we left the salt-pans to return to Tindevanum, I found I had to make an inspection in a village north of the road. My wife went in the bullock coach some ten miles towards Tindevanum. A tent was sent out there and we arranged that I should join her at dinner, after which we were to drive on to Tindevanum. Unfortunately my inspection work took longer than was expected. It was nearly dark when I mounted my horse and I had to have men carrying blazing sticks to show the way. When at length I reached the tent I found my wife very unhappy. The tent was in a small space of jungle which had been just cleared. She was mortally afraid of snakes, and I found her perched on one high chair, with her feet and dress carefully arranged on another, wondering why I was so late.

Talking of snakes reminds me that at Tindevanum cobras found the artificial soil of the tank's bank very congenial. My gardeners saw one enter its hole and ran to tell me. I made them try to dig it out while I stood over the hole with a good stick. When they had dug down two or three feet, there was a glimpse of the beast's tail, and I aimed a blow at it. The tail disappeared and I was looking anxiously into the hole when one of the men cried out to look behind. I turned at once and found the snake had come out another way and was standing up with hood expanded ready to strike. A quick back-hander only pressed him down but this gave me time for other blows to despatch him.

While on the subject of snakes I may as well mention some other instances in my own experience. Some people seem to think that in India one meets these reptiles every day, but in thirty-six years I can hardly have seen a dozen. At Cuddalore a friend was driving me home from the racket court when we spied a cobra at the side of the road. I was standing up behind on the foot-board, and jumping down killed it, as I supposed. I hung the body over the foot-board and we drove on. The beast had been only stunned and soon began to wriggle, so I had to slay it again. Another I caught in the venetians of my bath-room in the morning dusk. As it was half way through, it was practically in a trap. My only regret was that in killing it I smashed several leaves of the venetians. My gardener, at Tanjore, had a narrow escape. He was drawing water from a well and standing on a log fixed across the mouth. The log was hollow, and in the hole a Russel's viper had made its home. The log broke under the man's weight and down fell log, snake and man into the water together. Luckily the viper was at least as frightened as the man, and we pulled up the latter uninjured. For a Russel's viper is quite as deadly as a cobra, and being of a sluggish nature is even more dangerous. A cobra is, generally, alert enough to get out of one's way.

These are instances within my own knowledge, but I may mention here, for such credit as it may deserve, one which was reported in a newspaper. I will give it in the first person as it was so reported. I was sitting in my verandah, overlooking a tennis court, when two snakes, about equal in size, came out of the bushes, and began playing together on the turf. One siezed the other's tail in its mouth and the other retaliated, forming a large circle. Each then began swallowing the other. The circle grew less and less, and I began to wonder what would happen. Unluckily, just then a messenger

brought some papers and diverted my attention. When I looked again there was nothing to be seen.

Once when I was in camp some village officers and ryots came with a petition asking permission to hold a hook-swinging festival. Someone, probably trained to it, is swung aloft by hooks inserted under the muscles of his back. Crowds flock to see the sight, and it is believed to produce much wanted rain. The only orders on the subject were that such exhibitions should be discouraged. I therefore told the petitioners that I could not give any such permission, and that if any accident occurred the village officers would be held responsible. Some newspaper attacked me on the ground that my refusal to permit was, in natives' eyes, tantamount to prohibition. But even now I cannot see what better answer I could have given.

About April, 1861, I took two months' privilege leave and we went to Ootacamund. We travelled by night in our coach with posted bulls, each pair doing eight or ten miles. Our first halt was as Kallakurchi, the South Western Taluk of the South Arcot District. The Collector kindly gave me some work there so that my leave did not begin to run till the following day. It was rather curious work, arising out of a petition against the Tahsildar, which alleged that he was an ignorant man, incapable of dealing with such matters as Income Tax Returns, which required to be kept secret. This was perfectly true for I found he had only lately learnt even to sign his own name. On the other hand I was able to report that he employed only one confidential clerk on Income Tax work, which every Tahsildar must necessarily do, and that in many respects he was an excellent officer, and kept his Taluk well under control. To the best of my recollection he was allowed to remain in charge of it for some time longer, but I left the District in the next year.

Proceeding through Salem and Coimbatore we reached the foot of the Nilgiri Hills on the third or fourth morning. My two horses had arrived, and we rode up the Cooly Ghat to Coonoor. There was no proper carriage road; the coach had to be taken up the old ghat path with the help of coolies. The next morning we rode on the twelve miles to Ooty, where we remained nearly two months, leaving just before the monsoon was due. All that time we stayed with a lady as paying guests. Ooty, like the Hill Stations in Northern India, is 7-8,000 feet high, and the change from the plains was delightful; but the only incident of our stay on that occasion, which I can now recall, was a picnic party at Kartery Waterfall.

That is an easy ride from Ooty, and after the picnic some of the ladies began shooting at bottles. Their practice was not good. At last my wife was persuaded to try, though she had never fired a shot before. Her first shot broke the bottle, and she wisely refused to try another! But she must have had a good eye, for when we took to archery, at Madura, some years later, she gained two prizes. We returned to South Arcot by the same route. I remember I had to entrust both my horses to one man, but he proved trustworthy, and remained in my service for many years.

On reaching the Guddalum river we found it in flood, and were compelled to wait the night. Even in the morning we had much difficulty in crossing. We ourselves and my wife's Ayah were taken over on rafts. The cushions of the coach were removed, and it was taken across half floating and with several coolies hanging on. As soon as it topped the opposite bank the door was opened and gave place to a waterfall. Men waded across with the water up to their necks, and carried our goods and chattels on their heads. On the top of one man's load was my wife's little cat, clinging to his turban for dear life.

Something should be said here about my magisterial work while I was Assistant or Head Assistant. It began about August, '59, and from the early spring following I had an independent charge. The Indian Penal Code came into operation in May, 1861, and the Code of Criminal Procedure at the beginning of 1862. It was in the spring of 1862 that I was called to the Secretariat in Madras. So that for most of my time in South Arcot my work was governed by the old regulations, supplemented by one or two brief commentaries, and by my own notions of what was fair and equitable. It was on New Year's Day, 1859, that Queen Victoria assumed direct charge of the Country, but apart from her wonderful and most beneficent proclamation the change seemed to make no sort of difference, and in many parts of the country passed almost unnoticed. This was largely due to its having been introduced with so much care and graduation. The Civil Service had been thrown upon to competition two years earlier, and for two years recruits under the new system and from Haileybury had been coming out simultaneously. According to my experience they worked together excellently and without friction.

Only two of the cases which came before me at this time live at all in a corner of my memory. I think both, and certainly the first, must have been under the new codes. In the first I had to commit

to the Sessions a number of Dacoits, and found that the leader of the band and some of its members had been enrolled in the old Magisterial Police. I cannot say whether they had all along been in league with robbers. Possibly they had only joined them when turned adrift. In the end most, if not all, were convicted. The other case was one of riot, and arose out of a land dispute which, apart from religious animosities, is the most prolific cause of quarrels in India. It was for some reason reported to Government. I gave the principals a substantial sentence, but let off the others easily. The Government were pleased to say that the punishments seemed to have been wisely adjusted.

There is, however, one other matter worth noticing. Two brothers, Mahomedans of Gingee, had been repeatedly before me for breaches of the peace. They were bitter enemies, and I had several times bound them over. When we last visited Gingee each wanted to give me a dinner. I said I could only accept it if they gave it together, and for once they agreed to co-operate. Whether after that they abandoned their quarrels I do not know as I left the District shortly after. But as we were returning to Tindevanum, directly after the dinner, my wife had an acute attack of colic. She feared we had been poisoned, but it was only due to the highly spiced food favoured by Mahomedans.

CHAPTER V.

IN THE GOVERNMENT SECRETARIAT, 1862-3.

IT was in the spring of 1862 that I quite unexpectedly found myself appointed to act as Under Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, and moved to Madras. We took rooms in the Royal Hotel where I had stayed before, but this time I had the whole first floor. I continued to officiate in one Department or another till June, 1963, when my wife had to go home for a change. Towards the end of 1862 we had a curious experience. My brother Alfred wrote on behalf of a brother subaltern asking us to put up for a night a young lady who was coming out to marry him. We agreed to do so. The young man himself appeared a day or two before the steamer was expected, and we put him into the room intended for her. When the steamer came he had to be moved to a room on the ground floor of the hotel, and the young lady, quite a nice girl, became our guest. But from the first the pair did not appear quite happy together, and as day followed day matters did not seem to improve. It appeared that they had known one another as children, and when he wrote and proposed she had agreed to come out as she did not get on well with her own people. I gathered also that there had been some flirtation during the voyage. At all events, when she saw the young man she found she could not possibly fulfil her engagement. After a week he was finally sent back to Trichinopoly, and then the question arose what was to be done with the girl. My wife treated the question as kindly and hospitably as possible, and tried to persuade her to return to her own people. But that she would not hear of. She remained with us five or six weeks and then went to Bangalore, where, she said, she had an old school friend ready to receive her. And this curious adventure had a still more curious denouement. Years after, my wife and I, at Milan, in Italy, entered a railway carriage where there were two other English ladies. We got talking together and they found out that we had been in India. One of them then asked if we knew a Mrs. Hutchins who had been most kind to a young relative of hers when in somewhat of

a predicament. It was the young lady, the heroine of this story, and the ladies were extravagantly grateful. Certainly we had done our best to help and advise her in a very difficult position.

My wife went home for a year in May or June, 1863. The permanent Under Secretaries were then all back, and I had to revert to District work. Sir Alick Arbuthnot, who was then chief secretary, strongly advised me to go in for the Judicial Department, partly because he thought me suited for it, and partly because he had a scheme for establishing Assistant Judges, which would at once open opportunities for men of my standing in the Service. Meanwhile I had to join my old District, but I went round by Negapatam, where my brother Arthur was then acting as Sub-Collector. During my stay there a short vacancy occurred in the Small Cause Court of Vellore, and I was appointed to it. This was my first experience of Civil Judicial Work, and all that I remember about it is that I took it into my head that it was hard on a Defendant, who did not, and probably to the Plaintiff's knowledge would not, contest the claim, to allow full costs against him. The Vakils seemed rather astonished at this novel practice, but during the five or six weeks I remained at Vellore I persisted in allowing only half the usual costs in such cases. During that time an eleven came from Arcot, hard by, and played us at Vellore. I think we had the best of it. The Arcot team included Leman, of my term at Haileybury, who, like myself, had then been considered a fine field but no good as a batsman. Since then we had both filled out and improved our batting.

CHAPTER VI.

AS SUB-COLLECTOR OF CHINGLEPUT, 1863-4.

WHEN I was relieved by the return of the permanent Judge of the S.C. Court, Sir A. Arbuthnot kindly got me appointed to officiate as Sub-Collector of the Chingleput District. My Collector was George Banbury, who had known my wife as a girl, whose acquaintance I had already made, and who became my dear and life-long friend. He lived at Saidapet, just outside the boundary of Madras city, but my headquarters, and that of the District Judge and Doctor, were at Chingleput, thirty miles to the south. This was a pleasant station, and some old Judge had laid out an excellent grass ride, winding round the large lake and among some low hills. But the rainfall was rather scanty, and the hills very bare and stony. Cattle and goats browsed all over them but what they found to eat it was difficult to imagine. During my first tenure of that appointment I went all over my sub-division—to Carunguli and even to my old station Tindevanum to the south, to the Cheyur salt-pans on the sea to the east, and to Conjevaram to the west. At Carunguli there is a fine old two-storied house built by an old Collector when the splendid tank there was under construction. It was said that the embankment had breached twice, and had only settled down in the end after some magical rites, if not a human sacrifice !

An easy ride from Carunguli is a village called Vedan-tangal, which rejoices in an old Sannad from Government forbidding all shooting within its precincts. The result is that the trees in and round its tank have been made the nesting-place of many sorts of birds, while the water is so impregnated with their droppings that the fields which it irrigates yield enormous crops and require no other manure. It was wonderful in the evening to see the various birds coming back flight after flight to roost there. I told the villagers that the place should have been named Vedikai-tangal, rather than Vedan-tangal, Vedikai meaning a show or pageant.

When I visited Conjevaram the District Doctor came with me. Besides being a very sacred town with a particularly holy temple, it

was a stronghold of weavers. We made careful enquiry into their condition and came to the conclusion that hand-weaving was never likely to be re-established successfully in view of the competition of machinery.

An uncle of my wife, William Leggatt, was the District Engineer of Chingleput, and I was able to find room for him and his wife in the Sub-Collector's bungalow. But before the end of the year I was called away to other duty. Owing to the death of the Governor General (Lord Elgin) our Governor (Sir William Denison), being senior to the Governor of Bombay, had to proceed to Calcutta to take Lord Elgin's place. Under the Statute the senior member of Council thereupon became our Provisional Governor, and quite unexpectedly he selected me to be his Private Secretary. I had but a slight acquaintance with Mr. Maltby before that, but Banbury was intimate with him, and may have recommended me. He had also seen my work in the Secretariat. At the time it seemed likely that the arrangement would last for some months, but Lord Lawrence (then Sir John) was chosen to be the new Viceroy, and being an old Indian Civilian he came out without delay, although his arrival would coincide with the approach of the hot season.

My new post as Private Secretary was really a sinecure. I began vigorously by going carefully through all the files received from the Secretariat. But Mr. Maltby was thoroughly acquainted with all such matters and told me not to trouble myself about them. " Just indicate urgent files," he said, " with red tape or other distinguishing mark, and I will see to them all." One of the bungalows in Guindy Park was assigned for my residence, and the other members of the Staff joined me there for meals. For dinner I had a general invitation to Mr. Maltby's house, which was at Guindy, just outside the Park gates. Sir William Denison's Private Secretary, Breeks, a much senior member of the Civil Service, had remained at Guindy temporarily, and was to follow Sir William towards the end of December, with Lady Denison and her daughter, Mrs. Breeks.

One morning, late in December, Breeks told me an invitation had come to him from the Calcutta Cricket Club to bring up a Madras Eleven for a match in the Christmas holidays. He seemed to think that this could not be managed but I jumped at the idea. Lady Denison and her party were to go to Calcutta in a Government steamer and it could also take the Madras team. It was to stop at Masulipatam, where I wired to our best bowlers, Linton and Brandt, to meet us; they had gone up country only a few months earlier.

The Provisional Governor readily gave me leave and also let me take Hope, one of his A.D.C.'s. Several other cricketers were available on the spot, but at the last moment, Plumer, our best batsman and a lob bowler, refused to go. At my wits' end I wired to several other men to take his place (I remember I had to use my Private Secretary's authority to get messages through at Christmas), but in the end we had to complete the team as well as we could. As Private Secretary I ought to have helped the Governor with the State Ball on New Year's Day, but Banbury most kindly undertook that duty for me.

Our steamer had to take a battery of artillery to Masulitatam, en route to Hyderabad, but the ladies declined to go in it when they heard there would be powder on board. Our team, therefore, had the boat to ourselves after we had disembarked the gunners. And we found the short voyage very pleasant. The Calcutta men were not quite ready when we arrived, but the match came off in the first week of January. It ended decidedly in our favour, for in each innings we led by a substantial number of runs. It is worth noting that while all our eleven were Government servants, civil or military, the majority of the Calcutta team belonged to what used to be known as the "interloping" community. Directly the match was over many of us had to get back to our work by the first steamer available. One was Judge of my old Court at Vellore. His Court must have been without a Judge for quite a fortnight, but neither Government nor the High Court raised any objection. Doubtless they were all pleased at our winning the match.

We were all much struck by the size and virulence of the mosquitoes in Calcutta. Even at Government House, where I was put up, we thought they might have been shot like snipe. At that time adjutants did much of the scavengering, and we could see the ungainly birds perched on the houses looking out for their prey. When I came back to Calcutta, in 1888, there was a great change. The Sanitary Services had been much improved. Refuse was promptly removed to the Salt Lakes, and the scavenger birds had followed it. We had so little trouble from mosquitoes that Sir Ronald Ross's work seemed to have been anticipated.

By the time I got back to Madras it was known that Sir John Lawrence was on his way to India, and therefore Mr. Maltby's tenure of the Governor's Office would very soon terminate. That, of course, would throw me adrift again, but it was arranged that I should return to my old appointment at Chingleput. I must, indeed, have gone back there before the end of January. It is usual in all Madras

Districts to have what is called a " Jamabandy " in the early spring before the weather becomes too oppressive. This means a general settlement with the cultivators, and involved a rather prolonged visit to each of my Taluks in turn. For the convenience of the people I made a camp at three or four important villages in succession in each Taluk. Of course my ordinary work could not be neglected, nor could it be allowed to interfere with the Jamabandy. The best plan seemed to be to devote the mornings to the settlement and the afternoons to ordinary business. My days were therefore arranged somewhat as follows. The special work often necessitated visits of inspection which could only be made in the early mornings. These I managed as soon as it was light. Directly I returned, or immediately after tea if I had no inspection to make, the ryots in attendance were called up, village by village, and I heard and determined their claims or disputes. At noon breakfast was ready; and I had a rest for an hour or two. The ordinary work was then taken up, and sometimes I did some inspection close at hand in the evening. Altogether my day's work lasted much more than eight hours, and much nearer twelve or even more.

One of the commonest disputes concerned the right to one of the hereditary village offices, such as Headman or Karnam (village accountant). These I settled summarily. Any one aggrieved by my provisional award had the right to bring a formal suit in the Sub-Collector's Court. But the claims most ardently pressed by the general body of cultivators were to remission of revenue by reason of the entire or partial failure of water. I forget whether I had any previous consultation with my Collector on this matter, but we certainly proceeded on the same principles. Where there was anything like a total failure of water, full remission was conceded. Where it was only partial, or in other words where the irrigation tanks had been more or less filled, we tried to distinguish between fields which the water could not have reached and those which had, or might have, received a fair though moderate supply. In the former case I granted full remission ; in the latter I decided that half or a smaller reaction of the assessment must be paid. Many villages appealed to the Board of Revenue, and the Board thought we had been too hard. But the assessment had been fixed at a low figure, with especial reference to the fact that there would be bad seasons as well as good. On this ground, when the matter came before the Governor, in Council, our settlement was restored.

Some time in 1864 a senior member of the Service returned from leave and claimed to oust me from my officiating appointment.

As the claim was not allowed I should not have known it had been made if I had not accidentally heard him complaining loudly to a friend. He said that by all the traditions of the service he had a right to turn me out, and that the reason given by the Chief Secretary, that I was the best Under Secretary they had ever had, was quite irrelevant. Of course the Chief Secretary had to give some reason for his refusal, so what he may have said must be taken *cum grano salis*.

CHAPTER VII.

REGISTRAR OF THE HIGH COURT, 1864-9.

NEVERTHELESS I was not to retain the post long. The Registrar of the High Court on the Appellate side was appointed to act as District and Sessions Judge of Salem, and I received a strong hint to apply for his place. I have never liked asking for promotion but as this post was in the gift, not of Government, but of the Chief Justice, Sir Colley Scotland, and as I had been advised before to go in for Judicial work, I did send in an application and it was successful. Even as Acting Registrar I drew better pay (1,600 Rs.), but the chief advantage was that the yearly recess of the High Court would give me a two months' vacation. The Court closed for two months—really nine weeks, beginning on a Monday and ending a Saturday—from early in August.

My plan for my first vacation, 1864, was first to see something of the West Coast ; next to pay a visit to my brother Alfred, whose regiment was at Palamcottah ; and lastly to join my brother Arthur and a sister on the Pulney Hills. And I wrote to my wife, then in England, that I should not be back in Madras till early in October, and that she should arrange her passage accordingly. Unfortunately, as will soon be seen, she had already settled to return rather earlier.

The first part of my journey was by train to Shoranur. Thence a *muncheel*—a hammock slung from a wooden pole—took me by road to Trichur. This is the capital of the Cochin State and finely situated on a backwater. Being hot and weary from being carried all day in the muncheel, the first thing I did when I reached my boat was to plunge overboard. But the boatmen would not let me enjoy a good swim for they kept shouting to me that there was danger from " big fish." Whether they meant sharks or crocodiles I do not know. I saw neither. The boat was an excellent one with a large number of rowers. It had been sent for my use by the Dewan of the Travancore State. The men rowed all night, and in the morning I found myself at the British town of Cochin. During the day I was able to see something of the town though I did not make acquaintance with the white Jews, a curious tribe settled there. In the

evening I re-embarked and spent the next day at Alleppy, being hospitably entertained there by an English gentleman, agent for the Travancore Government. After another night in the canal I reached the Quilon Lake or backwater. This is larger and even more picturesque than that at Trichur, and is surrounded by beautifully wooded hills. At its south end is one of the numerous houses provided by the Raja of Travancore for the Resident appointed to his State by the Madras Government. This Residency was quite a large house and had been kindly placed at my disposal.

The canal or backwater by which I had come all the way from Trichur is continued from Quilon to Trevandrum, the capital of Travancore. Part of the way I believe it goes in a tunnel underground. But it was not my intention to go further south. I wished to find my way through the hills to Courtallam, in the Tinnevelly District, where I would meet my brother. On enquiry I found there was no proper road. I would have to go by boat some distance up the river, but then a muncheel must be taken by bridle-paths over a range of hills and through the jungle. That is how I managed. The jungle was rather wild and there were many signs of wild elephants, but it was a novel experience, and I greatly enjoyed it. In the end I came out at the house in Courtallam, which my brother and his wife had occupied for two months as a change from the heat of Palamcottah.

Courtallam lies at the foot ot the Travancore hills. Through a gap in those hills it receives cool breezes from the south-west during the monsoon from that quarter. It is, therefore, a favourite resort for people of the Tinnevelly District from June onwards. It has a beautiful waterfall, and the pool below is a capital place for bathing. The chief fall is called the potato fall, because when one stands under it the sensation is as if a sack of potatoes was being poured upon one's shoulders. At that time the pool was reserved for ladies up to eight o'clock, and for gentlemen from eight to ten ; after that it was open to all comers. And at other places higher up the hill there were even better pools for those who did not mind the climb. I stayed there about a week and almost every day we discovered a new place for a swim. Then my brother had to return to Palamcottah, and I went with him for a few days during which I had to make arrangements for my journey to the Pulney Hills. There were no coaches or transits to be hired, but my brother's Subadar kindly found me a good country cart for which I paid 50 Rs. It was quite new and though destitute of springs we made it fairly comfortable with a layer of brushwood below, straw above that, and a mattress on the top of all. The first

day out one of its wheels came to grief, but it was quickly repaired and after that I had no further trouble. At the end of the journey, which occupied about two days and three nights, the cart was sold for just its original price. The main road would have taken me through Madura, but at Tirumangalam I turned off to the left and took a shorter but rather wild track through Usilampatty to the foot of the hills at Periakolam. At the time it caused me some regret to have missed Madura ; I did not know that later on I should reside there for more than ten years.

My brother Arthur, who was then Sub-Collector of the Madura District, met me at Periakolam, and we at once made our way up the ghat to Kodikanal. In later years I have paid many visits to the Pulney Hills, but on this first occasion I found them particularly charming. Kodikanal is the same height above the sea, 7-8,000 feet, as Ootacamund, and as the best of the hill-stations in Northern India. There is a large lake with two roads round it—an upper and a lower. The best of the houses are perched close to the edge of the cliff and have a grand view over the plains below. The soil is rather stoney, and only supports a coarse grass. But the great advantage the Pulnies possess over other Indian Sanitaria consists in numerous streams and waterfalls. Till my arrival no one seems to have made use of these for bathing, but, coming straight from Courtallum, I at once set the example, and thenceforward we rarely went out without a towel.

My sister had started collecting ferns, of which there are many kinds on these hills. I gave her Beddome's book on the Ferns of Southern India, and with its help she was able to discover and name quite an extensive collection. I still have a collection made by her. It has been kept in an air-tight box, specially made for it, and is even now in good preservation. I played a trick on her once by getting some common leaves and painting seeds on their backs, as if they were new specimens, but she was not long in detecting the imposition. We had one notable picnic to Perumal, a beautiful hill rising high out of the Lower Pulnies, almost to the level of Kodikanal itself. Tents were pitched at its foot and after a night in camp we went to the top and then home. Another picnic was at a place called " The Doctor's Delight," but it was spoilt by rain. We all got so wet that coming home we made no account of water-holes but walked straight through them. Looking west from Kodi there is a splendid view of the Anaimalay Hills.

About half way between Kodikanal and the Doctor's Delight is the curious feature of the cliffs known as the " Pillar Rocks," another

favourite place for picnics. One early morning when I was there all the low country was covered with mist, which looked exactly like the sea, and ran into the ravines in the further cliffs just as the sea does. I could easily have imagined myself as standing on the cliffs of Cornwall. There are two Pillars or needles attached at their base to the mainland. The inner one bears a curious resemblance to the well known pictures of Distaeli. At its base is a cave opening into a sort of chimney. Once, led by Nicholson (later Sir Frederick), I ventured to climb up this chimney, with some misgiving, as we did not know what we might meet, or whether there would be any exit. Eventually we came out on the top of Disraeli's head.

I have mentioned above that I was not expecting my wife's return from England till the end of September, but my stay on the Pulnies was suddenly cut short by the receipt of a letter showing that she would reach Madras almost immediately. I could only telegraph to a friend to meet her, and settle how I could myself get to Madras in the shortest possible time. The most direct route seemed to be via Pulney at the Northern foot of the hills to Avenashy Road Station, where I could catch a train. The Pulney Ghat was said to be severe but practicable, at all events for coolies. My brother's bullock-coach was, therefore, ordered to go round to meet me at its foot. We all rode out to a place called Palangi, where we had a swim and breakfast. Then I started off alone down the Ghat. There was no road, hardly even a path, a mere track merging at times into a timber slip ; and it was certainly twice the length of the Periakolam Ghat. I was active in those days, and I got over the ground quickly, but when at last I reached the foot it was nearly dark and I was dead beat. Moreover the coach was not there so I could do no more than lie down, regardless of reptiles, and wait for it. At last it came. A kind American Missionary gave me some supper, and then I started in the coach and was able to catch the morning train, reaching Madras in the evening.

My wife had taken rooms at the Elphinstone Hotel, and we remained there for a time. I had noted a very good bungalow in Egmore on which an upper story was being constructed. As soon as it was ready we moved in, and there we resided until I took leave in 1867.

In 1865 we went to the Shevaroy Hills when the Court closed. On these hills there are many old hedges of orange, lemon and citron trees. Out of these I cut several good walking-sticks, but the best stick I ever had was a loquat shoot, springing up perfectly

THE PILLAR ROCKS, KODAIKANAL.

straight, from a big branch of the tree. To secure a good head for the stick it was necessary to cut out a slab from the parent branch, and in order to do that I had to sit astride the branch. It was ticklish work because a yard or two further up the branch was a large hornets' nest—like a round fluted Chinese lantern, the flutes being alternately a deep reddish brown and drab. I was much relieved when I had dug out sufficient wood to make a handsome handle. That stick I ultimately left in a London cab. I shall have something to say about Banyan sticks when I come to Madura. Rough sticks I gave to a man in old Hungerford Market to be dressed. Once I took him a hazel stick bought at Beddgelert on the handle of which I had carved the name Beddgelert. He said " You did'nt cut this stick yourself," and I agreed. Then he went on " And you didn't carve this name ! " I said I had done it. " Then its your trade," by which I was much pleased.

During the second month of the recess I managed an expedition to the Western Coast to see the Gairsoppa Falls. The rail took me to Bangalore and a transit from there to Mysore and through Hunsur, where there was a Government cattle-breeding farm, to Coorg. The Mysore cattle are famous ; they took my transit along pretty regularly at eight miles an hour. The capital of Coorg is Mercara. A native regiment was stationed at the Fort, and I was allowed to occupy the quarters of a subaltern then on leave. The country around is very picturesque, but at that season the leeches were exceedingly troublesome. Hanging from twigs by their hind feet they stretch out a wonderful distance to grasp any passer-by.

From Mercara I rode out to the top of the famous Sumpaji Ghat, which leads down into Canara. There I found a muncheel with Canarese bearers and started off absolutely alone, with a few biscuits and some potted meat, for Mangalore. I knew nothing of Canarese, but somehow I got through all right and met the Assistant Collector who had agreed to accompany me to the Falls. The Collector gave him some work on the border between North and South Canaras, so that he could rejoin there instead of coming back all the way to Mangalore.

Our first stage was by a small steamer to Honore, in North Canara. When I came out to India both the Canaras were in the Madras Presidency, but a year or two later, when there was a great demand for cotton, the northern half had been transferred to Bombay. Madras, then, lost its most beautiful District. The country round Sirsi has been likened to an extensive English park. It is well above

the Ghats and on a level with Coorg. From Honore we went by boat up the river to Gairsoppa town. Then we were carried in muncheels to the British bungalow on the north side of the Falls. There is another house on the south side, belonging to the Mysore Government. We had two days at the Falls. They were then at the height of their splendour with plenty of water but not so much as to obscure the distinctive beauty of the four falls. Some sailors who visited them had slung a cable across the horse-shoe-shaped gap, and plumbed the height. It is just 1,000 feet; they are, therefore, the highest, or nearly the highest, in the world, as unquestionably they are among the most beautiful. On the second day we tried to get down to the pool at the foot, but could only manage half-way. The path had been destroyed by the monsoon and was not yet restored. The forests on either side were very fine, and I found many new ferns not known on the Pulnies. On returning my friend went straight to his boundary dispute while I proceeded to the port of Coompta, and caught a steamer for Calicut, whence the train took me to Madras.

We spent the Recess of 1866 at Bangalore. Having now be n nine years in India, I contemplated taking furlough in the following spring. And as I seemed to be fixed in thc Judicial Branch I determined to enter as a student in the Inner Temple, and to read for the Bar. There was a preliminary examination to be passed, and the subjects were rather vaguely stated to be the Latin language and English History. Fearing that my Latin might be rusty I took a Virgil each day on to the Race Course and read through the whole of the Æneid, and I found it very interesting. My Doctor said a nine year's residence was enough to ensure my leave, but he also gave me a sick certificate. We were amused to find that he said he had tried on me every known tonic! My wife declared that he must have mixed up her case with mine! My taking sick leave involved one regret, and one advantage. The regret was that I did not think it proper to take part in the annual return match against Bangalore, though for many years I had helped to represent Madras in the home and home matches. The advantage was that I could borrow £300 from our Civil Service Fund. The rules offered such favourable terms, both as to exchange and repayment, that I gained as much as 1,000 Rs. on the transaction.

My friend and former Collector, Banbury, had resolved to retire, and came home with us on the same steamer. Another civilian, Dykes, was also retiring and we all went on board in the same boat.

Some of the passengers from Calcutta watched us, and we were much amused to hear that they had put us down as a sister and two brothers —my wife, Banbury, and myself—and the sister's husband—Dykes. That was not the only time I have been taken to be Banbury's brother.

1867 was the year of the Paris Exhibition and we stayed in Paris with Banbury for some days. What interested me most was the electro-plating process. But we were all much struck with some stuffed canaries which could be made to sing in the most natural manner. Of course, I had been familiar with our own great Exhibition of 1851.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON FURLOUGH, 1867-8.

ON reaching England my first step was to apply at the Inner Temple, when I found that the preliminary examination would take place very shortly. When I presented myself for it I asked the Examiners if I could be excused as I had been nine years in India, and could produce satisfactory school certificates. They said they had no power of exemption, but offered to refer any application to the Board of studies. So I told them I had better first see that I could do. When the papers were given out there proved to be but two—a short passage from Caesar to be translated, and some very elementary questions in History. In twenty minutes my answers were given and I was declared to have passed.

My leave covered six terms, from Easter 1867 to Trinity, 1868, and during them I qualified by attending two series of Lectures. An alternative qualification would have been studying in a Barrister's Chambers for a year, but I could only manage six months. Mr. Montagu Bere kindly accepted me for that period and gave me his certificate. Actual study or even attendance was not at all necessary, for after some of the six months had expired another student, whom I had never seen, came in one day and received his certificate. I understood that he had never made any pretence of study or even of putting in an appearance. Nowadays, of course, things have changed, and no one can be called to the Bar until he has passed a stiff examination. In eating my dinners in the Inner Temple Hall I made many friends, and among them was Sir Howard Vincent.

The first Lord Coleridge, then Sir John, and Lord Justice Bowen, then quite a junior, had rooms in the same set of Chambers as Bere, and both kindly gave me the run of their briefs. Thus I was one of the first to learn that the Tichborne Claimant had been identified as Arthur Orton. Bowen often came in for a talk with Bere. On one occasion we discussed a *stoppage in transitu* case which he had to argue. Neither Bere nor I thought he would succeed and Bowen himself was far from confident. I afterwards went into Court to hear the case argued. Lush, also afterwards a Lord Justice, was on the

other side, but the Court gave judgment for Bowen's client. My attendance as Registrar in the Hight Court of Madras had given me some acquaintance with English cases or I could not have taken part in such a discussion. On one occasion Bere had a difficult case regarding Easements, and I was able to put him on to an exhaustive judgment by Lord Westbury.

During that furlough we lived chiefly in York Street, Baker Street, but often went to Lower Sydenham, where my family then resided. My father had then retired from practice and was nearly ninety. He had a wonderful knowledge of old London but had never seen such improvements as the Holborn Viaduct and the Thames Embankment. I persuaded him to come up with my mother to our lodgings for a couple of days, and we went for a long drive in an open carriage. We drove by Oxford Street and the Viaduct to the Mansion House and returned by Queen Victoria Street and the Embankment. Although very tired my father greatly enjoyed the sight-seeing.

I played pretty regularly at cricket during that leave, and became a member of the M.C.C. The mode of my election was rather curious. I was at Lord's one day looking on at a match and during the lunch hour I met Colonel Trevor, the Club's Auditor, with whom I had often played in India. He asked if I would like to join the M.C.C. and on my answering in the affirmative he desired me to wait a little and went into the Pavilion. Five minutes later he came back and said " It's all right ; you are a member ; will you play against Warwickshire next week ? " I did play as suggested and found on one side or the other five men with whom I had played in India. In those days the County Championship had not been inaugurated. At all events Warwickshire was not reckoned in the first class.

I also joined the Crystal Palace Club but I only played for it once. That was at Westbourne Park. I went in first and scored 107, and as that was my only innings my name naturally appeared at the Palace at the head of the averages! When I had reached the century I had had enough of it, but I did not like to hit my wicket. I thought it better to hit out at everything, and naturally I was bowled by the first " Yorker." The Westbourne Park ground has probably been built over but was then in perfect condition. I played there once later on for the " Orientals." It was on the third day of Oxford v. Cambridge, and on that account I had declined a place in the Oriental team. But the Varsity match finished early, and Banbury and I decided to go and see how the Orientals were faring. We arrived soon after lunch and the opposing side had

just been dismissed with a big score. The Orientals were two or three men short and they said I must play. I had an evening engagement that day but agreed if I might go in first and could be provided with shoes, bat, gloves and pads. Accordingly I proceeded to the wicket in my tall hat and at the end of the day had scored 79 not out. My average therefore for the Westbourne Park Ground is 186, for I never saw the ground again.

In the Autumn of 1867, I went to Switzerland with my brother Frederick. Travelling to Paris by night we did not go to any Hotel, but each took a " Bain de Linge Complet," without any clear idea what it would be. A large sheet was spread in the water, but to this day I do not know how it was intended to be used. At night we went on to Troyes, saw the Cathedral, and after table d'Hote took train again for Lucerne. But on reaching the foot of the Jura we thought it would be a good plan to alight and cross the hills on foot. At the top we found a horse-trough, and as we had not been able to wash since the elaborate bath in Paris, we got soap from our knapsacks and had a thorough cleaning, to the great amusement of the villagers. After a day or two at Lucerne, including a climb of the Rigi, we went to Fluelen, and then, walking most of the way, to Andermatt. Next day took us by the Furka Pass to the Rhone Glacier Hotel. A sort of cave or gallery had been cut in the glacier, but it required no light as the ice was transparent. Our next halt was at the Ægis-horn. There was a wonderfully blue lake at the foot of the big glacier. Two American girls joined us there, and one of them kindly explained, " The water is so closely packed there ; that's why it's so blue ! "

Our next halt was at Bel Alp, to reach which we had to cross a considerable glacier. Thence we descended to the Rhone Valley, and across it to Zermatt, where we stayed some days, spending one night, however, on the Riffelberg, from which we visited the Gorner Ghat. There was a great storm the night before we had planned to return to the Rhone Valley, and all the bridges had been broken. We therefore proposed to cross the St. Theodule Pass into Italy, but were obliged to wait at Zermatt another day as the Pass was covered with fresh snow. The walk down the Chatillon Valley beyond the Pass was very beautiful, with splendid chestnut trees. Thence we drove to Aosta and procured a guide to take us round the Tour de Mont Blanc, and so to Chamouny. After a day on the Mer-de-Glace we crossed to Martigny and so home. Altogether a most enjoyable trip and one which showed me quite a new country.

We had engaged our return passage to India in September, but my wife was suddenly taken ill and I had to go back alone. Perhaps

this was just as well as the journey down the Red Sea was intolerably hot. The last day, especially, was like being in an oven, and the few passengers were all limp and good for nothing. To make matters worse by contrast, a steamer crossed us, going to Suez, with flags flying and everything bright and cheerful. When we had passed Perim and turned east, we began to feel the wind and the change for everyone was instantaneous. A month later my wife was able to follow me.

CHAPTER IX.

IN KURNOOL, 1870.

ON getting back to Madras I, of course, took up my old work as Registrar of the High Court, Appellate side. It must have been about this time that the Ministerial Offices of the two sides of the Court were amalgamated. I then became the only Registrar with a Deputy on each side. Nothing else worth notice occurred at that time, but I ought to have mentioned that both before my leave and after my return I attended lectures given at the Law College. J. D. Mayne was the Professor, and kindly allowed me to be present. His lectures were most practical, and as lucid as his work always was.

Early in 1869 I began to think of going up country again to officiate for some District Judge who might be taking leave during the hot weather. The Kurnool Court was to be vacant for six months, but Kurnool had a bad reputation both for heat and unhealthiness. I consulted Mr. Innes, one of the Judges of the High Court, who had been at Kurnool. He suggested that the heat, though certainly great, was a dry and "bracing kind of heat." So about March I proceeded to Kurnool, letting my Madras house furnished, and sending my wife to Ootacamund, where I could join her when my Court went into recess.

Kurnool lies between two rivers, the Kistna and the Tongabhadra. The latter merges into the Kistna a few miles lower down. My house was nearer the Kistna, and between it and the Fort there was an open space where later on I started cricket. A native infantry regiment was stationed in the Fort, commanded by an old friend, Col. Paxton.

Just outside the Fort was a good Racket Court, kept in order by private subscription, and we were fortunate in having six players of nearly equal strength. Now the regiment has been removed and no doubt the Racket Court has fallen down. At all events my shares in it have ceased to have any value. One day our game was stopped by a dust storm. The wind was so violent that my horse could hardly carry me home, and I had great difficulty in sticking to the saddle. No rain fell, but there must have been some not far off, for as the wind ceased one could smell the grateful earth.

There is no bridge over the Kistna. It is here the boundary between British Territory and the Nizam's dominions. On the north side plover could be found, but if one wished to go shooting them; or to proceed to Hyderabad, one had to cross in a coracle, and to swim one's horse. I once saw a herd of more or less tamed elephants driven over the river. A very small creature waded in between two monsters. On reaching deep water the larger animals bumped together and the tiny one disappeared. It came up again, trumpeting, some distance lower down the stream. Over the Tongabhadra there was a good bridge, and beyond it a fairly good road led to Gooty, some fifty miles off. But in 1870 the railway line was not open to Gooty. I had to invest in a palanquin to take me to Gooty, and from there mount a trolley, propelled by coolies, to what was then the terminus of the open line. Probably the greatest heat I ever experienced was on this open trolley, at mid-day, towards the end of April. On opening a bottle of soda it was difficult to say how much of the fizz was due to effervescence and how much to boiling.

I was then on my way to Ootacamund, but before that our little Society at Kurnool had a terrible reminder of the danger of the Indian climate to Europeans. Kurnool might be bracing, as Innes had suggested, but it was notorious for outbreaks of cholera. The present case, however, was not due to cholera. The Adjutant of the Regiment took ten days leave to meet his bride at Madras. Her father had been a doctor in India, and it seems extraordinary that he allowed her to come out at the beginning of the hot weather, and to such a place as Kurnool. They were married at Madras went for a few days to Bangalore, and then came to Kurnool. They arrived on a Wednesday, and we saw the girl, apparently in good spirits, at the band stand that evening. On the Thursday she was reported unwell; on Friday she died; and her funeral followed on Saturday. As already stated it was not a case of cholera. We gathered that she had landed at Madras in the great heat of March, and had probably gone about in Bangalore and travelled on the railway, without adequate head protection. The cause of death was exposure to the heat, possible aggravated by the excitement of her novel situation.

Kurnool, of course, had the usual civil officers—Collector, Judge, District Engineer, Doctor and Police Superintendent. In strict order of precedence the Engineer's wife fell to my lot, and the first time I took her into dinner I warned her that we would always be

partners ; and so it turned out. The District was at that time being surveyed, and the Superintendent of the Revenue Survey was J. G. Cloete, a member of a well-known family in Cape Colony, whom I had formerly known at Tindevanum. But in addition there were three Engineers of the Kurnool Canal and Irrigation Company. This canal took off from the Kistna, a few miles above Kurnool, and was carried through Nundial to the next District, Cuddapah. If the project had been confined to irrigation it would have paid well, but the designers were more ambitious. They made the canal available for navigation, and dreamt of a time when a regular fleet of small steamers should be established on it. Costly wharves and quays of cut stone were constructed at the town of Kurnool, but in the absence of the expected steamers and traffic they were like white elephants. Eventually the Company had to be taken over by Government.

The then Chief Engineer and Manager was not responsible for the original design, but seemed to be possessed by similar idiosyncracies. He had to make tours of inspection, and getting tired of the common cart of the country, he conceived the idea of driving himself, his wife and all necessary stores, in an English waggon drawn by four horses. He was a good whip and, soon got together a capable team. Several times I met him sitting aloft and driving quietly enough on the excellent roads of the headquarter station. Then he started on his tour, and we soon learnt that the whole equipage had come to grief on the village roads, which are quite unmade and destitute of metal.

It was usual in that hot and dry climate to sleep on the roof of our houses. But my dressing room was below on the ground floor. One evening, as I went along the bamboo mats of the verandah towards the staircase, I killed six scorpions. These beasts are very common in Kurnool, and, indeed, in all the three ceded Districts—Kurnool, Cuddapah and Bellary, from the last named of which, Anantapur has now been divided off. There is a saying in Kurnool that every stone hides a scorpion, and the soil is everywhere covered with flat pieces of shale. I once suggested that the crops might be better if some of these flattish stones were gathered up, but it seems that they alone retain any moisture in the black cotton soil.

My gardener was once rearranging the flower pots on the verandah steps, and found a nest of young scorpions under one of them. He promptly pressed them to death under his thumb. Either he must have had a very horny thumb or he must have taken the infants at

a disadvantage. For a scorpion can only sting if he can curl his tail over his back. Two years later, when I was in Cuddapah, I found one crushed in the toe of my riding boot. I had not felt it during my ride, and had got it into such a position that its sting was ineffective. However, another scorpion had its revenge soon after, for while sorting some old papers I felt something like a red hot needle piercing my thumb. Of course I killed the beast and tied up my thumb and wrist, but the pain crept up to my shoulder, and I was unable to write that day. Indeed, the next day the thumb was still numb. But even the first day I was able to go to Court and do my work. A peon who had been stung collapsed in a corner, crying out that he was " kilt intirely." My chief thought was that I was glad to have had the experience.

But I was talking of sleeping on the top of the house. My friend of the four-in-hand followed the usual custom, but he had one peculiarity. Before lying down, and again if he got up during the night, he used to pour water over his sleeping mat, hoping to get to sleep before it dried up. I do not know whether he did the same for his wife's mat, but certainly they both undressed on the roof and left their garments on chairs. One night there was a high wind, and in the morning the trees around were clothed with " blossoms not their own."

While at Kurnool my wife was persuaded to give a dance. There were difficulties in the way for the floor was only chunam (mortar) and far from even. The bamboo matting was removed and a cloth spread over the chunam. This was well rubbed over with composite candles. Young people in England would have turned up their noses at the result, but it seemed to give pleasure to those for whom it was intended.

About the same time I had a hole dug through the black soil and into the rock below, and planted a crimson rambler. Then I forgot all about it until some three weeks later when I rode in by a gate seldom used, and was astounded to see, like Moses, a burning bush. Plenty of manure and water had produced such an abundance of blossom in that short time, that the " green " had become " one red." Melons are grown here in the bed of the Kistna, as at Cuddapah in the Pennar, during the dry season. Small holes about a foot wide and deep are dug in the sand and filled with rich soil, into which one or more seeds are injected. If another flood comes down all the work has to be done again. But if not there is a good supply of melons in an incredibly short time. The Cuddapah melons are greatly prized,

especially a small green kind reticulated with white net-work. Baskets of them are sent as presents all over the country.

Two or three of the cases which came before me at Kurnool are still quite fresh in my recollection. Among them is the first difficult murder case that I had to try. There was plenty of oral evidence if it could be believed, and being a very young Judge at the time, after much too long consideration, I decided to convict. I think I was somewhat influenced by the fact that the Police Sergeant in charge was an Englishman, and not likely to put up concocted evidence. The case had to go to the High Court for confirmation of the capital sentence, and I am glad to say it acquitted the accused. The judges were quite right as very little further experience proved to me.

In another case I had to try a deaf mute, and being a young judge I was doubtful as to the proper procedure. Eventually I found in Archbold an English precedent, and the wife of an Indian deaf mute was sworn as an Interpreter.

Another rather curious case, but on the Civil side, arose out of an Indian's Estate. The widow, I think, brought a suit for maintenance, and the defence was that she had left her husband for the society of a Sanyasi (ascetic) and been cast off. The peculiar feature of the case was that the Sanyasi was called as a witness and stalked into the box perfectly naked. He was a finely made man with a beautiful voice. Telugu is a melodious language, and has been called the Italian of the East. He admitted that the woman had come to live in his Matam, but said that she was merely employed as a domestic servant. My decision was to the effect that the husband had ample ground for his suspicions and for divorcing his wife, but that it was not necessary to determine whether she or the Sanyasi had been guilty of improper conduct.

A fourth case resembled in many respects some which later came before me elsewhere, or with which I became acquainted. They all arose out of a faction fight, or a quarrel about land, and in each case someone had been killed. The victim, generally, was an old woman, or a slave, or someone without friends or relations. In the Kurnool case he was a cripple, but was represented, probably untruly, as an important person who had taken a leading part in the quarrel. In such cases there has generally been a race to get in the first complaint. That some person has been killed is admitted, but faction A contends that this took place in a conflict begun or provoked by faction B, while B declares that A had killed the person in cold blood on purpose to cause them trouble. The probability

is that B's contention is near the truth if the victim can be deemed a useless person, and especially if A had sent in a hurried complaint. For these reasons A's charge generally breaks down, but on the other hand it is most difficult to establish B's contention. It was, however, ultimately established in a case which came from the Western Coast. Two men had been convicted of the murder of an old woman and the capital sentence had been confirmed by the High Court. Before it could be carried out information reached the District Magistrate which led him to invoke the interposition of Government. A local enquiry was then held in which it came to light that there were two bitter factions in the village ; that faction A determined to get rid of their chief enemies and held a feast at which it was resolved that to secure their purpose one of themselves must be killed, and that lots should be drawn to find a victim ; that the lot fell on an old lady who, it was said, submitted quite cheerfully ; that a formal complaint was then prepared and the despatch of this to the Police and that of the woman were simultaneous. Ultimately the condemned men of faction B were released, and, I believe, some belonging to faction A suffered in their place.

Cases of the class just described show some of the difficulties with which Judges in India have to contend, and the utter unreliability of mere oral testimony. This may be further illustrated by complaints of incendiarism. An ordinary village house catches fire easily and is completely destroyed in a few minutes. What then takes place seems to be somewhat as follows. The owner first considers who would be likely to wish to do him an injury. Then he persuades himself that this enemy must have caused the fire. Then a story is concocted that he himself or one of his people came out for some natural purpose just in time to see the enemy putting fire to the thatch, and that is what in many cases the Court is asked to believe. Sometimes it can be shown that the man's story is inconsistent with his own behaviour ; *e.g.*, that there was no immediate hue and cry after the alleged incendiary. But even without that when one has heard the same identical story repeatedly, one is apt to be incredulous.

Kurnool is generally considered an easy District. I had no Subordinate Judge under me, and only three District Munsifs with civil jurisdiction up to 2,500 Rs. The supervision of these Courts is an important part of a District Judge's duties, but they had not been inspected for some time, if ever.

It was easy to inspect the Court at Headquarters, but Nundial was some fifty miles away, and Cumbum on the edge of the Nellore

District. It took more than a week to visit these places, and I had to travel by bullock coach. In that part of India the bullocks are roped by the horns and not through the nostrils. They are, therefore, little under control, and one pair rushed suddenly off the road and I narrowly escaped being precipitated into a deep pit. At Nundial everything was in good order, and I then proceeded to Cumbum, across the Nalamalai Hills. I reached the foot of the hills early in the morning. As they are infested with tigers two shikaris with matchlocks accompanied me, and I had a Hungarian rifle borrowed from Col. Paxton. Half way up the ascent lay a bullock recently killed by a tiger or other beast of prey, but the journey was otherwise without incident. On reaching the Cumbum plain in the evening it occurred to me to test the value of my protectors, and I told them to fire at a large tree close by. One of the men knelt down while the other rested his matchlock on the first man's shoulder and took deliberate aim. It took several seconds to get the powder in the pan alight. Then there was a great fizz and explosion, but the tree was untouched ! On the return journey I dispensed with my guards.

I found Cumbum a picturesque place with a large lake on which were several islands. But the inspection of the Court was not so satisfactory. The Munsif had been a clerk in the District Court and had had no legal training. He was slovenly in his person, wearing white socks down at heel, and he was also slovenly in his work, holding Court on the pial (verandah) of his house instead of in the proper Court house. The records, also, were badly kept. It was much what might have been expected from a ministerial officer promoted to be a judge and set down at a remote place with no fear of inspection. My report on that Court was, therefore, very unfavourable. From Cumbum I got a glimpse of the Nellore District.

CHAPTER X.

TANJORE DISTRICT, 1870-1.

AFTER six months I was relieved by the return of the permanent Judge to Kurnool. I was then posted to officiate in the Tanjore Court, and was glad to get back to a Tamil District. The languages at Kurnool had been Hindustani and rather inferior Telugu. Unlike Kurnool the work at Tanjore was very heavy. There was no Sub-Judge then and all original suits above 2,500 Rs. in value had to be tried by me, besides the appeals from six hard-worked Munsifs. At Combaconum however, there was a Small Cause Court, the Judge of which was sometimes able to give me a little assistance. When I first took charge, Court was held in a room in my own bungalow, but not long after I was able to move into a new court house which had then been completed. This was a more satisfactory arrangement, and the old court room, after a thorough cleansing, became our dining-room. My quarters, really, formed part of the old Residency. They comprised a number of rooms connected by covered verandahs. One or two of these rooms were appropriated to the Collector, who had frequently to come in to Tanjore, but resided at Vallam, a few miles off.

For the first few months of my stay at Tanjore the Collector was G. L. Morris. He knew Tamil well and the whole District. He had a gold flute which he was fond of playing, and he produced some trios for the flute, voice and piano, in which my wife undertook the other parts. Thus we often had some interesting music both at Tanjore and at Vallam, where we went occasionally for a week-end.

When Morris was about to retire I send word to W. M. Cadell, then Collector of South Canare, because I thought he would like to return to his old District. He did, in fact, succeed Morris. The Sub-Collector was at Negapatam, where there was another District Court. The Head Assistant was Arundel Tagg (afterwards Sir Arundel Arundel, and a member of the Viceroy's Council). I became acquainted with his work, not only from appeals against his Magisterial decisions, but also from Revenue Appeals. This was the first time I had to deal with the latter class of appeals, and with the difficulties of working the rather vaguely drawn Act VIII. of

1865, but I shall have to speak of this matter later on when I come to Madura. The Assistant was F. A. Nicholson (later Sir Frederick), who was afterwards with me in Madura. He was a pains-taking officer with many original views. I taught him rackets, for there was a good court adjoining our quarters. Once he cut me over rather badly.

During my leave, in 1867-8, a sister of my wife had married Kilgour of the Police, and had died, leaving one infant daughter, Lucy. Up to this time the child had lived with the grandmother, but we now offered to take her and she was brought to us at Tanjore. She afterwards accompanied us to Cuddapah, and later on was with us in England during my leaves, and in 1885, came with us to Madras. Trinchinopoly is only a half-hour's rail from Tanjore and enjoys a much larger European Society. We occasionally went over there for parties.

There is a Fort at Tanjore in which the Princess and her Consort had their palace. I had one interview with the Princess, behind a curtain, but her Consort I saw frequently. They were Mahrattas. In the Fort was a fine garden. Having been obliged to dismiss my own gardener I applied to the Superintendent for another man. The answer was that no one would come to me as the dismissed man had given out that I was always beating my servants. After I had explained that I had never in my life done such a thing, someone deigned to come. It must have been he who fell down the well with the Russell's Viper, as already related.

The work at Tanjore was so heavy that I had but little time for inspection, but I visited three or four of the Mumsif's Courts and learnt how impossible it was to classify the difficulty or length of their suits by any general average or by their mere numbers. This knowledge proved useful later on, when I had to take a comprehensive survey of such work. I was then most careful to consult the local District Judges as to which Court was easy and which was fully employed or overworked.

At Tanjore, for the first time, I had a competent Bar. Two of the Vakils were particularly able and employed in all cases of importance. It was here, too, that I first had to work with Juries. The law leaves it to the Local Government to direct that trials shall be by Jury in particular Districts and for particular classes of offences. In other cases the Judge had two or more Assessors, but was not at all bound by their opinion. One case tried by a Jury is worth noticing.

The charge was assembling together for the purpose of committing a Dacoity. Eight or ten men had been found on a wet night in an isolated Mandapam. A match-box—then not common in India—was found on one of them, and on the premises a bundle of small torches, such as Dacoits might use. There was not much more evidence, but the Jury convicted the whole batch. It was not a case which I could refer to the High Court, but I came to the conclusion that, if I were indicted for any offence against property, I would prefer any tribunal to an Indian Jury. An old offender has little chance, and although a previous conviction must not be given in evidence before the verdict, I have a suspicion that, somehow or other, the Jury usually become aware of it.

Another Tanjore case was one of forgery or using a forged document, and was tried with Assessors. Two brothers, Brahmins, had been engaged in prolonged and bitter litigation. At length a document put forward by one of them was clearly shown to have been fraudulently altered or fabricated. At the Sessions the other brother did his best to break down the charge and to get rid of his own previous evidence, but there was the document itself and the record which proved it had been used. A conviction was inevitable and I passed an exemplary sentence, as I have always regarded tampering with justice as a particularly heinous offence. The other Brahmin then threw himself down before me and begged for mercy. Very likely he had fabricated evidence himself, and regarded their litigation as a game in which any weapon might be used with impunity.

1870 was a year of famine, and although Tanjore with its famous river and irrigation works was hardly affected, Sir Richard Temple, as the Famine Commissioner for India, paid me a visit in the course of his investigations. I had made Temple's acquaintance before, for he had stayed with Monier Williams, at Haileybury, in 1857. His eloquence had, even then, earned him the title of the Indian Macaulay. He called Tanjore the garden of India, and opined that it could never suffer from famine. But what if the monsoon wholly failed and no water came into the Cauvery ? I was able to tell Temple of certain fields, near Tanjore, from which three crops of paddy were reaped every year, and the rice is highly esteemed by the natives. At that time the Cauvery system of irrigation was paying 28 per cent. on its capital cost.

It was at Tanjore that I once caught two centipedes and put them together in a finger glass. They ran round and round, over one another, till at last the larger one got angry, seized the smaller

by getting atop of him lengthwise, and ate first the head, and then one after the other two or three of the upper vertebrae.

After I had been in Tanjore for about a year I had to make way for a senior, and he proved to be F. M. Kindersley, with whom I had served at Cuddalore, and at whose wedding there I had been his best man. He paid me a preliminary visit at Tanjore, and I asked him to spend a morning with me in Court. At the end of the sitting he remarked in his quiet way, " We had quite an amusing Court to-day." For the leading Vakil had been Kuppusamy Aiyar, a big man with a gift of humour, with whose help I generally managed to impart a little cheerfulness and even fun into the Civil work of the Court. When I was leaving Tanjore the same Kuppusamy told me he had bought some property about which I had given a decree, and that he regarded my judgment as his chief title-deed.

A German Missionary, Swartz, had gained much influence over an old Raja of Tanjore, and there were many native Christians in the District. The services of the Anglican Church were conducted by an East Indian named Guest. His native congregation had given him a set of teeth, and soon after, while he was preaching, the frame got loose to his great discomfort until he could replace it. He, of course, knew Tamil well, but he told me he was once preaching on the text " Ye are God's husbandry," and some member of his congregation asked him with some indignation, " Why did you say that we were God's pigs." The Tamil words for husbandry and pig are nearly identical. There was also a Wesleyan Minister in Tanjore, and as he was a good preacher I sometimes attended his chapel. He once began a very good sermon by saying " This text, like a Rupee, has two sides."

At point Calimere, on the coast, in old days there had been good pigsticking. I went to have a look at the place and found there was still a bungalow and the sea breezes make a pleasant change. There were antelope in plenty, but I saw no pigs.

CHAPTER XI.

CUDDAPAH, 1871-2.

CUDDAPAH is not a favourite station. It has, indeed, been spoken of as a Penal Settlement. I was not sent there for any fault, but when I came down to Madras for Christmas, the Chief Secretary, Huddleston, saluted me as "Lazarus." The town itself is very hot and has not much to recommend it, but there are several pleasant places in the District. A few miles to the south is a range of hills and a winding gorge with a waterfall, below which I had several swims. One could ride there in the early morning, spend the forenoon under the east cliff and for afternoon shelter move over to the west. Then Sidhout, to the north-east, seemed to me a pleasant enough place, while far to the south, and on the border of North Arcot is Madanapalai, with a hill on which the Collector, Horsley, had built a summer refuge. Kindersley, who relieved me at Tanjore, had just come from Cuddapah, and drew a forbidding picture of a Court, the floor of which was covered with cloth-covered bodies, apparently lifeless, but really fever-stricken. But on the whole I found the place quite endurable, and my wife came to the same opinion when she joined me after the recess.

Formerly, a native regiment had been stationed there, but the cantonment had long been deserted. Some of the houses were still habitable, and above all, there was a swimming bath. In the hot months we all did our work between daybreak and eleven-thirty, an arrangement which quite suited the Vakils and litigants. We then rode or drove out to the cantonment for a long swim and a big breakfast at the old mess house. Then, after a siesta, and an hour or so for writing judgments, we used to come back to Cuddapah for a game or two of rackets. Just before Easter the thermometer marked a hundred degrees at bed-time, and I decided to pay a flying visit to Madras. I had found it easy to play a rubber or two of rackets, but at Madras I was soaked and tired out after a single game. The heat of Cuddapah must therefore have been "a bracing heat" like that of Kurnool.

The Superintendent of Police was Kilgour, little Lucy's father, and when we all came back from the hills, towards the end of June, we formed quite a party. In my compound was a pigeon house which Lucy insisted on visiting each morning. One day we found inside it a wild cat which had destroyed many eggs and young birds. Armed with sticks we killed that cat, as we supposed, but soon found it crawling away. It had several lives, though not quite nine.

There were six munsifs in the District, and during my year's stay I visited all their Courts. That at headquarters was, of course, easy to reach. Prodatur involved a short rail journey and a ride, but my friend Banbury, then Director of Revenue Settlements, happened to be encamped there, and this made my inspection not only easy but pleasant. I found this the most litigious part of the District, as I had also found Koilkuntla, the adjoining Taluk in Kurnool. My inspection of the Siddhout Court was also facilitated because Kilgour had to encamp there. At Pulivendla the river presented scenery which itself would have deserved a visit, and I was able to reach it by a night in a coach. But the Courts at Voilpad and Kadiri involved greater difficulties, and I had to wait for the cold weather. I then took my wife and Lucy to an old deserted Palace at Gurramkonda, and left them there while I rode on to Voilpad, returning the same evening. We were delighted with the Palace and the change from Cuddapah The garden had many custard-apple trees, and their fruit was delicious. I must have visited Kadiri from Gurramkonda, but what I remember best is the journey from and back to Cuddapah—especially the latter. We had a small pony Victoria with both shafts and pole, and drove one stage with a pair and another with a single pony. Kilgour had also lent us a 15.2 hand horse, and this drew the little carriage another long stage. But how we managed to get that horse into the pony's shafts I cannot remember. The turn-out reminds me of Mayne's description of the improved Madras Club—"an elephant drawing a one-horse chaise." Of course on this journey we had to cross the hills, which run from Pulivendla eastwards and south of Cuddapah. and in which the pleasant gorge, already mentioned, is situated. The sixth munsif's Court was at a railway station, and easily reached.

About this time Sir Colley Scotland was resigning, and I asked him to break his journey at Cuddapah. I told him that, as Chief Justice, he ought to see at least one District Court before he left India. His inspection of my Court was not elaborate, but little Lucy made a great friend of him. She brought him her Cock-Robin

book, and asked if he had read it, and then, seated on his knees, proceeded to recite it, turning over each page in turn. He was much astonished that so small a child could read so well, but really, she knew and recited the book by heart.

A case came up at the Sessions which well illustrates the ingenuity and unscrupulous conduct of the Indian litigant. The prosecution had relied on a number of letters in covers stamped with the Post Office date. These were perfectually genuine, but to meet them the defence, produced as many letters similarly stamped, but, as I found, concocted for the purpose. If the P.O. stamps had been procured merely to show that those put forward for the prosecution should not be relied upon implicitly, this might have been condoned, but the fabrication of a series of letters seemed a serious aggravation of the original offence, which therefore deserved and received severe punishment.

Two Bellary cases were transferred to me for trial, and I was amused by those who came from Bellary remarking on the wonderful greenness of our station, which was really dried up. Later on, when I went to Bellary, I understood their view, for it is almost destitute of vegetation. A few thorny "umbrella trees" were all that could be seen, whereas at Cuddapah there are at least plenty of margosa trees, which always have a fresh appearance. The first of these two cases was a civil suit, which turned on the questfon of an alleged local commercial custom, and several Bellary merchants were called as witnesses. I forget the result and only refer to this case on account of its bearing on the other and far more important one, which involved many charges of bribery against the Sheristadar, or chief Ministerial officer, of the Bellary Court.

I believe I had taken all the evidence as to the payment of the bribe in one case and was engaged in hearing the witnesses in the second, when I was struck by the appearance of a man who swore to having carried a bag of Rupees to the accused. I knew I had seen him before and my head peon suggested that he might have come in connection with the earlier suit from Bellary. On looking up the record in that case I found the same man had then posed as a wealthy merchant, whereas now he was a mere cooly employed to carry money. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is a maxim which must not be pressed too far in India, but it was clear that this witness was one who could be hired in the bazaar, and the fact that he had been put forward could not but throw suspicion on the other evidence for the prosecution. In the end I did not think it safe to convict

the Sheristadar, but there was no doubt that many respectable merchant's books contained entries of sums which must have been paid to him corruptly, and on being asked by Government I reported that in my opinion he was quite untrustworthy. He was thereupon dismissed. It was clear that he had been allowed far too much power. The trial of this case made me exceedingly careful, not of course to avoid myself being influence by my subordinates, but to preclude the possibility of their being thought to have such influence. Perhaps, on occasion, I have carried this feeling a little too far.

At Bellary both Telugu and Canarese are spoken, and most ot the witnesses spoke Canarese. Anyhow a sworn Interpreter had to be called in because an English barrister was employed. I am ignorant of Canarese, but my knowledge of other vernaculars enabled me to follow what was said. On one question asked by Counsel I was able to check the interpretation which had put it quite wrongly.

It has been stated above that when I saw the Chief Secretary, after I had been for some time at Cuddapah, he hailed me as "Lazarus." I forget whether it was at the same time that he told me I was to be gazetted as Collector of my old District, South Arcot, and that he was glad to have me back in the Executive Department. I explained that I had been for some years in Judicial work and did not wish to leave it. And very kindly he undertook to get the proposed appointment cancelled. At all events it was then that he said I was "the only man who never complained," and taking it for granted that I would like a transfer he offered me a choice of two acting Judgeships, Bellary and another. I chose Bellary because a British Regiment was quartered there, as well as Artillery. I had never had an up-country station with British troops.

CHAPTER XII.

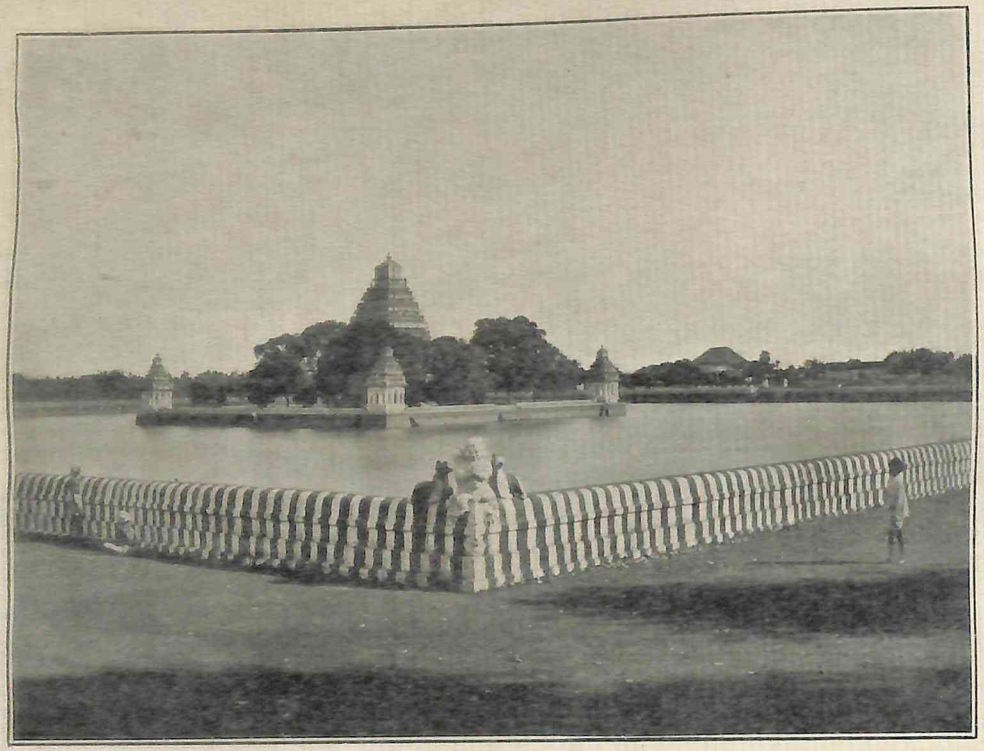
BELLARY, 1872.

ACCORDINGLY, in the spring of 1872, we all moved to Bellary. I have already described its excessive dryness and bareness of vegetation. The cantonment lies at the foot of a barren hill on which had been an old upper fort. Stone implements are often found there and I have myself picked up some, apparently tips for arrows. To show the extreme aridity of the climate I may mention that, when we prepared a cricket pitch, we had to remove such tufts of grass as existed lest they should catch the eye. The best match I played was Officers v. Soldiers, a sort of Gentlemen v. Players. I scored 79, and was then given out as l.b.w. Soon after our move to Bellary, little Lucy's father arranged to go to England on leave, and took her with him. We accompanied them to Gooty, and even as far as Adoni, where there was a Munsif's Court. After I had inspected that, my wife and I returned to Gooty and slept on the railway platform. There were several ladies at Bellary and we got up a mixed croquet tournament. But the chief incident of my brief stay there was an expedition to Humpi, or Vijayanagar, in the Bombay District of Dharwar.

My companion on that trip was a Major in the British Regiment. We drove one stage in a pony carriage and then rode on to Raman Drug, a hill where the Collector had a house, and which, being much higher than Bellary, is a favourite resort for its comparative coolness. I remember we rode through fields of Indian corn much above our heads, so the soil there must be more fertile than near Bellary. We stopped two nights with the Collector. One incident is impressed on my memory. We were walking about the Drug and came across a Hindu cooking his food, or boiling water, in an earthern pot. My companion thoughtlessly touched the pot with his walking stick, whereupon the man scowled and broke the pot as polluted.

On the second morning we rode down the other side of the hill and reached the travellers' bungalow at Humpi about noon. My friend, Robert Sewell, has given a full description of this wonderful old city. My vague and amateurish recollection of it, after a hurried

visit, could have but little interest. Some of the buildings are still well preserved, but many had fallen or were falling. The elephant stables were the largest I can remember, but I took more interest in the great street of ruined shops, in some of the best preserved pagodahs, and in the various little temples and mantapams scattered about on both sides of the Tongabhadra river. We were told that the perimeter of the old walls was about twenty miles, and we could see for ourselves that this ancient Hindu city must have covered an enormous area. I was very glad to have been able to visit it, especially as on our return to Bellary I received an order transferring me back to a Tamil District.



THE TEPPAKOLAM, MADURA.

CHAPTER XIII.

MADURA 1872-82.

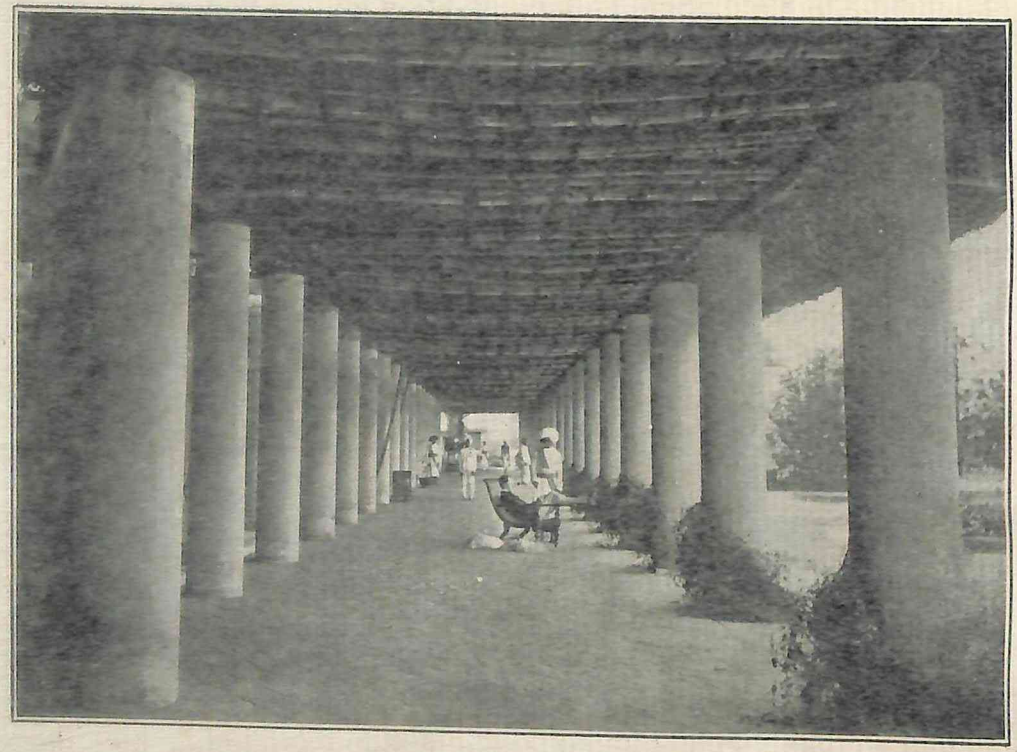
THERE seemed to have been some unseemly squabbles in Madura, in which the Judge had been implicated. The Government removed him to another District and desired me " as an officer in whom they had confidence"—they were good enough to write—to take his place without delay. My tenure of the Bellary Court was therefore cut short, and we lost no time in proceeding to Madura. Fortunately we had been occupying the permanent Judge's furnished house, so the sudden transfer involved none of the usual difficulties. I was still too junior to do more than officiate, but I was made permanent Judge in the following year, and retained charge of the Madura Court for the unusually long period of over ten years.

Madura is one of the show places of India. It was the first at which King Edward stopped, in 1875. It, of course, attracted many visitors in the cool months, and most of them had to be entertained by us; in fact, my servants said that my house was " no better than a hotel! " Some, like Lord and Lady Harris and Sir Neville Chamberlain, were most welcome, but once a man off his head was foisted on us with a companion who proved to be the doctor in charge. The chief attractions are the great double pagodah—sacred to Minakshi and her husband Siva—and the old Poligar's palace, which shortly after my arrival was restored and adapted for public offices. My Court, I found, was under the main dome of this palace. It was spacious enough but had this disadvantage, that the Bench faced the glare, and the faces and figures of prisoners in the dock were to me mere daguerreotypes. A large Pipal tree in the Court-yard of the Palace moderated the glare somewhat, but this was cut down when the work of restoration began. At various times I sat in other parts of the Palace. The best was known as Tirumala Naik's bedroom, about the size and height of Westminster Hall. Here the the Bench faced a fine west window and the light caused no difficulty, but I had to move back to the principal dome when the renovators took the bedroom in hand. My retiring room was always off the bedroom to the east, and adjoining my record room.

One of the features of Madura is a square tank with stone bathing steps on each side and three-quarters of a mile round. It is called Teppakolam, *teppa* meaning a raft, and in the centre is an island with some trees and a mantapam in which the God and Goddess rest for a time during the great festival, at February's full moon. They are brought up from the great temple, which is about a mile off, in gorgeous palanqueens. They are then placed on a raft, which each year is specially constructed for the purpose, and after they have made a tour round the tank are lodged on the island for a siesta. Afterwards they are carried back to the temple amid a shower of fireworks. All round this Teppakolam is a low wall painted with red and white stripes to avert the evil eye.

To the north and west of the Teppakolam are the two best houses, belonging, respectively, to the Sivaganga and Ramnad Zemindaris. These had long been rented and occupied by the Judge and Collector respectively. The Collector's house faced the tank immediately. Mine was some 300 yards away, but one of my gates opened on to it. Apparently the Government did not altogether approve of these arrangements. Some years later they acquired the Tunkum, a sort of hunting lodge of the old Poligars, where they enjoyed cock-fighting and so forth. This is on the other side of the river, adjoining the race course, and it was made the official home of the Collector. Now other bungalows have been built on or within the racecourse, and one of them is the Judge's residence.

My house was in a large compound, and had a long lower story with three good rooms and bath-rooms upstairs. There was also a room open on three sides on the upper floor, used as a hot weather dining-room. At the back was the ordinary verandah, and beyond that—a thing which I have never seen elsewhere—a rough outer verandah, some twelve feet wide by a hundred feet long, with a flat roof of palm leaves. Being to the west of the house this was beautifully cool in the early mornings. I thought at one time of using it for rifle practice. Parts of the compound were reserved by the landlord for his own garden, and his agent kept several " outside " gardeners. This was a great convenience as they were always available when extra help was wanted for some special purpose. There was a grass tennis court, and I formed a court for ball-badminton. This is a capital game which all over Southern India speedily ousted the shuttlecock game, and which, later on, I established both at Calcutta and Simla. In front of the house I rolled out a cricket pitch, but this was never much used for want of players sufficiently interested.



OUTER VERANDAH, JUDGE'S HOUSE, MADURA.

About Half of the Banyan Tree in the Madura Garden.

There was an old racket court, the back wall of which was the outer wall of the Palace. It was not a good court, for once a ball which I had hit back simply stuck in the mortar! But when in the course of redecorating the Chief Engineer wanted to open windows in our back-wall, I, as Secretary to the Racket Club, warned him that he would so at his peril. The Government objected to the tone of my letter, but as at the same time they agreed to build us a new court I was quite content. About this time we had rented a house for a residential club, and the new racket court was erected there.

At one time we started archery, and my wife speedily became the best shot. During the vacation at Ooty, she joined an Archery Club, from which she gained two prizes. Once we had been shooting on a perfectly dry burnt-up piece of ground; there was rain during the night, and in the morning a lily or crocus had sprung up on the same dry spot. About the same time I got some slips of roses from Bangalore, and tried budding on some common rose trees in the garden. In one case the result was marvellous. In two days the bud sprouted, and in a fortnight there was a shoot eight inches high with a dozen blossoms. Its weight would have torn out the bud if it had not been carefully stayed.

Adjoining the Badminton court was a large and symmetrical Banyan tree. The end of the branches had become rooted in the ground, but I had them cut out and raised to admit light and air. The tree was evidently worth experimenting on, for there were many aerial drops with matted roots. Choosing the best of these roots (and cutting off the others), I buried them in light earth—principally sand—in a section of bamboo, and this was tied to the drop higher up. This had the double effect of promoting growth in the root and by the weight straitening the drop. As soon as the roots filled the bamboo it was removed and the same process repeated lower down. The general effect on the tree was wonderful. The perimeter of the shade quickly spread to two hundred yards. A man in the Survey Department plotted it out for me, noting every drop which had been rooted in the ground. Before I left Madura the growth had been so great that a second survey became desirable. The Superintendent of the Calcutta gardens paid a visit to Madura on purpose to see this tree, and it had the honour of being mentioned in the *Times*. Since I left Madura it has been entirely neglected.

Its shade made a pleasant resting place, and I often worked there in the early mornings. From my seat I had a view of the great

pagoda across paddy fields, and to improve this vista I bought three or four obstructing cocoanut trees and cut them down. A cocoanut tree, is, of course, valuable both for its fruit and its leaves. The timber of these was immature, but the inside of the tops proved good eating. The embryo leaves make excellent salad, and the inmost heart tastes like walnuts. Even the heart of the wild date furnishes a similar delicacy. Before actually fixing a banyan drop in the ground, I used to retain two or more of the so-called roots and plait them together. One long drop so plaited had been fixed in the soil when a high wind so shook the parent branch that the drop broke at its head. It was some twenty feet long, but I cut off the lower three feet and made a walking stick. The plaited roots have perfectly coalesced, but the stick is too light and brittle for common use. I have only kept it as a curiosity.

Various stories have been told of live toads being found in coal-measures. Something of the kind happened at Madura in my presence. A tree adjoining the tennis court had been cut down and the stump was being extracted. It was near the end of the dry season and the soil was like iron. Some three feet deep a toad was discovered. It was very swollen, and when released and brought to the surface it evacuated a lot of water, and then crawled away.

On the tennis court I often found a species of white ants, armed with nippers with which they cut the tips of the grass, carrying them down to their underground nests, presumably for food. The white ants which came into the house had no visible nippers, though they were marshalled by officers so armed. These ants are a great nuisance. They will destroy everything but metals and solid masonry. They will even go up a wall, throwing up covered passages of mud along it, and in this way they get into the beams of a house and honeycomb them till they fall. They dislike paint, however, and everything oleaginous, but if they attack a painted door and are left alone, it will be found reduced to two coats of paint with a little red earth between them, and, of course, falls to pieces at a touch. At the beginning of the rains the queen ant sends out armies of her progeny, each furnished with four wings, to form new colonies. Fortunately every bird, and almost every animal, finds them delicious food. Children collect them, and even blow down their holes to entice them up, and I have seen small birds in company with hawks and other birds of prey, each too intent on picking up the succulent morsels to notice their companions at the feast. The wings fall off readily, and after a shower the ground is often strewn with them.

Once deprived of their wings they follow one another in a line, apparently searching for a new habitation. These winged ants are attracted by light, and such a flight of them as I once saw will make dinner impossible. We removed the lights from the table and put around basins of water which were quickly filled. One of the party took out a handfull and threw it against the white-washed wall, where it stuck. In two or three minutes a large scorpion ascended the wall and began gorging itself. This was at Cuddapah.

There were two useful annexes to my house—a good swimming bath and a tealery, both fed from the same well. Friends often used the former and I was in it nearly every day. One morning I had swum under water to the deep end and turned, giving a kick off from the wall. Unfortunately some muscle or ligament gave way in my left knee, which is still unreliable. I came to the surface with my leg bent and stiff. It was only after much massage that I could straighten it, and it continued weak for a long time. Afterwards I forgot all about the injury and could play cricket as before, but after about fifteen years an attack of influenza brought it back.

The tealery was stocked every year with waterfowl netted at Ramnad. They were well fed and got very fat. Curiously when our friends entertained us there were always fat teal or ducks on the table, although mine was the only tealery from which they could have come. We were quite accustomed to that sort of thing in India.

Close to the bath there was a mango tree which bore most excellent fruit. It had been grafted with the Goa or Guava variety and the fruit, though not large, had a thin skin and dark luscious flesh. At Tanjore I had seen how they encouraged the growth of oranges and I tried the same process on this mango. The result was that the tree produced a second crop about New Year's Day, when globe-trotters might be expected. One came and I told him how glad I was to be able to give him a really good mango at that unusual season. He was from Mexico and said he did not care for mangos. But when they were placed on the dinner table he asked " What fruit is that ? " I told him they were the despised mangos. In the end he admitted he had never seen or tasted anything as good. There is a species of yellow ants which make their nests by sticking together the large leaves at the end of a mango branch. They are most aggressive, and sentinels thrust themselves from the outside of the nest like leeches when anyone approaches. Once I brushed against such a nest and got a swarm of viciously biting ants down my collar.

My garden was separated from rice fields by the channel which supplied the Teppakolam with water from the Vaigay river. The

bank of this channel had been cut in too sharp a slope, and a young hedge planted to mark by boundary "sat down," as my gardener said. Sometimes the rice plants grew too fast. They were then pulled up, stacked in bundles in the sun while the field was ploughed afresh, and then replanted. The Vaigay rises in the Travancore Hills and reaches the sea at Ramnad. In my time its bed was nearly dry in the hot months. There was no bridge but a causeway which could only be crossed on an elephant when the river was in flood. Both these things are now changed. A bridge was built about 1880, and by the completion of the Periyar project a constant stream of water has been brought from the western side of the hills through a tunnel.

The Pulney Hills, already described, are easily reached from Madura. Starting after work in Court I could reach the foot of the hills before daybreak, and the summit in time for an early breakfast. Two or three days in that bracing climate made a new man of an overworked Judge. Sometimes we spent the whole recess there, but it was difficult to get accommodation from April to June, most of the houses being then occupied by American Missionaries, who also required a holiday and a change. There are several of these Missionaries in the District, and they are doing admirable work. By agreement with the S.P.G. and C.M.S. the whole District, except Ramnad, has been left to the Americans. I had many friends among them, and in particular Dr. Chester at Dindigul.

One of my earliest duties was to pay out of Court a fine of 100 Rs. which had been ordered by my predecessor to be paid for the benefit of a small boy whose father had been killed. The old grandmother who came for the money was an ignorant rustic. I tried to impress on her that it was trust money to be used only for the boy's benefit, and I warned her in particular not to give any to the Court servants. After my lecture she was moving away with the money in a fold of her cloth, but suddenly turned back, and taking out a handful of rupees placed them before me as her offering. My clerks and even myself had some difficulty in concealing our amusement, and I had to repeat my explanation of a trust in more forcible terms.

The Madura District may be regarded, roughly, as consisting of two parts. The eastern half is made up of the two great Zemindaris, Ramnad and Sivaganga. In the other half there are some minor Zemindaris, permanently settled, but most of it is Ryotwari. That is to say the cultivators hold their lands direct from the Government.

At one time or another every one of the Zemindaris must have come into litigation before me. Ramnad and Sivagana have both

been before the Privy Council, and in one case I had to re-try an issue of fact which their Lordships had decided between different parties, and I found that their decision had been erroneous. The question was whether a certain women had been the wife of the Raja of Sivaganga or only a dancing girl kept by him. The local Courts had found her to be a dancing girl, but the Privy Council held that she was a lawful wife. According to the evidence produced before me there could be no doubt that she was a dancing girl, and enrolled as such in the Temple records, and this was tolerably notorious. I have always thought it unwise for any authority in England to overrule decisions arrived at on the spot upon a mere question of fact. The point arose in the Secretary of State's Council, when I was Judicial Secretary, and after a long discussion my advice to that effect was accepted.

A claim to the Ramnad Zemindari occupied me for ten days. In the end I had no difficulty in deciding that it was a mere speculative claim. In my experience many or most of such suits are promoted by speculators who have discovered something which can be worked up into a flaw in the title. The claimant himself is generally a nonentity, and is backed by speculators like a horse for the Derby.

Some boundary disputes between the Government and some hill Zemindars gave me a lot of trouble. The point at issue was whether the Government could claim up to the ridge of the hill or to what part of the slope the Zemindar's property extended. All the land in dispute was waste and had never been occupied. On such a question oral evidence in Court was of little use, even when intelligible. I had to walk over the ground myself and make the best award I could with the help of rather vague records of old surveys. My decisions were generally accepted, no appeals being made against them.

The rule of succession in some of these minor Zemindaris took me by surprise, and it is curious that I found a somewhat similar rule in North India ; *e.g.*, in Manipur. The Chief for the time being is the oldest member of the family. The next senior is the young Raja or heir apparent (Yuvaraja), and the third takes some such title as Commander-in-Chief. As a matter of fact many of these minor States are in the hands of creditors or liquidators. Even Sivaganga itself was so indebted that parts of it were advertised to be sold by auction. On being asked I advised Government to buy, but the creditors got wind of this and stopped the sale.

An important part of my work came from the Zemindaris in the form of Revenue Appeals under Act VIII. of 1865. Up to that

time these had been treated too summarily, both in Madura and in the next District, Tinnevelly. The disputes generally turned on the question whether there was any right of occupancy, and the suits in the Revenue Courts took the form of suits for ejectment or increased rents. The Act provides that rents should be fixed primarily " by any contract or implied contract " between the parties. Under English law the term " implied contract " has a somewhat technical significance, but after much consideration I held that it had been used more vaguely, and need not be construed according to its strict English meaning. It was notorious that ryots usually considered that they had a permanent interest in the land, and that till recent years the competition had been not for land but for cultivators. They were often able to prove that they had been holding for long terms on the same rent. I, therefore, felt justified in implying that the rent had been fixed by some sort of agreement. This decision was generally accepted in the District, and under it the Act worked well. So far as I know it was never questioned till it came up many years later before the Chief Justice and myself in the High Court. Naturally the Chief Justice was at first inclined to follow the strict meaning of the term in English law. A third Judge was called in, and we had several discussions, but I am glad to say that my view was, in the end, adopted unanimously, for in no other way can the Act be worked equitably in practice. I had often pressed for legislation permitting the Courts to presume a right of occupancy unless the contrary is shown. Some years later this was declared to be the law by a decision of Sir Subramaniya Aiyar when Acting Chief Justice. He had been my leading Pleader at Madura. He always knew his cases and he never wasted the Court's time.

His cousin, known as " little Mani Aiyar," was Public Prosecutor. Though not quite the equal of his cousin he was a good Pleader, and reliable, but I shall never forget his abashment by an obstinate witness who would not give a direct answer. When he had at last threatened the man with punishment the latter said " See, a bug is crawling up your coat," and Mani Aiyah collapsed.

The Madura Bar included four barristers. Soon after I took charge I established a Bar Library, and made over to it all the Court books and such of my own as I could spare. Later on, when in England, I purchased for it a number of standard law books at the Bar's request and cost. They found the Library a great convenience, not for its books alone, but because, till then, they had no place to which they could retire for rest or discussion. On one or two occasions

I invited them all with others who knew English to my house, and with the help of some of the best educated we read them one of Shakespeare's plays.

Having had experience in four other Districts, and being now settled at Madura, I ventured to introduce other useful reforms. One which I early adopted was having a Judges' Meeting once or twice a year. There were at Headquarters two Subordinate Judges (one being the Judge of the Court of Small Causes) and at least two Munsifs. The other Munsifs had no difficulty in attending, and were glad to do so. We discussed questions of Judicial administration, and in particular the characters and qualifications of the ministerial staff. Till then the Munsifs' clerks had no chance of promotion. By treating the District as a whole we were able to offer any deserving man a post at Headquarters with better prospects.

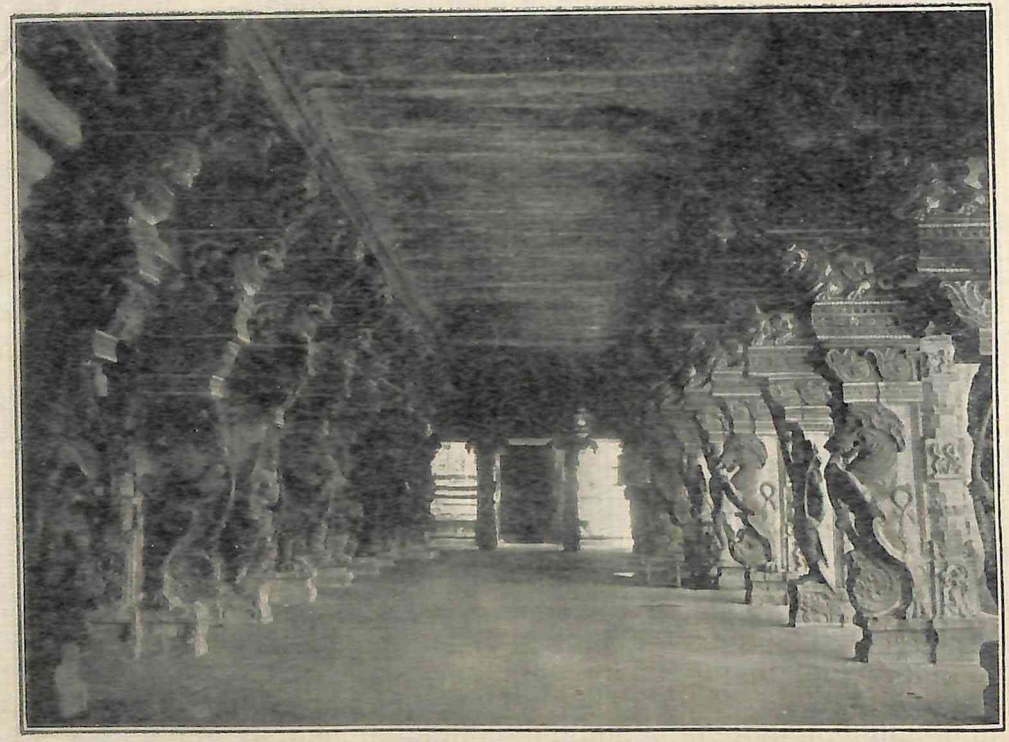
Two other changes were also made. At first, by obtaining the consent of both parties, I was able to dispense with Tamil depositions, and the only record of the evidence was in my own hand in English. After a year or two I was formally empowered by Government so to record all evidence in English. In the event of an Appeal, this materially simplified its hearing. It also saved the parties much time and expense. Besides this all my judgments were printed, both Civil and Criminal. To arrange this I had to start a special fund, which, I fear, was opposed to the rules of the Account Department. The printing was done at the American Mission Press. The cost was met by making the same (later on a much smaller) charge for copies as would have been made for one in manuscript. All this greatly simplified the record of a case, and the whole work of the Record Keeper was reorganised.

The other change related to the service of processes. All summonses or notices from the District Court had to be carried by the Court's own process-servers, whatever the distance at which they had to be served. For instance one of my men might have to carry a summons some seventy miles into the jurisdiction of the Ramnad or Pulney Munsif, while at the same time the Munsif's process was being taken by his man to the same village. It saved much time and labour to send my processes by post to the Munsif for service. Each Munsif had a Nazir who managed his process department, and I appointed these clerks to be Deputies to the Nazir of my own Court.

At different tines it became my duty to deal with the affairs of the two great Temples of the District, viz., that at Madura itself, and

the still more sacred one at Rameswaram, a great place of pilgrimage. The former was under the management of five Trustees and I found that one of them had been allowed to borrow from the Temple's funds. One or more of them were removed by my decree, which also directed a periodical publication of the Temple's accounts. The Vakil S. Subramaniya Aiyar was elected a Trustee and speedily got affairs into decent order. The temple at Rameswaram had been managed by the Zemindar or Raja of Ramnad, but its affairs came into Court, and I had to appoint a Receiver. Later on I went there myself after inspecting the Munsif's Court at Ramnad. I had to cross the Paumben Straits and then ride across the island by a sandy road crowded with pilgrims. The chief feature of the temple is a splendid corridor. Some years later I went to a photograph shop in London, and found the shopman showing a picture of this corridor to a customer. Both were wondering what it represented and I was able to enlighten them. Indeed I bought the photograph. My Receiver wanted me to inspect the Holy of Holies, but this I declined, I knew it would involve a ceremony of purification at some cost.

A little south of the temple, at the end of the island is a bathing place called Dhanush Kodi. All the pilgrims go there in the belief that the sea will wash away their sins. I was glad to get a swim there myself as the weather was very hot. On returning to Madura, in order to avoid a tiresome journey by road, I hired a boat to Tuticorin, from which there was railway connection. We passed several islands frequented by turtles. Occasionally turtles had been sent to me from Tuticorin, and once this gave rise to an amusing incident. The turtle was handed over at the station to a cooly who was carrying it to my house on his head. He met my carriage which was going to the station for a friend, and the turtle was placed in the well of the trap on its back. It was quite dark when my friend entered the carriage, but presently he found the floor alive and moving. He jumped out in some alarm, but the coachman was able to explain matters.



THE PANDAVAR'S CORRIDOR, MADURA TEMPLE.

CHAPTER XIV.

MADURA—Continued.

IN 1874, I again took leave to England, and was able to complete my qualification for the Bar, to which I was called in June, 1875. This time we travelled by Tuticorin to Colombo and Point de Galle, where we caught a French steamer from China. Meanwhile I had given up my house at Madras. It had been rented by the Surgeon General, whose daughter was married from there to my friend H. G. Pritchard, already mentioned. By a curious coincidence, many years later their daughter was married from my house at Simla. During my furlough I went to Scotland with a party which included my brother Arthur and Gamack, our Madura Doctor, who was also on leave. We did much of our travelling on foot, but eventually sailed from Oban by the Caledonian Canal to Inverness. My brother and I returned to London by steamer from Aberdeen.

When I got back to Madura, the Prince of Wales (King Edward) had just passed through. He had been accommodated at the Collector's house, but I found the doors of my rooms labelled with the names of his staff. One of the first things we did was to arrange a picnic on the island in the Teppakolam, where we consumed what remained of the stores provided for him.

Before that I had a visit from Eastwick, who had been Professor of Hindustani—and also of Telugu, though he knew but little of that language—at Haileybury. He came on behalf of Murray's Hand-book of India, and was very precise in taking measurements. I did what I could to help him, even taking him to the top of the chief gopuram of the temple, from which he might have had a splendid view of the city and of the country around. But, unfortunately, he was rather lame, and I could not persuade him to mount the last two or three wooden steps which would have brought him out to the view. Among other things I had a careful ground-plan of the temple and its precincts made for him, but this never appeared in the handbook because, though strictly according to scale, it did not quite tally with Ferguson's antiquated recollections.

One of my regular visitors was the Pandaram, or Abbot, of a Matam in Madura. It was against his rules to come under any roof but that of his own monastery. I always had to receive him in the open. He was attended by two Chobdars, with silver sticks, and I was amused to find them wearing Wisden's cricket belts. He spoke beautiful Tamil, very fluently, interspersed with an occasional Sanskrit sloke.

Nearly all the people living in the two great Zemindaries belong to the Marava Caste, from which, in the days of the old Poligars, the Ramnad Zemindar drew recruits for his army. Maravas are generally brave and at one time I thought of suggesting their recruitment in our native regiments, but it appeared that the experiment had been tried and abandoned. They made good soldiers but they were also first-class thieves, having little respect for the property of others, even of their own comrades. Probably, under the old Zemindars, they had lived by loot, and it is also probable that very little encouragement would suffice to bring out their old predatory habits.

In the Tirumangalam Taluk there was another thievish caste, much addicted to cattle stealing. Their name is Kallan, and Kallan is also Tamil for thief. They were exceedingly clever both in cutting out and in concealing cattle, but their object was blackmail rather than misappropriation. Negotiations were usually opened with the owner through a third party, and on payment of a ransom the animal was left by night at a place appointed. It was a common practice in well-to-do households to employ a man of this caste as a Kavalgar, or watchman, on the understanding that any losses of property would be made good by the whole caste. Further south, in the west of the Tinnevelly District there was a much more dangerous caste, the men of which could be hired for robberies or even assassination. I shall have to mention an instance when I come to speak of interesting cases which I had to try.

But in the Ramnad Zemindary there was another caste, not a criminal one, which deserves special mention. These were the Chetties residing at Nattukottai. They have many peculiar customs, which once I had to investigate, but cannot now recall with any precision. But they are rich and enterprising merchants and bankers, whose word is as good as their bond, at all events among themselves. They have branches all over the country, in Burma, in East Africa, and even in Malaya. They are also very charitable, devoting a percentage of all their profits to religious or other charitable objects. During all the years I was in Madura works of

improvement were being carried on in the great temple at their expense, and under their direct supervision. In fact the Nattukottai Chetties were highly respected and they deserved it.

The weavers of Madura town ought to have a word of mention. Madura cloths, both silk and cotton, are much prized all over India, and their dyes are bright and permanent. Of course all these weavers speak Tamil, but a large section of them must have come from the north for they still keep their accounts in Telugu or Canarese.

After I had been in Madura for some years I was fortunate in having Muttusamy Aiyar (afterwards knighted and a Judge of the High Court) appointed to the Small Cause Court, and to be one of my Subordinate Judges. He had distinguished himself as a Magistrate for his legal knowledge and high character, and was designated to be the first Indian Judge of the High Court. But he wanted the statutory qualification for that high office, and he came to me as Subordinate Judge in order to acquire it. As soon as it had been acquired he received the appointment and of course I offered my congratulations. This pleased him very much as he had regarded me as a rival. We were always warm friends. Indeed, he was the best and most respected friend I ever had among the natives of India.

Soon after Muttu left, one of the High Court Judges took privilege leave for two months before the vacation. It was not usual to appoint an acting Judge for so short a vacancy, particularly as the two months included the Easter holidays, but Sir Charles Turner, the Chief Justice, pressed for my appointment, and I went to Madras for this short period. During that time Sir Charles made me stay with him, my wife being at Ootacamund. He was a wonderfully hard worker, and being as it were on probation I did not shirk work myself. But only one thing particularly dwells in my memory. The Sessions had to be finished before the Easter adjournment. To secure this Sir Charles himself took some of the trials and he asked me to take some others. It was the first time I had to wear the scarlet gown and walk into Court in solitary state preceded by Chobdars; and to make matters worse I had to borrow the robes, and they were far too large. As I proceeded along the corridors I could not help feeling as if I were masquerading.

I think it was in the same year, 1881, that I was summoned to Ootacamund to take part in a Committee appointed to consider whether a Reformatory should be established. Col. Tennant, the Inspector of Jails, was Chairman, and among the members was Brandt, Judge of Trinchinopoly, and Nicholson (now Sir Frederick), who had

served with me both at Tanjore and in Madura. The last-named was the only one of us who had made any study of the question. The main principle on which we all agreed was that to be of any real use the Reformatory must be, both in name and in reality, a school and not a prison. We had some difficulty in finding words which would not ruffle our Chairman's professional feelings, but in the end we agreed upon a Report in accordance with that principle, and recommending above all things that the school should be under the Director—not of Jails—but of Public Instruction. Sir M. Grant Duff's Government accepted our views and a Reformatory School was opened at Chingleput. In 1923 I had the pleasure of reading a book called "The Making of Men," by Mr. Coombes, who had managed the school for many years. He had been zealous in following our principle with quite admirable results.

During the two short sittings of this Committee I stayed at Government House. Sir William Hunter was also a guest there, on work connected with the Educational Commission of which he was Chairman. Like the Governor himself he had a wonderful repertory of amusing anecdotes, and they continually capped one another's stories. I persuaded the Private Secretary to place them opposite one another at meals instead of together so that we might all enjoy the entertainment. Later on Hunter came to Madura and stayed with me a few days.

The Madura District had been notorious for gang robberies, but about the time I went there a special Inspector had been deputed to check them. From his name—something like Schespanski—he must have been a Pole. His methods were deliberate but certainly successful, and I transported a large part of two gangs to the Andamans. One of the robberies which he brought to light had actually occurred some ten years before the men were brought to trial, and I was asked by the Pleader who defended them whether it was likely that such decrepit old men would commit robbery. But the evidence was perfectly clear. One striking point brought out was that on their first assembling there had been heavy rain; they thereupon concluded that their intended victim must be a good man and adjourned the attack to a more favourable time.

In another case a band of Pathans were charged with having broken into a temple and despoiled the idol of its jewels. That was the only occasion on which I even heard of Pathans having come so far south. One of the accused was a woman, and, of course, completely veiled when in the dock. It was owing to her that the crime was

detected. All the valuable jewels had been got rid of but she swept up the dust and discovered some tiny ones which were capable of identification, and these were found in her possession.

In one very difficult case the accused were members of that ruffianly tribe in Tinnevelly which has just been mentioned. It was alleged that they had been hired to make away with a money-lender, but nothing was said as to who had hired them ; that they had followed him to a remote hill village where he had gone to collect debts ; and that then and there they strangled him by night. The body was never found, but there was slight evidence that it might have been removed to the burning-place and destroyed the same night. The whole case turned on the story told by one of the gang who had been made an approver. It was very circumstantial, and although there was only slight corroboration I was inclined to believe it. But at the last moment the approver made a new statement—that they had chopped the man's knees and arms. Why ? In order to bend up the body and make a convenient bundle of it. But he had been strangled quietly and without blood-shedding, and your aim must have been to get the body burnt as soon as possible ; why then wait till *rigor mortis* had set in ? Was it because the first Police Report noticed marks of blood on the wall ? These points had not been taken by the Pleader for the Defence, but in view of them I found it quite unsafe to convict.

A case of highway robbery also deserves mention, chiefly because of the strenuous fight put up by the man attacked. He was a recruiter of labourers for one of the Colonies from which he had recently come back. His only weapon was a small knife, the blade of which was not firmly fixed but wobbled from side to side. But with this precarious implement he made such stout resistance that one of his assailants was nearly cut to pieces and made his appearance in the dock stitched up in a jacket. For this offence several men were transported. The discovery of the wounded man had led to their detection.

Towards the end of 1872, I was surprised to find myself again called to Madras, but this time I was to act as Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department. But before taking final leave of Madura I must mention two or three matters hitherto overlooked. First and most important is the great famine of 1877-8. My District was one of those which suffered most severely. Many relief camps had to be opened and young Military Officers were deputed to control them. A generous grant was made to us from the Mansion House

Fund, and I became Chairman of the Committee entrusted with its expenditure. The Collector, McQuhae, with whom I had worked for six years, contracted a serious disease from visiting the camps and had to retire on a minor pension. I am glad to say that after some troublesome years he completely recovered, and he and I are now the only survivors of the Haileybury men who went to Madras. This speaks well for the Madura climate, and I may add that our Doctor, Gamack, is now the senior survivor of the I.M.S.

But the famine also wrought a great change in my Court work. Every Sessions cases of sheep-stealing came up for trial. In the circumstances this was not a very heinous offence. A sentence of six or twelve months was ample even when a number of men were implicated, and it was probably welcomed by the accused themselves. Moreover when the famine was over any residue of the sentence in such cases was remitted. It is difficult to place a limit on a shepherd's ability to identify his own sheep, but some of them certainly went too far. A whole fleece they might recognize, but how could they be positive about small pieces of cooked mutton? or the broth in which that mutton had been boiled? And one even ventured to swear that some blood found was that of his own sheep!

A native witness however, can always be relied on with regard to the points of the compass. After being hustled into a strange room and turned round and round, he can readily point to a corner as the south-east or south-west. His ideas as to time are peculiar but intelligible. Half an hour after sunrise he would describe as when "the sun was one palmyra tree high." The evening would be "one Indian hour (24 minutes) before sunset." In the dusk he would say that the lines on his hand were still visible.

In the spring of 1878, I was anxious to get short leave that I might see my father, then in his ninety-seventh year, but the famine had hardly come to an end. The Duke of Buckingham was then our Governor, and he put me off, desiring me to ask again—first in a month then in a fortnight, and so forth. At last I had to give up the idea of leave, and my father died before I got home, in 1879.

Another matter which has so far escaped my memory concerns the church arrangements at Madura. At first, as Lay Trustee, I had to read the services on Sunday. Then a church was built in the city in memory of an old resident named Fisher, by his family. There happened to be a spare chaplain available, and for a year or two we had Mr. A. A. Williams—afterwards Bishop of Tinnevelly—instead of a monthly visit from the chaplain of Trichinopoly. After

Mr. Williams' removal elsewhere it became a question what could be done. We had a church but no Pastor. Several of us agreed to be responsible for a monthly subscription and the total, with the usual Government allowance and help from an additional clergy fund, enabled us to offer a stipend of £300 a year. When I was in England, in 1879, I engaged a chaplain on these terms for three years. Before the three years had expired he was taken over by the Additional Clergy Fund, but he completed the term of his engagement at Madura.

Lastly, I must mention a great meeting which I witnessed at Sivaganga. I think it was an annual festival, but I only saw it once. It was attended by vast picturesque crowds, probably as many as go to the Derby. They came to see, not a bull fight but, a bull catching, or rather a snatching of cloths from bulls' horns. The animals are well fed and trained to run home on being released. A valuable cloth is wrapped on the head of each, and this becomes the property of any person who can seize the cloth, or, if the bull can get home undespoiled, of its owner. One splendid black beast, as soon as it was let go, jumped clear over the spectators standing six or seven deep, and doubtless got home safely. Others played various pranks and I noticed one in particular which stood at bay, faced by several men squatted on the ground in a half circle. Whenever it charged one or other of the men, he threw himself flat on his back ; apparently the bull would not attempt to gore a man in that position, or was at a loss what to do. This went on for some time. On each successive charge the other men were on the look-out to make a snatch at the cloth, but I did not see it taken.

Early in the year 1882, I was requested by a Hutchins Memorial Fund, which seemed to have been started in Madura, to get a portrait of myself painted for them, in England. My brother Alfred was at home at the time, and made arrangements with an artist. He did his best from one or two photographs, and as there was a decided family resemblance between us, my brother gave him one sitting! I believe the picture, such as it is, is still hung up in the Madura Court.

CHAPTER XV.

AS REVENUE SECRETARY AND ON SPECIAL DUTY, 1882-3.

MY appointment to fill a short vacancy as Secretary in the Revenue Department was a great surprise, as I had been doing Judicial work for eighteen years. It came, however, very opportunely, for I had ben seriously thinking of retiring. It was likely that I should go to the High Court on the first vacancy, but it seemed uncertain when that would occur. My idea was to take three month's leave and see something of Northern India during the winter months ; then, if there was still no vacancy, I would go home for good. But instead of taking leave I went to this new work at Madras, and when that came to an end, I was put on special duty till a vacancy at last occurred.

As shown above my work at Madura included many Revenue Appeals, and I had not forgotten what I learnt as Assistant and Sub-Collector in South Arcot and Chingleput. Ordinary Revenue work, therefore, was not strange to me. It was only in connection with Abkary that I felt adrift, and fortunately that subject was primarily in charge of a capable native assistant. Quite early I had to put the Members of the Council right on the meaning of the term Peramboke. They insisted that it could only be applied to roads, tanks, village sites and the like, specially excluded from cultivation. But both by the derivation of the word and in the village accounts all land not assessed to revenue is Peramboke, which means no more than " left out " of the assessment, whether because of a special appropriation as in the case of roads and the like, or because its cultivation was so unlikely, as in the case of barren hills, that it was not worth while to bring it under assessment. In settling boundary disputes I had walked over much of the Lower Pulneys and Sirumalay Hills, and I had seen for myself what large areas had been written down in the accounts as Peramboke. But Abkary was not the only subject on which my knowledge was defective. I had never had any experience of Revenue Settlements, which in Madras are under a Special Director. One day a hugh file concerned with a settlement of a District on the west coast found me aghast. Not only had I

no experience of Settlement work, but I was quite ignorant of the west coast and the tenures there prevailing. I suppose I ought to have put up a note showing my views, however crude they might be, but knowing that the Revenue Councillor had himself been a Settlement Officer, I simply passed on the file "for his orders." It is not surprising that he complained, half jokingly, that I made the Councillors work.

On one or two occasions the Governor and his two Civil Councillors took different views and the former sent the papers to the Commander-in-Chief, who was on tour. Each time the Commander-in-Chief gave his vote with the Governor, whose casting vote then prevailed. One of the questions so decided involved the establishment of a Forest Department, and the Governor's larger policy was undoubtedly right. But I formed the opinion that, if he wished to override his responsible advisers, he had better do so of his own authority, and that the Commander-in-Chief should not be a member of the Council. The question however is no longer important as there is now only one Commander-in-Chief for all India.

About Christmas, 1882, Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), the Financial member of the Governor General's Council, paid a short visit to Madras. He impressed on me the importance for his calculations that the revenue should come in punctually, and I remember that he said he had to think in lakhs and crores, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer doubtless thinks in millions. The result of our conversation was a Government order reminding District Officers that they were Collectors as well as Magistrates. It farther pointed out that the heaviest arrears were in favourite Districts, and that transfers might have to be made if there were no improvement!

After two or three months I was relieved by the return of the Permanent Secretary, and I was then placed on special duty. But my work must have given satisfaction for Sir M. Grant Duff, at the conclusion of my special duty, offered me the choice between the Permanent Secretaryship and a seat in the High Court, where a vacancy was about to occur. I naturally chose the latter, although the Secretaries and Councillors seemed unable to appreciate the reasons by which I was actuated.

The special duty to which I was deputed was one for which my long experience as a Judge in several Districts seemed to fit me better than for the office from which I had just been relieved. The Judges of the High Court had asked for forty more Munsifs. This

would have cost at least 30,000 rupees annually. A Committee composed of a member of Council, the Chief Secretary and myself was appointed to consider whether so large an expenditure was really necessary. The work, however, was left entirely to me, and the memorandum which I eventually drew up was adopted and signed as the Committee's Report. The Judges of the High Court at that time were overworked. They could not be expected to go into all details with the several District Judges, or to make a comprehensive review of the judicial staff throughout the Presidency. That became my duty and I was given the assistance of a clever Indian who practically became my Private Secretary.

It would be too tedious to give my conclusions in detail, even if my memory would allow me to do so. It will be enough to state them generally. It seemed in the first place that money might be obtained by the abolition of the District Judge at Negapatam, a Subordinate Judge taking his place and the whole District of Tanjore being put under the Judge at Tanjore. Two other Subordinate Judges might conveniently be stationed at Tadpatri and Ellore. The former place lay at the centre of three markedly litigious Taluks in Kurnool, Cuddapah and Bellary respectively. The latter was at the junction of the Godavari and Kistna Districts, and would help both those District Courts. All these Subordinate Judges were to have summary jurisdiction in small causes. Selected Munsifs were to have similar jurisdiction up to 50 Rs. All the Munsifs' Courts were classified according to the ardousness of their work as ascertained in consultation with the District Judges. In many cases they would be relieved by small causes up to 500 Rs. going before Subordinate Judges. One or more additional Munsifs should be at the disposal of the High Court for employment temporarily, wherever they might be wanted. The financial result turned out to be that hardly any new expenditure would be needed.

I gave my memorandum to Sir Charles Turner, the Chief Justice, and discussed it with him before submitting it to the other members of the Committee. At first he objected to the abolition of the District Court at Negapatam. He considered that it was of the utmost importance that the inferior Courts should be subject to inspection and administrative control, but this was a view which I myself strongly held, and had always been careful to enforce in practice. In the end I was able to satisfy him that the particular Court in question might be spared without any sacrifice of efficiency. The Report, therefore, went in fortified by his concurrence. It

was accepted by Government, and such slight amendments of the law as became necessary were passed by the Legislature. I was then nominated to the High Court in succession to Mr. Justice Innes. It was the rule that two or three names should be submitted to the Queen, but the Governor told me that on this occasion he had explained that he could not suggest anyone else.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HIGH COURT OF MADRAS, 1882-6.

THE High Court was established in 1862, four years after my arrival in India. It amalgamated the Supreme Court and the Sudder Adalat. In the Supreme Court there was a Chief Justice and one Puisne Judge, both Barristers, and its ordinary jurisdiction did not extend beyond the limits of Madras City. There were three Judges in the Sudder Court, all members of the I.C.S.; their duty was to hear and determine appeals from up-country Courts and to exercise a general control over those Courts. Both functions were now vested in the new High Court—the original jurisdiction over the city and the Appellate and administrative jurisdiction over the Mufassal. And for twenty years the Court consisted of two barristers and three civilians; at the end of that time a native Judge took the place of one of the civilians. The main object of the amalgamation, of course, was to combine the trained knowledge of the barristers with the experience of the people and country, which the Civilian Judges had gained in their long service. It would seem therefore, that an appellate Bench should ordinarily include a barrister and a civilian, and this was the usual, though by no means the universal practice. The Barrister Puisne Judge usually presided on the Original side, but we all took a turn there. The most brilliant Judge who ever sat in the Madras Court was Mr. Justice Holloway. Although a civilian, in his knowledge of jurisprudence he was at least the equal of any of the barristers. But he retired long before I joined the Court.

Once a week, or thereabouts, there was an "Admission Court," in which a single Judge sat to decide whether an Appeal or Petition should be admitted and referred to a Bench or should at once be rejected, even if admitted. There were many which a single Judge might well take it on himself to decide, and my practice was to pass final orders when I could not see any possibility of doubt or any point such as might require consideration. This saved much time, and my decision was open to appeal to a Bench, but my colleagues seemed reluctant to assume the same responsibility. As a matter of fact

there was a large accumulation of arrears when I joined the Court, and these were steadily overhauled. The five Judges have now been raised to ten.

After a little over three years I left the Court and joined the Executive Government. There is some difference of opinion as to whether this ought to be permissible, and it may be convenient to discuss that question here. And first, I may refer to precedents. In Bombay it was the established practice that one member of the Governor's Council should be taken from the Sudder or High Court. In Madras the early practice was identical. One member was not only recruited from among the Judges, but he continued to be a Judge of the Sudder Court, though he never sat to hear cases. This is clear from the fact that Mr. Morehead, who had been a Member of Council from 1857, was recognized in the Letters Patent for the High Court as an actual Judge of the Sudder in 1862. He was formally appointed to be a Judge of the High Court and sent in a formal resignation. In 1864, Mr. H. D. Phillips, a Judge of the High Court, was appointed to the Council. Afterwards, until my turn came, twenty years later, the judicial seat in the Council was usually filled by the promotion of the Chief Secretary, who had rarely had any judicial experience. That a judicial mind, formed by judicial experience, is very useful on an Executive Council, and also likely to make it more popular, can hardly be questioned. At all events I found this freely conceded even by those who held most strongly that no Judge should be eligible for promotion. Their argument was that Judges may possibly be biased by the hope of promotion, but I really doubt whether anyone at all fit to be selected for the High Court would be capable of being influenced by any such consideration as the possibility of his being found fit for some higher, or I should say more remunerative, office. On the other hand, in my opinion, and certainly Sir Charles Turner held the same view very strongly, it is of great importance in India that the Judicial authorities should not be out of sympathy with the Executive, but should rather give it their support so far as may be consistent with real justice. History shows that in old times much harm was caused by a Chief Justice's jealous opposition. As far as I am personally concerned it was not till 1886 that the possibility of my being again wanted for Executive work was presented to me, and, as will be seen later on, directly that seemed likely I took leave.

I think it was in 1883 that Lord Ripon came to Madras. He was attended by Mortimer Durand, who was even then Acting Foreign Secretary, and whom I then saw for the first time. I had an interview

with the Governor General and gave him some idea of the arduous character of the High Court's work.

One of the most important functions of the High Court is its administrative control of the up-country tribunals. Since the selection and promotion of the District Munsifs had been vested in it there had been a great improvement in their average qualifications. The District Judges were no longer allowed to nominate their Sheristaders as a matter of course, and although the claims of such ministerial officers always received due consideration, many trained pleaders of the High Court, and some from the up-country Bars had been promoted to the Bench. The primary control of this part of the Court's work was entrusted to me, and I kept a private list of the Munsifs, which I annotated from time to time from any reliable information I could collect.

The clerical staff of the Munsifs' Courts were much underpaid, and this had become rather a scandal. After a time I undertook to investigate this matter without prejudice to my judicial work, and the Registrar acted as my Private Secretary with regard to it. I found a large surplus under the head of Process Fees had always gone to the credit of Government. But the schedule of rates to be levied for processes was under the High Court's control, and, in view of the large surplus, it seemed to be the Judges' duty to consider whether the fees should not be reduced. On the other hand I thought that certain duties which were being performed by the salaried clerks might legitimately be paid for out of the Process fees. Such, *e.g.*, were the preparation of the processes and even the supervision of those who served them. It was evident too, that there was much variety in the amount of work falling on the staff of the different Courts. The first thing, therefore, was to classify the Courts into two or three grades. The next was to allow each Court one, two or three process writers as the work required, the number of salaried clerks being reduced accordingly. These two points having been settled it was easy to arrange with the District Judges how many clerks would still be wanted for each Munsif, and to improve their pay out of the savings. The pay of the Head Clerks was raised to 40 Rs. a month, which at that date seemed adequate, and the other clerks also received an advance.

One case which I tried on the original side seems worthy of mention. The question was as to the genuineness of a Tamil deed of gift made by a native Christian to the Roman Mission of St. Thomé. The same issue had been tried—between different parties—by Mr. Justice

Innes, and he had decided against the deed. He had been much influenced by the fact that the Court translation described the Vicar General as the *Right* Reverend, whereas until a date later than that of the deed he was always styled the *Very* Reverend. It may be that I have reversed the order of the titles. But even a cursory inspection of the deed satisfied me that it could hardly be a fabrication. I had not then read it through or even looked at the critical words, but during the argument I called on the Court Interpreter to read it aloud. When he reached the critical words they proved to be no more than "Mahâ Reverend," *i.e.*, the *Great* Reverend, neither *Very* nor *Right*. The case at once collapsed and I was glad to have relieved the Mission from a scandalous imputation. The case shows the danger of acting on a translation without going to the Original.

It must have been early in 1886, that I first learnt that the Governor (Sir M. Grant Duff) would be glad to appoint me as Chief Secretary with a prospect of shortly succeeding to the Council. He himself was retiring at the end of the year, and the Chief Secretary, E. F. Webster, proposed to resign at the same time. It seemed to me that I ought to accept the offer, but as it would involve a further stay in India of five years that I had better take short leave. Accordingly I went home on six months' leave. When I learnt that the Hon. Robert Bourke was to succeed Grant Duff, I called upon him, and explained how matters stood. I also told him that, since he would probably not wish his Chief Secretary to be appointed by a Governor on the point of retiring, it might be well for him to get into communication with Grant Duff about the appointment. Soon after I learnt that Webster would not retire, but proposed to take leave. It did not seem at all right that a High Court Judge should officiate in an executive appointment so I at once informed Mr. Bourke that the proposed arrangement must be abandoned. I heard no more till I reached Aden on my way back to Madras. On this occasion we travelled round by the Bay on purpose to see Gibraltar, but we only stopped there an hour or two in the middle of the night, and all I could see was a light on the jetty. At Aden, a newspaper was brought on board announcing my nomination as Provisional Member of Council. As Mr. Sullivan was in England at the time, and about to resign, this was tantamount to my immediate appointment in his place. Webster was then acting for him and, perhaps, according to strict law, I ought to have turned him out, but I did not wish to do this, nor did it seem right that I should return to the Court for a few weeks. The Governor therefore decided to put me upon special duty temporarily, and the duty he selected was to read up what he

called the "Rascaliana!" In other words the dossiers of men who had recently got into hot water with Government. In reading these I hoped I preserved a judicial mind.

CHAPTER XVII.

ON THE MADRAS COUNCIL, 1886-8.

THE India Office List shows that I took my seat on 8th December, 1886. The Hon. Robert Bourke arrived the same day and was at once inducted as Governor, but I must have assumed charge earlier in the day for I was certainly one of the Councillors who received him. I remember taking Lady Susan to the carriage after the ceremony and that I stopped her entering it, much to her amusement, until His Excellency had taken his seat.

The other Member of Council was C. G. Master, in charge of the Revenue Department. H. E. Stokes was the Chief Secretary. Sir Henry Stokes, as he now is, was generally admitted to be the ablest member of the service, and a great authority on Revenue questions and finance. It was certain that he would succeed Master, and we both looked forward to a time when he and I would carry on the work together. But that was not to be, for I was called to the North in 1888, and he had to take my place instead of Master's.

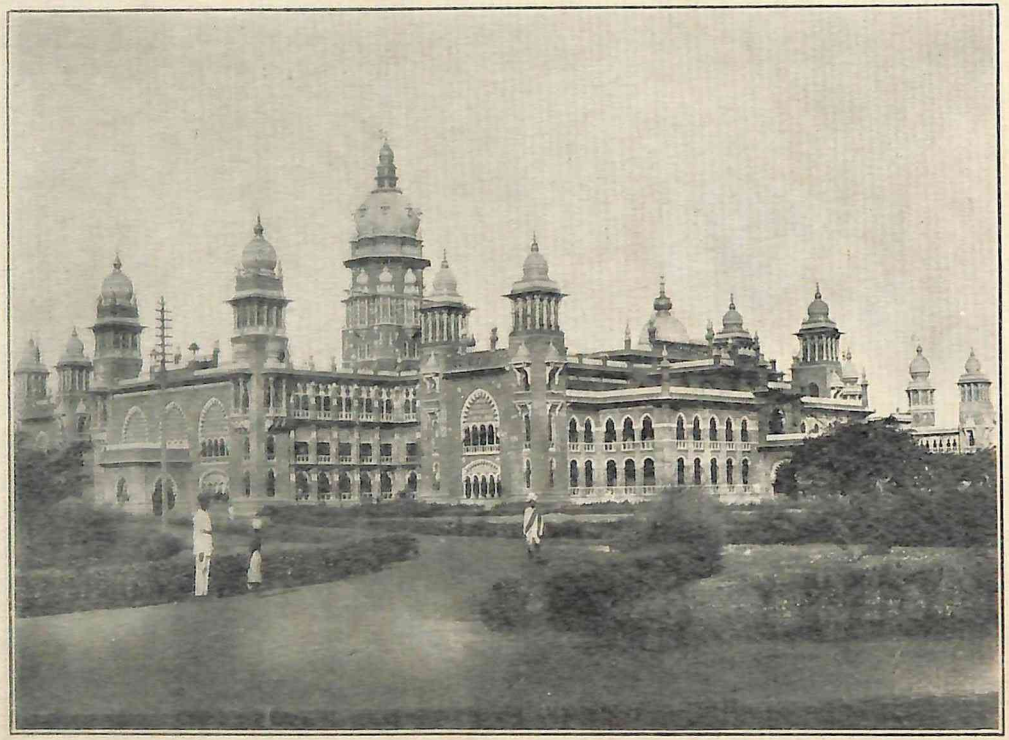
On New Year's Day, 1887, there was a disastrous fire at Madras. Arrangements had been made for a grand Fair. Many sheds and booths had been erected out of inflammable materials, and most unfortunately strong fences had been put up in order to direct and control the crowds. Suddenly, in the darkness, one of the booths blazed up. A panic ensued. The fences obstructed escape and many people were burnt or crushed to death. Early the next morning the Governor, then become Lord Connemara, and his Councillors visited the scene. It was a terrible sight. Corpses lay about in all directions with limbs stiffened in strange contortions, and many of them horribly burnt. Most of the sheds had been destroyed. Of course someone raised the cry of incendiarism. We therefore desired the Coroner to hold a full enquiry, and this resulted in a verdict that the fire was accidental. Apparently someone had been baking cakes in one of the sheds.

I was fortunate in having a succession of admirable Under Secretaries under Sir Henry Stokes. Meyer, afterwards Sir William and Financial Councillor to the Governor General, dealt with all Local

Boards and Municipal matters with so much care and ability that these gave me but little trouble. Harold Stuart, afterwards Sir Harold, was, I think, in the Revenue Department, but his knowledge of the Northern Districts, and in particular of the hill tracts of Vizagapatam, was very useful to me. Also, for part of my time, I had the assistance of J. D. Rees, who afterwards became Sir John and an M.P.

Public Works were also under my charge. Here, for technical advice I had the assistance of Colonel Hasted, the Chief Engineer; of Colonel Mead, and later Mr. Walsh, upon irrigation questions; and of Colonels C. J. Smith and Coaker in regard to Railways. I remember one matter in which I was, perhaps, not quite loyal to Lord Connemara. A question arose in Council at Ootacamund about completing what is now called the Connemara Road. After a brief discussion we settled to postpone it. But after the Governor had left I went into the question more fully with Col. Hasted and then authorised him to carry on. I knew the road well and was the first person to drive along it. By right, therefore, it should have been called after me, but it may be some amends for my independent action that it bears His Lordship's name.

As a Judge of the High Court I had been much struck by the many inconveniences of the old Supreme Court house. When it was first built the site must have been an excellent one, facing the sea, and in the centre of the merchants' offices. But since then the city had extended; the Harbour had been constructed; a double line of rails ran between it and the coast; the noise and dust arising from the greatly increased traffic caused much annoyance, especially to the Judge hearing cases in the Original Court, which faced the sea. My new position gave me a chance of getting a new Court built. There was an admirable site on the Esplanade, just behind and to the north of the Light-house. Military objections were at first raised and it took some time to get these overruled. Meanwhile I had set the Government architect, Mr. Brassington, to prepare plans. When these were ready I had to go over them with the Chief Justice and Judges. At last, just as everything was ready for the Governor to lay the foundation stone, I was transferred to Calcutta. However the foundation was duly laid, and in due course the Judges entered into possession. The credit is due to Mr. Brassington, but I also was much gratified to learn that after a month's trial the Judges reported that the new buildings "left nothing to be desired." Of course, we never contemplated at that time that there would be ten Judges instead of five. And there was



THE NEW HIGH COURT, MADRAS.

another thing which I could not have anticipated. I had been careful to avoid any obstruction of the Light-house, but in the end the light was removed to the chief turret of the Court house. If this had been foreseen a somewhat better site might have been selected.

It must have been about New Year's Day, 1887, that Lord Connemara consulted me as to the bestowal of two Honours which had been placed at his disposal. He had not had time then to form his own opinion, except perhaps as to myself, for we had met several times in England and it was owing to his insistence (so I was told) that I had been appointed Provisional Councillor. He said quite frankly that the only course he could think of was to give the decorations to Master and myself. I said at once that this would have a very bad effect, that I could very well wait, but that there could be no objection to Master's receiving the C.S.I. As to the C.I.E., I suggested the name of Col. Weldon, the Commissioner of Police, who had done excellent service in working up the Police, and as Chief Magistrate of the city. This is what was done.

While on the subject of decorations I may mention an unfortunate selection which I made a little later. Up to that time no Subordinate Judge had been honoured, although there were many of long service and good reputation. After going through the list with some care I advised the Governor to send in the name of Kunja Menon for a C.I.E., and that Honour was duly bestowed on him. I had never seen the man myself, nor any of his work. His service had all been in Malabar on the West Coast. But I had some recollection that Mr. Justice Holloway thought highly of him, and, as far as I could ascertain, he enioyed an unblemished reputation. Not long after, to my great concern, charges of corruption were brought against him. I at once decided that these should be fully investigated, and deputed a special session Judge to preside at the trial. He was convicted on two charges and sentenced to imprisonment. On appeal to the High Court one of the convictions and the sentence were upheld. It was rather mortifying to have to admit my mistake, but I lost no time in getting his decoration as C.I.E. cancelled.

One Munsif who had been promoted to be a Subordinate Judge on my recommendation became Chief Justice of the High Court at Travancore. Another Subordinate Judge was appointed at my instance to be District Judge of Nellore. I had some personal knowledge of this man and believe he made a fair District Judge so far as actual work in Court was concerned. But he was quite useless

in regard to the other and equally important work of a District Judge, viz. : the administrative control of the inferior Courts. It is in this respect that Indians will generally fail as District Judges. They will seldom possess the necessary independence, energy and prestige.

This may be a convenient place to mention another case in which an Indian of great promise showed himself unfit for an office of real responsibility. He had done exceedingly well in subordinate posts and had been placed in charge of a Madras District, but he had to be dismissed for some fault which I forget and is not now material. The case came before me at Calcutta on his appeal against his dismissal and the only question then was whether reliance could be placed on an entry in his wife's journal on which he based his defence. The journal was written in English and with a pencil. The crucial words were in the same handwriting, but the obvious fact that they had been interpolated seemed almost enough to discredit them. But it occurred to me to apply a further test by damping them, and this showed that the interpolated words had been written with quite a different pencil, and one that had been tinctured with some aniline dye. The appellant therefore had not only put forward a false defence, but had made or allowed his wife to falsify her journal in order to support it. It would not be fair to conclude that no Indian is fit for such a responsible and confidential position as the charge of a District. No one who has known such men as the late Sir Madhava Row, Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir Muttusamy Aiyar could think so for a moment. Many Indian gentlemen have acted as Collectors with credit. But these cases at least show that the time has not yet come at which civilians trained in England can be dispensed with.

Up to this time the members of the Legislative Council had all been selected by the Governor. I suggested to him that he should ask such bodies as the Chamber of Commerce to choose and recommend a representative whom he could then nominate. He agreed and, as far as I am aware, this was the first step ever taken towards the election of Members as now established.

Appeals for mercy were frequently made to Government by persons who had been convicted. These, of course, came to me as the Judicial Councillor. In one case two men had been convicted of a murder in Tinnevelly, and the conviction had been upheld by the Chief Justice and another Barrister Judge of the High Court. There was plenty of direct evidence if it could be believed, but I could not help regarding it with great suspicion. So much so

that I resolved to order a further investigation. One witness had been named as having been present but had not been called. The District Magistrate was directed to examine this man on the spot, and at the same time to hold a local enquiry as to all the facts. His report made it clear that the direct evidence was all false, and that all the signs pointed to the murder having been the work of professional assassins belonging to the tribe or caste of which mention has been made in the Chapter on Madura. The Report was, of course, submitted to the High Court, and as they made no remarks the convicted men were released. It seemed unfortunate that the Bench had been constituted of two Barristers not much accustomed to deal with native testimony.

Another appeal came to Lord Connemara from friends in England of a merchant whom I had sentenced for fraud in connection with deposits which he had exacted from two of his clerks, as security for their good behaviour. The sentences included fines equal to the sums deposited which, if realised, were to be paid to the prosecutors. The Governor, of course, consulted me, and as I was the Judge who had dealt with the case there was no need to refer to the High Court. I thought that the unexpired term of imprisonment might well be remitted if the fines were paid, provided also that the man, against whom there had been a previous conviction in Ceylon, undertook to leave India and never to return. These conditions were communicated to the man's friends, and the fines were paid to Lord Connemara's private account. But the payment was not properly notified to him, and this caused some delay. Eventually an explanation was received and the man was released on the condition which I had advised.

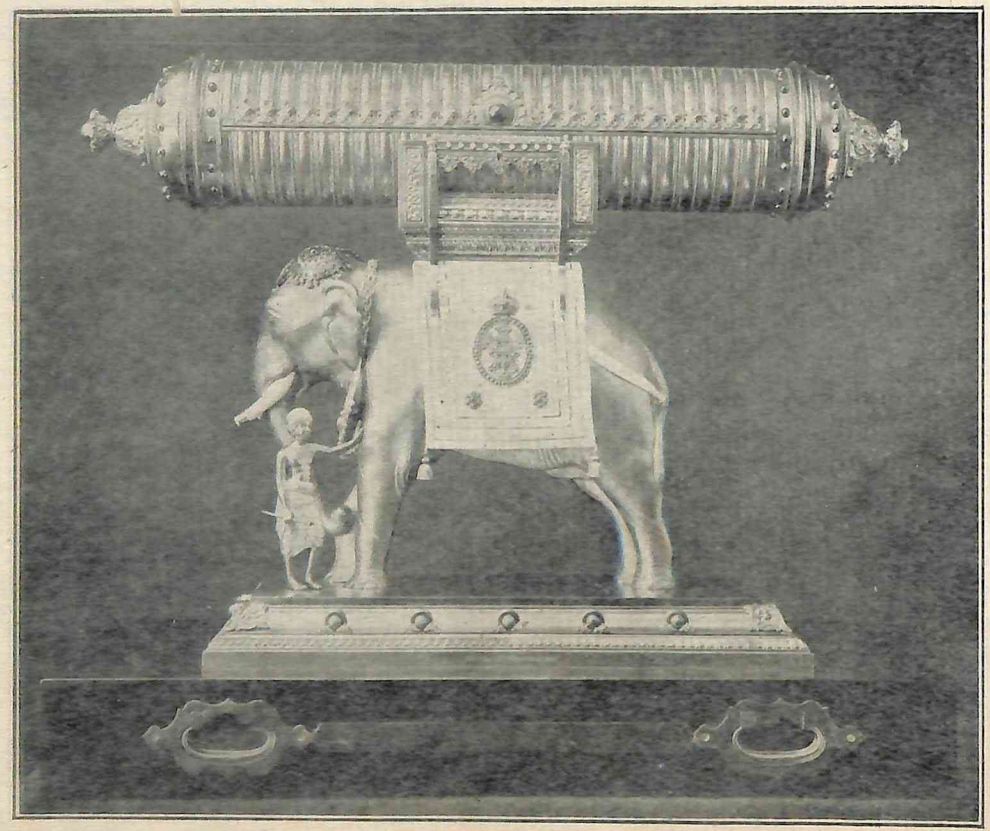
During the Christmas holidays, 1887, I made a short tour in order to see something of the Kistna and Godavari Districts, and their famous systems of irrigation. I landed at Cocanada and spent a day with the Collector. Thence a boat took me up the Canal to Rajamundry, where Mr. Walsh showed me the great Dowlaiswaram anicut, and the system of canals led from it. One afternoon a steamer took me up the river to the Gorge of the Godavari. I have since seen the celebrated gorges of the Irrawady in Burma, *i.e.*, all those below Bhamo, but that of the Godavari is far finer, shut in on either side by stupendous cliffs. Walsh told me how many feet the water rose in this restricted channel when the river was in flood, but I dare not give the number from memory. I spent the night in the gorge and returned to Rajamundry next morning. But I had an evening walk in the country of what Grant Duff

called "the Rumpa rumpus," which had been a sort of miniature rebellion some three years earlier. It seemed very wild, and it did not surprise me that the Police had some difficulty in suppressing the insurrection.

From Rajamundry another boat took me to Ellore and then to the Kistna anicut at Bezwada, and after spending a day there a third boat carried me to Masulipatam. Here I received a telegram from my wife addressed to me with the affix C.S.I. So Lord Connemara had lost no time in procuring for me this honour. Masulipatam was one of the old Company's chief factories. It is now the headquarters of the Collector, but it had a melancholy and deserted appearance, and is very different in this respect from the flourishing port of Cocacada. Steamers have to anchor far out in the roadstead, and I was obliged to go out early in a small boat to cruise about till my coasting steamer came and picked me up. At that time the Godavari system of irrigation was paying eighteen per cent. on its capital cost, and that of the Kistna, about sixteen per cent.

The year 1887 was that of Queen Victoria's first Jubilee. A great meeting was held under the Governor and an Executive Committee was appointed with me as its Chairman. The Committee met immediately after the General Meeting, and we decided that it would be best to present a single address for the whole Presidency. The Editor of the Madras Mail became Hon. Secretary, and with his help I was able to get into the very next issue of his paper a letter announcing what had been decided, and deprecating any local or independent arrangements of the same kind. The address was drafted by Colonel Kenney Herbert, and when duly illuminated was enclosed in a handsome fluted casket which was mounted on an elephant of oxydised silver, attended by its mahout. On the evening of the 16th February, I had the honour of presenting this address to His Excellency in the name of the forty millions in the Presidency, and requested him to forward it to H.M. The Queen. A handsome volume, descriptive of the Madras Presidency and of many local celebrations, was also presented to Her Majesty, and the Committee were good enough to honour me with a facsimile copy of this book, bound in the same royal purple.

I kept on the same house in Madras which I had held since 1882, but I took another at Ootacamund, as the Government moved there each year in April. For each of these I paid 200 Rs. a month. This seems worth mentioning in comparison with cold weather rents at Calcutta. There, in my first year, I was charged 500 Rs.



CASKET CONTAINING THE MADRAS ADDRESS TO QUEEN VICTORIA, 1887.

for a flat, and later, 1,000 for a furnished house.

At Ootacamund there was a good deal of cricket. The upper portion of the lake, which I remembered as a swamp, had been filled in and levelled, making a good ground for cricket and other games, besides a race-course. And between Wellington and Coonoor there was another ground where the more important matches were played. This is very similar to Annandale, below Simla, where, also, there is a race-course surrounding the cricket ground. Both lie in a hollow cup, surrounded by hills, but the cup at Annandale is much deeper.

These long stays at Ooty enabled me to see more of the Nilgiri Hills than I had done before. I climbed Makoti Peak, perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Western Ghats or Koondas, as seen from Outy. It commands a grand view, not only of the Ouchterlony Valley, but also of the Malabar plains. Another expedition took me to the Cinchona Gardens at Neddivattam, and then down into the Wynaad with its coffee plantations. Pykara, with its beautiful lake and river, I had visited before. It would make a good annex to Ooty, when all available sites there have been occupied. I also spent a day on the western slopes of the Koondas, sleeping at the Avalanche Bungalow. The heavy and continuous rains during the S.W. Monsoon were rather a nuisance, but the best plan was to ignore them; to change into old clothes, put on a mackintosh, and go for a long walk.

It was well past the middle of 1888, that I first heard that my career in Madras was to be cut short. Lord Connemara then told me that I was to join the Governor General's Council in the North. When the time came for me to leave the hills he gave me a farewell dinner. In his speech he was good enough to speak of my sound judgment and he also referred to my having just before scored eighty runs in a match between married and single. In reply I could only say that such confidence as he had invariably shown me was calculated to bring out one's best qualities. I only saw him once again, and that was in England after my retirement Hearing he was not well I called to enquire. He had a friend with him and introduced me as having been his "right hand man in Madras."

There was one thing which I felt I must see before finally leaving the Presidency. That was the Periyar project to which allusion has already been made, as intended to bring superfluous water from the western side of the Ghats, through a tunnel, into the Vaigay river and the Madura District. Colonel Pennycuick, an old

cricketing friend, was in charge of the work and made arrangements for my visit. The principal bungalows were at the site of the great dam, then under construction, but on first arrival I put up at a small house near the mouth of the tunnel. Next morning we all walked to the dam, which was about a mile further into the Travancore Hills. On the way two things specially surprised me. One was Pennycuick asking his Assistant " about what would this be," and the reply, " about ninety." They were thinking of the depth of the water over the spot at which we stood when the lake was full. Apparently they had a datum of their own and reckoned, not by the number of feet above the sea but by the number below the surface of the completed lake. The other matter was the curious behaviour of wild elephants which frequently visited the works. Small stones had been fixed in the ground to mark the furlongs between the tunnel and the dam. These provoked the inquisitive instincts of the elephants and they pulled them up, one after another, to examine what on earth they could be.

The dam had once been washed away and its reconstruction was not far advanced, but the whole scene caused me some astonishment. Very high up, near the top of one of the enclosing cliffs, some men seemed to be digging. I supposed they were getting gravel for the dam but it turned out they were working on what would be the escape for the surplus water! A great deal of complicated machinery was being employed, and not long after my visit a shocking accident occurred, causing the death of a very promising Engineer, the son of Mr. G. N. Taylor, who had been a Member of the Governor General's Council. He became entangled in the machinery and was horribly mutilated. On my return journey I expressed a wish to walk across the hills through which the tunnel was being drilled. It was rather a rough climb and the Assistant Engineer, who accompanied me, said at the end that he had never thought a Member of the Council would have managed it. In 1907, when I paid a short visit to India, I was anxious to see the finished work, and the great lake covering the country through which I had walked, but I had to abandon the idea. There was no one then on the work; it was simply in charge of a native engineer who had other business throughout the Madura District.

When I returned to Madras, Lord Connemara was on tour. A meeting of the Legislative Council had been summoned, and I had to preside. We succeeded in passing a new Police Act for the city. It had been very carefully drawn by the Commissioner, Colonel

Weldon. Master was then on leave. The first month of his illness I had done his work as well as my own, but the strain was too great and I had to ask him to take leave. Stokes had then been appointed to act for him.

In the last match in which I played at Madras I made an extraordinary catch, extraordinary, not for any cleverness on my part, but for the circumstances. I was at cover point, and knowing a favourite stroke of the batsman I placed myself very deep, almost on the boundary. He made a stroke and thinking the ball had gone to long on I was walking about carelessly when I heard the bowler calling my name. Looking up I saw the ball coming down almost on to my head and had just time to get my hands together and make the catch. The setting sun had deceived me.

Before I left Madras I was entertained at a public Dinner at the Club. This was no common honour. I had always regarded it as something equivalent to recognition and enrolment as one of the "worthies" of the Presidency. Colonel Weldon presided, as Chairman of the Club. The main point of his speech was that they were sending up to Calcutta a "specimen" of the Presidency. No doubt he was thinking chiefly of my still youthful appearance, but it made me feel as if I had been pierced with a pin and impregnated with camphor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ON THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S COUNCIL, 1888-93.

BEFORE I left Madras I received a very kind letter of welcome from Lord Roberts (then Sir Frederick) whom I had known when he was Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Presidency. Sir Charles Aitchison, whom I was to succeed, wrote about his house, Gordon Castle, at Simla, and on his advice I agreed to take it on. He had rented it from the owner, Sir Theodore Hope, a previous member of Council. In a third letter Sir Andrew Scoble, the Legal Member, very kindly placed his house at the disposal of my wife and myself till we could make other arrangements. He was himself in Burma, consulting with the Chief Commissioner about some local legislation. I took my seat on the 17th November. Sir David Barbour had been appointed to the Council many months before, but had been detained in England on a Currency Commission. He was, therefore, not able to take his seat till a few days after myself, and was technically my junior. He also came to Scoble's house, and we were there together until my wife and I secured a flat in a boarding house.

But we had arrived in Calcutta some days before the 17th, and coming from a place where we had had heaps of friends to a new Society where we were perfect strangers, we naturally felt somewhat depressed. To make matters worse, the Government was on the move from Simla, and even my Secretaries did not reach Calcutta till some days after I had taken my seat. I had two Departments in my charge, the Home and the Revenue. The Home Secretary was A. P. Macdonnell (afterwards Lord Macdonnell), but he went to Burma a year later and C. J. Lyall came from Assam to take his place. Sir Edward Buck was the Revenue Secretary, and so continued throughout my time and even longer. Many amusing stories are told of his absent-mindedness, but fortunately, none of them touched his official capacity. Under Macdonnell was J. P. Hewitt (afterwards Sir John) and P. G. Melitus. Edgerley (Sir Steyning) came for a short time from Bombay, and was even more depressed by his strange surroundings than I had been. Under Sir E. Buck was Walter Lawrence (now a Baronet with many orders)

but he left very soon to carry out a Revenue Settlement of the Kashmir State to which I shall have to refer later. He was succeeded by Muir Mackenzie (Sir John), who remained to assist me throughout my five years.

It was not till near the end of November that the other Councillors, Chesney, Scoble and Elliot arrived in Calcutta, and Lord Dufferin himself was a little later. We assembled at Government House to receive him. This was my first public appearance, and it was then that my youthful looks first became the subject of remark. It was even suggested that some young fellow must be impersonating the new Member!

Lord Dufferin left India about a month later, and I only attended one or two Councils under his presidency, and had but one private talk with him. I suppose I must have made some rash remark at one of the Councils, for he thought it well to warn me as to the necessity of maintaining continuity. He gave himself as an instance, having carried on Lord Ripon's policy even where he differed from him. The warning was hardly needed for I entirely agreed with what he said. At the same interview he mentioned that Lord Connemara seemed very sorry to lose me. "In fact," he said, "he writes like a cow which has lost its calf." At St. Andrew's dinner he made a most impressive speech on the political condition of India at that time.

The Marquess of Lansdowne came before the end of the year, and we were all presented to him at Lord Dufferin's farewell dinner. On the platform, when the latter left, I remarked a very handsome looking Indian in gorgeous costume. It was the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, whom I had previously seen, but only in English clothes. His native dress was far more becoming. Just before she left, Lady Dufferin laid the foundation stone of her new Hospital for women, at Calcutta. I had the honour of presenting her with a golden trowel for the ceremony. It was the gift of a Madras gentleman, Sir Savalay Ramasamy Mudaly.

It was only at the beginning of the new year, 1889, that our real work with Lord Lansdowne began. I soon found that much of my time would be taken up with Legislation. Having two Departments I had to take charge of many of the Bills introduced, and I was almost invariably put on the Select Committees to which Bills were referred for detailed examination. I found, too, that each of my portfolios included a number of what may be termed sub-Departments. Under the head of Revenue I had to deal with

Forests, Surveys, Agriculture, Geology and Veterinary work, each of which had its own Director. The Home Department included Archaeology, Prisons, Patents, Police—indeed everything falling under the general term, " The Interior " ; but it also dealt with all matters coming from Burma and the Andaman Islands. The general control of Burma, at that time only half-pacified, involved some heavy work. The Chief Commissioner was my old friend and school-fellow, Sir Charles Crosthwaite. He had been my senior at school, and, as a monitor, used to hear my Horace and look over my exercises when I was in the Sixth Form. On learning that I had been appointed to have charge of the Home Department he wrote to me in his humourous way that I must remember how lightly he treated me in those days, and deal with him in the same easy spirit. I took an early opportunity of paying him a visit, and at the end of 1890 he joined me in the Council.

During this Calcutta season, an American, Dr. Pentecost, gave a Lecture on the growth and prospects of Christianity in India. After speaking of the Portuguese settlements on the Western Coast he dismissed that part of his subject with the remark, " But what could God do with the Portuguese ? "

In legislation I carried through a Bill abolishing the office of Coroner in Madras, and later on, at Simla, we had some trouble with the Mamlatdars of Bombay. These are the same as the Tahsildars of Madras. They are native officers in charge of a Taluk, or sub-division of a District. Many of them had admitted, under a promise of indemnity, that they had given bribes in order to obtain their office. Under an English statute this absolutely disqualified them from holding their appointments, and so far the promise of indemnity could not be fulfilled. But we had to give effect to it as far as was possible, and to award compensation.

In the autumn, Lord and Lady Reay paid a visit to the Lansdownes at Simla. They had been greatly worried by the imbroglio in which the Crawford trial and the pledges to the Mamlatdars had involved the Government of Bombay. In reply to the usual hope that she had slept well, Lady Reay said " No, it was all those horrid Mamlatdars." Her hostess had not heard of these creatures before and supposed that they must be some kind of unpleasant insect which had found their way even into Viceregal Lodge !

The Budget debate took place in Calcutta at the end of March, but there was only one point on which I intervened. The High Court had demanded more District Munsifs for Bengal. Bearing in

mind what had happened in Madras I told the Bengal Government that they must certainly provide whatever Courts were necessary, but I suggested that some competent officer should be delegated to make a comprehensive examination of the whole question. Mr. Stevens, afterwards a Judge of the High Court, was commissioned to do this, and on his report some increase in the numbers, both of Sub-Judges and Munsifs, was sanctioned.

At the end of March, the Government moved to Simla, and I arranged with Sir Andrew Scoble to visit some of the Rajputana States in his company. My wife had already gone to the hills with Miss Elliot.

I went alone to Agra, where I stopped with the Commissioner, W. Kaye, who had been in my term at Haileybury, and who now, like myself, is one of the five Haileybury civilians still surviving. Of course I went all over the Fort and at least twice to the Taj, but my most vivid recollection is of the Pearl Mosque, and the dazzling blue sky above its pure white walls. I also drove out to Futteypore Sikri, and spent a night at Akbar's deserted city. What I best remember there is the beautiful tomb of a Mahomedan Saint.

Then I joined Scoble at Jeypoor, whence I made an excursion to Amber, the ancient capital of that State. We then went on in Scoble's railway carriage—each Councillor has his own carriage—to Alwar. The palace at Alwar is very beautiful, and the Raja has a fine breed of horses. It was interesting to see the young colts come galloping in at the word of command. At Jeypoor, Dr. Hendley was doing good work in training Art Students. I still have a small box, gold and enamelled, made by them. From Alwar we went to Delhi and then to the hills.

On arrival at Simla I found my wife installed with her servants —most of them Madrasis—in Gorton Castle. It was a comfortable house, but did not quite deserve its high-sounding name. The only building at all worthy of such a title is the Viceroy's, and that is only called a Lodge—Viceregal Lodge. In one respect the situation of Gorton Castle was remarkable. It was on the top of a small hill which formed a watershed. Rain falling on the north roof went to swell the Sutlej, and reached the Arabian Sea through the Indus; whereas that on the other side of the house passed by way of the Ganges into the Bay of Bengal. I did not think Simla at all equal to Ootacamund, and Lord Roberts, as well as others who know both places, was of the same opinion. In April, everything seemed dried up, although the first rains, a few weeks later, made

a startling difference in this respect, covering every branch with ferns and quickly turning brown into green. There is no lake as at Ooty, and only one real road—that round the hill called Jacko. For this reason no one but the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief and the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, was allowed to keep a carriage. Ladies went about in Rickshas, and men generally on ponies. There were but one or two walks on anything like level ground. For a good tramp one must go down and up 1,000 feet or more. I have seen Darjeeling, Mussouri, Landour, Naini Tal and Murree. Most of the above remarks apply to all these. For they are but on the first foot-hills of the Himalayas, whereas Ooty and Kodikanal stand on their own plateaux.

Far down in the ravines there were hill-villages and cultivation. Their drab appearance was much relieved by crimson splashes of Amaranthus—a kind of cockscomb—either growing in the fields or spread out to dry on the flat roofs of the cottages.

Soon after reaching Simla I read Kipling's " Plain Tales of the Hills," and was astonished to hear they had been written by a man of nineteen. I at once declared him to be a genius, and my judgment was much confirmed by some letters from him which appeared shortly after in the Pioneer.

One thing about Simla which astonished our Madras servants was the length of the evenings. When my wife was giving her first dinner party she found, on coming down, that the butler had not even had the lamps lighted. In Madras it is dark by seven even in Summer. One of the servants was a Bengal Mahomedan. He pretended that he knew only a few domestic words of English, such as knife and spoon, but when my Madras boy left and I took him on as bearer and travelling servant, he proved to be quite a fair interpreter. I had almost forgotten the little Hindustani which I had learnt in College. It seems strange that people in North India should object to servants who know English. Nowadays nearly all of that class can speak and understand it more or less. Surely it is safer to have people about who admit their knowledge than those who pretend ignorance, but can really follow all your conversation.

Most of my servants in Madras spoke fair English, but sometimes their phraseology was amusing. One who rejoiced in the name of Aaron had to be dismissed. He petitioned to be taken back, addressing me as " Most Spanking Sir," and pleading " I and my aged parents are lingering for grub." Once, when reprimanded

for bringing a plate to me before my sister-in-law, he excused himself by saying "Too much got for Missie." It would be easy to give many other instances, but these must suffice.

Only one Act of general importance was passed at Simla during this season, viz. that which consolidated the law relating to Military Cantonments. The Mamlatdars Bill, already described, was only interesting to Bombay. And there was some legislation with regard to the Central Provinces.

In October the first frosts arrive and the ferns shrivel up. It is the best month of the year in Simla, but the time for the move of Government had come, and work was to be in full force at Calcutta by November. That season laws had to be passed with regard to Baluchistan, and Scoble and I arranged to pay a visit to Sir Robert Sandeman at Quetta. We travelled, as before, in his carriage. Our first halt was at Amritzar. After we had inspected the Golden Temple we were taken to a house just opposite where the Guru of the Sikhs initiated us as far as possible, and invested us with turbans. Since then I have regarded myself as "half a Sikh." Next we had a couple of days halt at Lahore, a most interesting town, and then proceeded by the N.W. line to Shikarpur, crossing the Indus at Sukkur, where the Lansdowne Bridge had just been completed. Shikarpur, in Sindh, is one of the hottest towns in the country. Formerly, it was a frontier station for the arrival of caravans from Central Asia, and it has a beautiful covered bazaar to which they use to bring their goods. There are two lines of railway up to Quetta, but in my time both were more or less precarious. The Harnai line, however, was in daily use though liable to interruption by a landslide at a place appropriately called Mud Gorge. The Bolan route was closed, but of that more hereafter. We went up by the Harnai line and admired the skill with which it had been laid out, and the tunnels through the cliffs, lighted and ventilated by side openings in the cliff.

We had a warm welcome from Sandeman and his wonderful Mahomedan butler, but we found Quetta very cold, and I was glad to have a blazing fire in my room all night. There was a good stream of water through the station, edged with young plane trees which had just shed their leaves. After a day or two we were joined by General Collen, the Military Secretary, and it was arranged that the whole party should pay a visit to the Khojak tunnel, and further on to Chaman, the frontier post facing Kandahar.

The tunnel was not then far advanced, but the railway took us to its mouth. Unfortunately, when we arrived there I had

contracted a chill, and had to remain in our carriage, passing a very unhappy nght. Most of the others rode off early in the morning over the hill and down to Chaman. Towards evening I found myself rather better and managed to climb the hill over the tunnel, whence I had a good view of the valley ending in Chaman, and was even able to get a glance of Kandahar.

Lord Lansdowne himself was coming to Quetta, and the Engineers were endeavouring to repair the Bolan line so that he might be taken back by that route. They thought they could manage to take me that way in a trolley, and Collen agreed to accompany me. Scoble would not risk it, and paid me a mournful and final farewell to which I replied that I hoped to be on the platform to receive him at the Junction. And so it happened, though the journey was something of an adventure. For the first and steepest part we were on a trolley driven by the chief engineer himself. That gave me confidence, but otherwise I should certainly have felt uncomfortable. My seat was over the near wheels, and looking down I could see that several times for a few feet there was nothing to support them but the rail itself. All the solid soil on which the rail should have rested had been washed away. However we got down safely and crossed the Bolan river to a bungalow on the left bank, where we had lunch. At this point the old rails laid in the bed of the river had been so completely washed away by a flood that the engineers could not find them at all. From there we were carried on an engine, but it often had to work its way through two feet of water. The line has now been diverted from the river and is carried along the left bank where it is safe from floods. It was in Quetta that I first saw a new system of irrigation, the water running underground from well to well.

On rejoining Scoble we proceeded at once to Karachi. There we were made Honorary Members of the excellent Club, and were glad to get some good food as the refreshments on the N.W. Railway had not been appetising. Karachi seems to be remarkable for fish of all kinds, and all very good. In the morning I went over to Manora and the next day a B.I. Steamer took us to Bombay. Scoble had been Advocate General of Bombay, and he was welcomed by a public meeting at which I had the pleasure of seeing and hearing how much he had been esteemed and appreciated. Then we went on to Calcutta, ready for the work of the winter session.

The first business was to pass the Bills which had been discussed at Quetta through the Legislative Council. In February, two Bills

in my charge—the Burma Forests Bill and the Burma Village Bills—became Laws. Their discussion satisfied me that I ought to see something of Burma and its people as soon as possible, and I arranged to pay Crossthwaite a visit in the autumn. About this time a Despatch came from the Secretary of State deprecating tours by Members of Council other than the Viceroy and Commander-in Chief, but I had so much to do with Burma, a country of which I was totally ignorant, that it seemed to me important, and even necessary, that I should carry out my proposed visit. It certainly enabled me to understand better many questions which I had to determine.

Among other Bills which I passed through the Legislative Council during this Session was one for the better prevention of cruelty to animals : also bills regarding the Census and Petroleum. I think it was about this time that I heard an amusing story regarding a rather stout Bengal civilian. He suffered from prickly heat, and used to powder himself all over. One morning when he started the powder, after his warm bath, his skin began to fizzle, and he became much alarmed. His bearer had replenished the powder-box with Eno's Fruit Salt, one white powder seeming as good as another.

Sir Charles Elliot invited me to tennis and to meet Sir William Ward, who was going to Burma as Judicial Commissioner. After I had left, Ward enquired why I had not come, and on being enlightened as to my identity, he said that he had taken me for quite a young fellow, and had left me to pick up the balls!

My wife had gone to England for the winter, and Scoble and I had taken a house at Calcutta. I attended the Star Theatre once or twice to see some Bengali plays. They were well acted and I rather enjoyed them though I could not follow the words as I knew no Bengali. But I drew on myself some reproaches for having gone to a theatre where, it was said, I ought to have known that the female parts were all taken by women of no character.

A Bill for the better regulation of factories was under preparation. I therefore seized an opportunity of inspecting the management of some cotton mills, at Budge Budge. They were owned and managed by a Parsi gentleman, and I found little to which objection could be taken. At Christmas I went to Darjeeling and had a splendid view of Kinchin-junga. From Tiger Hill even Everest itself was visible in the distance, but only like the tip of one's thumb, just rising above other peaks of 25,000 feet and upwards.

Early in 1890, the Prince of Wales, Prince Eddie, paid a short visit to Calcutta, and charmed everyone by his kindly and unaffected

demeanour. His death, not long after, was universally regretted. We also had a brief visit from the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. He was then Commander-in-Chief of Bombay.

About the same time W. S. Gilbert, of Savoy fame, came to Calcutta. I sat next to him at some dinner party when he told me that the funniest thing he had seen in the East was a Parsi Company acting an English Burlesque seriously!

On leaving Calcutta for Simla I met my wife at Delhi, and we stayed there two or three days as she had not seen the various buildings in the Fort, the Jama Masjid and other sights in the city or its neighbourhood.

Business and society functions went on much as usual at Simla. I remember going for a walk, or rather a climb, with Lord Lansdowne, at the back of Viceregal Lodge, one Sunday afternoon. We were talking about the birds and insects of the hills—Lady Bertie took great interest in them—when I suddenly asked him if he had ever seen a Bird of Paradise Flycatcher. He said he had not, and immediately one flew past us. It seemed a strange coincidence but I must have heard the bird's note or croak, and must have recognized it subconsciously. One frequented my house at Madura every spring. When young it has a reddish and white body, but the adult bird is black and white. From the tail stream two long white feathers, more than a foot long in a full grown specimen.

Two or three times I rode out to Mashobra, some five miles from Simla, where both Elliot and Buck had houses, and near which, Government had an experimental fruit garden. Later in the year Lyall and I made an expedition into what was called the interior of the hills. That is to say we went five stages, each of about a dozen miles, along the road to Thibet. When starting, my throat was a little sore, and at the first bungalow my head began to ache. We went on however, for four days, although both pains became worse each day. At the fifth bungalow I could hardly speak, and next morning it did not seem possible that I could travel. But the sun came out, and after sitting in it for an hour or two I declared myself ready to begin marching back. Evidently I had had an attack of influenza, and I am convinced that a sun bath, if you can only secure the sun, is the very best remedy for the 'Flu. After that I got back to Simla without difficulty, but I had not reckoned with the after consequences. A few days later, when I was playing lawn tennis, the knee which I had injured in the Madura bath, sixteen years earlier, gave way again and for a long time I was a

cripple. Even when I could walk on the level or uphill, I had to be very careful on any downward slope. My knee was still unreliable when the Simla season ended and the time arrived for my visit to Burma.

When we were on the Thibet road we encountered a party of Thibetans with their flock of diminutive sheep. On each small animal was tied a bag or sack probably containing salt or wheat. The sheep graze as they go along, and carry the goods, a slow but very economical way of travelling.

I have now dealt with two Simla seasons, and I have said very little about work. That is not because there was not plenty of business done, but because in those years there was no matter of such outstanding importance that I am able to recall it at this distance of time. My two Departments gave me every day as much work as one man could possibly cope with. Indeed, soon after I left India, it was found necessary to separate them and place them under different Councillors. It was only by resolutely grappling with each day's work as it came in that I prevented arrears accumulating. Perhaps, later on, I may be able to summarize the results of what we did at Simla, though I shall not be able to say how much we contributed to those results in particular years. It would be safe to say that most of the spade-work was done at Simla, and most of the legislative work at Calcutta.

One important achievement in 1889, ought to be mentioned here, though it did not concern either of the Departments in my special charge. Algernon Durand, younger brother of the Foreign Secretary, had been sent to re-establish the Agency at Gilgit, North of Kashmir. It took some time to improve the road and to reorganize the Kashmiri troops. He then proceeded to bring under control the raiding chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, who lived up a ravine which they deemed to be impregnable. At the first assault Durant was severely wounded but he was able to direct from Gilgit the later operations. Under fire, Manners Smith and some Gurkhas managed to scale the precipitous rocks of Nilt, and the two Rajas either fled or submitted. A well earned Victoria Cross was given to Manners Smith, who later on came to Simla, and we played cricket together. Many years later, when I attended a Levee at St. James' Palace, I was accosted by a Gentleman-at-arms whom I did not at first recognize under his helmet. It was Algy Durand.

In October, I hurried down to Calcutta and embarked for Rangoon. It took a day or two to go over the great temple—the Swe Dagon

—and to see the Royal Lakes, the Chief Court and other local sights, but my main object had been to gain some idea of the country and especially of Upper Burma which had only been annexed three years earlier. So I lost no time in taking the train to Prome and there embarking for Mandalay. Crosthwaite had kindly arranged that I should see the upper river from Mandalay as far as Bhamo in a small stern-wheel steamer. I made a short halt at Thayetmo, the old frontier station. Not far above that was the fort at which Theebaw's most serious resistance was quickly overcome by my old friend Sir Harry Prendergast. Other landmarks below Mandalay I saw better on the return journey. The great palace of Mandalay is a wonderful sight with its teak gateways and cupolas, its moat where regattas are held, and the numerous Buddhist temples by which it is surrounded. The best of the latter, " The Incomparable," has since been destroyed by fire. I went over all of them and even managed somehow to mount a pony and ascend the hill from which there is a grand view. I also inspected a detachment of the Karenni Military Police. These Karens are very small and rather ugly men, of slighter build than Gurkhas, but I was told they make fair soldiers and are especially good for jungle work. They are all Christians and have a chapel in their barracks. Then, after a visit to the great market, I embarked for Bhamo.

From the voyage up the river and the two or three halts, for we moored to the bank each night, I was able to form some idea of the wildness of the country, though, of course, only a superficial one. I landed at the Ruby mines and paid them a visit. As to the defiles I was disappointed. They could not be compared with the Gorge of the Godaveri, but I understood that the best defile, as also the wildest country, was above Bhamo. Bhamo itself was wild enough, and half the people there seemed to be Chinese. Order was maintained by the Military Police, who were Sikhs. It was amusing to see a stalwart sergeant trotting off on a dimunitive pony with his feet barely above the ground. I was reminded of a similar picture when I first came out and was in Alexandria ; of our very tall Admiralty Agent on an Alexandrian donkey. On my way back to Mandalay I landed to see the Great Bell of the Mindon King ; close by were the enormous foundations of a pagodah which had never been finished.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite met me on my return to Mandalay. He had come up from Prome in his steam yacht, and we went back in it together, after I had paid a visit to Amalpur and Sagaing. On the return journey we stopped for a night at Minghyaun, where we

dined with the Commissioner, and for a whole day at Yeningyaun, in order to inspect the oilfield. As I was still unable to ride I was provided with a bullock cart. Under Theebaw's rule the oil had been worked in native fashion, but the Burma Oil Company had imported Canadian experts, and it was interesting to see the two systems working side by side. Here were derricks automatically pumping up a continuous stream. There a large crowd of natives could only bring up in a quarter hour a small pot containing more mud than oil. A Burman had first to sit with his eyes bandaged beside the well. Then, the bandage having been removed, he descended with his spade and pot, while twenty or more men and women stood ready with a rope to haul him up on signal being given. It was right to give the old workers a chance and to reserve for them part of the oil area, but it seemed certain that they must give way in the end. At that time the crude oil was conveyed to the river in a pipe, but I believe the pipe now takes it all the way to Rangoon, where it is clarified.

On reaching Prome I made a halt for a day or two, but I do not remember whether Crosthwaite stopped with me or hurried back to Rangoon. On the cliff just above Prome many images of Buddha have been carved. And Prome itself contains a large number of remarkable old temples, which I examined. But I was more interested in the lacquer work which is carried on there, and I witnessed the whole process, beginning with the bamboo foundation and going on with various layers of lacquer.

The Andaman Islands, or rather Port Blair on one of them, form the Botany Bay of India. Convicts sentenced to transportation are sent there from all parts of India. The Settlement is administered by a Chief Commissioner, but controlled by the Home Department, and judicially I was its High Court. At Rangoon I was half way there and I thought I had better go on and see for myself how it was managed.

An Indian Marine Steamer, the " Enterprise," had been visiting the Light-houses on the Burma Coast, but it was not wanted just then, and it was placed at my disposal. It took me first to Moulmein, where, as also at Rangoon, I had the opportunity of seeing the wonderful docility and even skill of the elephants employed in the Teak yards. One will pick up and carry on its tusks, or in its trunk —they evidently dislike having a great weight on their tusks— huge logs which would take many men to lift, and it will place the log against a stack or on the river bank as may be required. If the

log is to be stacked it will lift it into position and then take a step backward to see if it is quite right; if not it will give it a tap to adjust it. If the log is to go to the river the cunning animal will place it lengthwise on the slope and then, by a vigorous kick, send it down into the water. I thought Moulmein a beautiful place and can still see with my mind's eye the view at sunset from the band-stand across the river to a well wooded island, called by the natives " Wash-head Island ! "

I should have liked to take the " Enterprise " round by the Mergui Archipelago, but I could not spare the time. We therefore went from Moulmein straight to Port Blair. The Chief Commissioner at that time was Colonel Cadell. He and most of his officers lived on Ross island at the mouth of the harbour, where also a company of troops had their quarters. The boatmen and nearly all the servants are convicts. Sikh Police keep order in the camps and guard the Viper Jail, where dangerous prisoners are confined, and the Chatham workshops. Both these are situated near the upper end of the harbour. After a short probation convicts are generally employed in camps. After a longer time, if well behaved, they become " self-supporters," and cultivate small plots of land on their own, living in their own huts. I visited a large camp one evening with Col. Cadell. The men had just come in from work and were standing about. Cadell gave the order to sit and they squatted down at once. They were nearly all murderers or gang robbers, but we walked through their ranks quite quietly, Cadell having only a light cane and the police guard remaining outside. Not many years before Lord Mayo had been assassinated by a Pathan convict. It is hardly possible for convicts to escape. All round is jungle and the Andamanese would either kill them or bring them back. Even if they got away and found a boat the nearest land is many miles away.

Attempts have been made to civilize the natives of the islands, but not with much success. It is indeed difficult to communicate with them. They live in the jungle, are perfectly naked and feed chiefly on wild pig, which they shoot with roughly-made arrows. However a small party were induced to come to Calcutta, and were even brought to a Garden Party at Government House. There they caused some amusement and perhaps a little alarm, though they kept mostly in the shubberies.

At Port Blair there was much talk about a new timber called Padouk. It is stronger than teak and of richer colour than mahogany.

The Forest officers were so anxious to advertise it that they put down a new floor at cost price in the largest room of my house at Simla, and this was much appreciated by our dancing friends. The new Government House at Rangoon is panelled with Padouk, and probably it is now more widely known.

The " Enterprise " took me back to Rangoon, and then the ordinary mail steamer to Calcutta. Some years later the " Enterprise " was again at Port Blair, and was wrecked there in a cyclone, near the female convicts' prison. The women made a brave attempt to rescue the crew, hanging on to one another and venturing almost out of their depth. But very few of the crew were saved. I was glad to hear that the women who had most distinguished themselves received a free pardon.

Before leaving Rangoon I was fortunately able to witness a Burman Pwe, or theatrical performance. It was given by a private merchant in a public street, all traffic being stopped. A few seats were reserved and enclosed, but anyone who liked could sit outside the barrier and see all that was going on. In fact many people brought mats to lie on. and refreshments to sustain them, for the play was to last the whole night. The scenery was simplicity itself, consisting solely of a branch of a tree stuck up to represent a jungle. The performers were a prince and princess and a friendly dacoit. The word dacoit really means no more than a man with a dah—*i.e.*, a sword or axe—and would include a wood-cutter. A Burman seems always ready to betake himself to the jungle, and for some reason or other the Prince—if he was a prince, he was at all events a well-to-do young man—had left his home for the woods. He had a long soliloquy, sometimes interrupted by the talkative dacoit, and sang a love song or two. Then entered the girl and there was much dialogue and more songs, the dacoit occasionally addressing one or the other and at other times looking after the lights and other stage properties. Two hours of this were as much as I could stand, not knowing the language, but before retiring I asked if it would be correct to offer a douceur to the performers. This was quite in accordance with etiquette and I handed over 20Rs., which the Deputy Commissioner proceeded to distribute with a request that the princess would sing one song more before I left. This she courteously did.

CHAPTER XIX

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.—Continued.

THERE has been much discussion lately as to whether the recent conflicts between Hindus and Mahomedans can be attributed to Mr. Montagu's Reforms. In the Madras Presidency, except in parts of Malabar and Kurnool, the Mahomedans form a very small fraction of the population. Ever since the early fifties, when Mr. Connolly was killed by them, the fanatical Moplas of Malabar have often risen against their Hindu landlords and neighbours. But the only other conflict between the two religionists which I can call to mind was the Salem riot about 1880. But taking India as a whole such outbreaks have been of constant occurrence ever since the British Administration began. They cannot therefore be due to the Reforms alone. But I think there can be no doubt that the antagonism between the two religions—and I may add between different races and castes among professing Hindus—has been greatly aggravated, not directly by the Reforms, but by the Swaraj movement to which they have given rise. It is but natural that the Mahomedans should dread the ascendency of the more numerous Hindus, and insist on Communal representation. At all events the recrudescence and persistence of such conflicts show clearly enough that Swaraj is at present impossible and that effective British control is still indispensable.

For this Calcutta season (1890-1), Scoble and I rented a house facing the esplanade or maidan from Mr. Justice Prinsep. My wife remained at Simla, but paid us a fortnight's visit in January. Just as I am writing this I have heard of the death of my friend Sir George Forrest. He came to Calcutta about the same time as myself, and a year or two later became Keeper of the Records. After my experience in Madura I was interested in record-keeping, and was glad to discuss his plans with such an expert. Another Calcutta friend whom I have not yet mentioned was Mackay—now Lord Inchcape. He was at that time Manager of the B.I.S.N. Company, but was also a valuable member of the Legislative Council. Later on he joined the Secretary of State's Council as Financial Member, and thus again became my colleague.

It must have been in this season or in 1889-90 that Chinese Commissioners came to Calcutta to negotiate a treaty. I still have their visiting cards, strips of red paper seven inches by four inches, on which their names and titles have been written or painted in black ink. The preliminaries for the convention had been settled at Gnatong, by Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary. The Chief Chinaman was called Amban, but he had both a civil and a military colleague. We gave them a dinner at our house, when Scoble took charge of the Amban and Lord Roberts of the military man, while the Civil Commissioner was allotted to myself, each pair having someone able to interpret. They drank freely of all the wines, but they thought claret rather " cold on the stomach." My Commissioner was a stout jovial person, and in that respect a great contrast to his military colleague. He could not get nearer to my name than Mr. Hu, the Chinese being very monosyllabic. Towards the end of dinner he said something to the interpreter of which the latter seemed to disapprove, but I desired to have it passed on. He wanted to ask whether I could be related to someone whom he called " our Mr. Hu of London." This reminded me that my brother Frederick was solicitor to the Chinese Government, and my jovial friend was delighted to hear that we were brothers. Thereupon I said I must give myself a Chinese name, and it should be Hu Pee Pee. A year later my friend came again to Calcutta, saluted me as Hu Pee Pee and gave me a warm embrace.

In January, 1891, the Czarevitch (the late Czar of Russia) came to Calcutta with Prince George of Greece. Prince George was something of a giant, and made the Czarevitch look rather insignificant. The latter was also shy and awkward—a great contrast to our own Prince Eddie. At a State Dinner given by the Lieutenant Governor there was a sudden explosion suggesting a bomb. The Czarevitch took little notice but Prince George half jumped up from the table. The noise had been caused by two or three bottles of soda water being knocked together and bursting.

A question came up in the Revenue Department as to the position of the Dafé ryots, in Coorg. In former times they had been responsible, like the Sheriffs in England, for the arrest and custody of malefactors. Those duties had now devolved on the new Police. But in consideration of their old responsibilities they were paying only half the revenue levied from other cultivators. It seemed to me this was a case to be treated on the principles laid down by the Inam Commission, in Madras. Old grants or Inams which had

been connected with any service or obligation were recognized and enfranchised subject to the payment of a fraction of the full revenue. And I suggested that the holdings of these Dafé ryots should be registered as free from service subject to their paying an additional quit-rent equal to a third or a quarter of that half assessment from which they had hitherto been excused. This proposal was not accepted as it stood—apparently for sentimental reasons, Lord Roberts remarking that the Coorgs were a fine loyal race—but the Chief Commissioner was asked to invite the ryots to accept enfranchisement on some such easy terms. The matter was finally settled at Simla.

The Legislative work was unusually heavy during this Calcutta Session, and on one occasion we sat till quite late at night. Among other Bills passed two were of outstanding interest—that raising the age of consent from ten to twelve and a Factories Bill. The technical title of the former was a Bill to amend the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, but the whole object was to protect immature wives from their husbands. Every Member of the Council spoke about it at considerable length, and there was a general agreement that such protection had become necessary. The object of the Factories Bill was to ensure that the workers should have reasonable rests, and to prevent the overworking of women and children. It was enacted that all the hands should have a day off in the week, and half an hour's rest at midday. Night work for women and children was stopped; the employment of children was restricted to seven hours—really six, allowance being made for a rest—while the hours for women were limited to eleven, with rests for one and a half.

My wife again left for Simla before me, taking Miss Pritchard with her. They were to stop at Cawnpore and visit Lucknow. I must have mentioned this to a high staff officer, and he wrote at once to some Colonel at Cawnpore, but I forgot to mention this to my wife. On arrival at Cawnpore they were warmly welcomed by a perfect stranger who insisted on taking them to his house. They had some embarrasment but more amusement in trying to find out who he was and the reason for his very kind, but quite unexpected, hospitality.

At the end of this Calcutta season Scoble and Chesney retired from the Council, and were succeeded by Sir Alexander Miller and General Brackenbury. I was particularly sorry to have lost Scoble just then, because the Manipur disaster occurred almost directly

after he left, and his experience and judgment would have been invaluable. We had also lost Sir Charles Elliot in December, as he became Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in the place of Sir Stuart Bayley, who went home to become Political Secretary at the India Office. My old friend Crosthwaite came into Elliot's place and lived with us until his health obliged him to take leave. He had broken down under the strain of pacifying the new Province of Upper Burma. I played my first golf with him on the Maidan. Many people were walking about and I suggested that it might be a little dangerous. "Oh no," said he, and let fly. The ball went within a foot of a coolie's nose.

The trouble at Manipur had been caused by the arrogant and defiant behaviour of the Yuva Raja, or Heir Apparent, in whose hands the Raja himself seemed to be a mere puppet. I knew nothing about the matter myself as it was dealt with in the Political Department, and by the Viceroy personally. But Mr. Quinton had been selected to visit Manipur and effect the younger Raja's arrest, and he was summoned before the Council to explain his plans and the force he would require. He thought a Gurkha battalion would be sufficient, and this was sanctioned. But I remember, perfectly well, that I cautioned him to be sure to take enough men and not to run risks. This, however, was a matter for the Political and Military authorities. As it turned out the disaster would probably have been avoided if Quinton had taken two mountain guns in addition to the Gurkha battalion. Perhaps it was not known that they had some sort of cannon in the Manipur Palace.

When I left Calcutta, early in April, I was still a cripple. Indeed, I was even worse than before, as I had burst the sheath of the muscle of my left calf while playing at Badminton. I suppose it had become limp from my long inaction. For some days I had to go on crutches, and still wore a very thick heel on my left shoe. My brother, Colonel Hutchins, had come up from Madras to spend a couple of months with me, and we started together for Benares, which was to be our first objective. At Benares we occupied a house belonging to an old Madras friend, the Maharaja of Vizianagram. He not only lent us the house but put his boat at our disposal, and his people did everything possible to make us comfortable. I think we even had an elephant to ride through the city, but I am sure we had the boat out and coasted down the river front, enjoying a splendid view of the bathing and burning ghats, and the numerous temples, with the lofty minarets of Aurangzebe's mosque towering over all. From Benares we went to Lucknow where we stayed

for two days. Then the train took us to Roorkee, where we left my railway carriage, with our bedding in it, and sent it to Saharanpur, where we were to rejoin it. From Roorkee we proceeded to Hardwar, where we were put up by the Commissioner, Patterson, whose acquaintance I had made at Simla. It seems to be the custom in North India for guests to bring their bedding with them, but I was not aware of this, and had left ours in the carriage. However, Patterson had a large assortment of rugs and made us quite comfortable.

He was at Hardwar on account of a great fair and festival to which pilgrims come from all parts of India. Such gatherings often proved a nucleus of cholera, and it was necessary to exercise a strict control over all sanitary arrangements. Hardwar is the site of the great weir over the Ganges and much of the water is diverted into canals, but there is plenty left for the pilgrims to bathe in and wash away their sins. The best bathing pool was crammed with large fish, attracted by the rice which the pilgrims throw or take in for them. It was an extraordinary sight, for bathers and fish were tumbling over one another in inextricable confusion.

From Hardwar we went to a place called Lakhisala, from which we crossed the hills into Dehra Dun on a pad elephant. At the foot of the hills was a carriage which had been sent out from Dehra, and this took us to the Dehra cantonment where we stayed with my wife's cousin, E. O. Leggatt, the Deputy Commissioner. Here I inspected the Forest School and the Trigonometrical Survey Office. We then ascended the hills to Mussourie. The train took us to the foot of the ghaut, and we rode up on ponies. There was a good hotel at the top, and as the season had not begun there was no difficulty about rooms. We rode over one day to Landour, where a British regiment is quartered during the hot months. It is possible to march along the hills from Mussourie to Simla, but it takes three or four days, and being still lame I never thought of undertaking such a journey. Moreover it was at Mussourie that I first got news of the disaster at Manipur, and that made us hurry on to Simla. Both Mussourie and Landour are about the same height as Simla, and also as Ootacamund.

Mr. Quinton and his Gurkhas had duly reached Manipur and had established themselves in quarters opposite to the Palace. There must have been some parleying, but it was not long before our party was regularly besieged, rifles and some cannon pouring shot into their ranks. It became necessary to try negotiation, and Quinton

and the Commanding Officer of the Gurkhas were invited to the Palace gate. They were at once siezed and the gate was closed. Both were then beheaded. The Gurkhas were forced to retreat and got back into English territory with great difficulty. The only bright spot in the story came from the Burma side of Manipur. Captain Grant entered Manipur territory from that side with a few Sepoys and entrenched himself. He was attacked by a large part of the Manipur army, but managed to drive them off. For this gallant act he was awarded the V.C.

Of course no time was lost in sending up a much larger force, and it captured Manipur without much difficulty, and made prisoners of the Raja, the Yuva Raja, and their immediate followers. A commission was then appointed to investigate the facts and apportion the blame for the outrage. The Yuva Raja and an old general were found to be the prime movers, and we sentenced them to be hung. The Raja ought to have exercised the authority with which he was vested but seemed to have been overawed by the younger Prince. He was deposed and sent to Port Blair with a few followers, not as a convict, but for safe detention. The State was not annexed, but a junior member of the Royal family was recognized as the titular Raja, and a Regency was appointed to carry on the Government.

While at Simla I took my brother two or three stages into the "interior." Snow was still lying in patches, and we enjoyed a little rough tobogganing. Each patch of snow had a fringe of primulas and crocuses, which sprang up at the first touch of the sun. When my brother's leave neared its end the hot weather had set in, and we had to think how he could best get back to Madras. It was settled that he should go viâ Bombay, and then by sea to Beypur. My kind friend Mackay offered to arrange for a special steamer if necessary, but the regular weekly boat suited well enough. Mackay wrote to Bombay and his agent there received Alfred most hospitably, and forwarded him on his trying journey. About this time I was made K.C.S.I., receiving a formal grant of the dignity from H.M. Queen Victoria, as "her trusty and well-beloved." This was the fourth time I had been so addressed, and a few months later I received a similar communication dispensing with my investiture. The earliest of all, and by far the most elaborate, had been the Letters Patent appointing me a Judge of the Hight Court of Madras.

In the month of May the Hill people hold a fair at Sipi, near Simla. The girls put on their best clothes and come loaded with

turquoise ornaments. Many matrimonial contracts are arranged, and contracts for service are also made, both by men and girls. While at Sipi I had to ride through a swarm of locusts to which my pony showed the strongest objection. A train on the narrow gauge line was once held up by locusts. Probably their corpses on the rails prevented the wheels from biting.

At Viceregal Lodge is a tennis court on a pattern brought from Canada by Lord Dufferin. In appearance it resembles the court at Lords, but we played with the lighter balls and racquets used for lawn tennis. I had several games with His Excellency, or one of the A.D.Cs. From Simla I once climbed down to the bed of the Sutlej, and rode down the stream on a Mussuck to some sulphur streams. Mussucks are the inflated skins of buffaloes, but smaller ones are made from goat skins. Men ride with their chests and arms on the Mussuck and paddle with their feet. The big skin and the man's body form a dark mass, and it is amusing to watch it being propelled by two small black wobbling feet. I was accommodated on a charpoy supported by two skins. The sulphur spring was on the margin of the stream. One could stand with one foot in the hot spring and the other in the river. In taste and smell the spring suggested rotten eggs.

Bills of general interest are usually reserved for discussion at Calcutta, but during the Simla season we passed one important measure dealing with the Municipalities of the Punjab. I introduced the Bill, but in its later stages it was in the charge of Mr. Rattigan, a distinguished barrister from Lahore. It is really more convenient to deal with Punjab measures at Simla, since the Lieutenant Governor is always present at Council. On one occasion I had the honour of presiding at a Council Meeting owing to Lord Lansdowne's indisposition. It was during this season that I first introduced my Bill to relieve the Madras High Court from having to try original suits of trifling value. I also carried through all its stages a Law regulating the Municipalities of Burma. We had some preliminary discussion as to the immigration of Indian coolies into Assam under Labour Contract. And in order to see something of the practical working of the system I resolved to make a short tour through that Province. Meanwhile I had engaged to keep on Prinsep's house in Chowringee, which I had occupied with Scoble, and my wife joined me there in November.

On reaching Calcutta early in October, I found an old friend, Edgar Thurston, Superintendent of the Madras Museum, anxious

to see something of Assam, and he accompanied me on my tour. We went by rail to Dhubri, where we embarked for Goalpara. All the Labour Emigrants are examined there and their contracts are fully explained to them, and I was glad to halt there for a day. We then re-embarked for Gauhaty and Dibrugarh.

The Province of Assam may be roughly described as consisting of the Khasi and Jaintia hills between the valleys of the Brahmaputra on the north and the Surma on the south. The tea gardens for the most part lie on the northern slopes of the hills above the Brahmaputra. From Dibrugarh I was able to visit the Margherita coal mines, which lie close to the country of the Naga Headhunters. The coal there is inside a hill and the miners do not descend by a shaft, but simply walk in on the level, as into a cave. I understood that the coal was of excellent quality. The difficulty was one of transport, but I believe the mines are now connected by rail with Dibrugarh on the river. At Margherita I saw many of the Nagas who seemed peaceful enough and quite innocent of hunting for heads.

From Dibrugarh and Sibsagar I visited many of the tea gardens at Jaipur, Jorhat and other places, and at Mr. Buckingham's I met many of the planters at a conference, and had the advantage of hearing their views. On my way back to the river I saw for the first time toucans or hornbills in the wild state. And at the river bank I was surprised to find a floating post office which rose and fell with the amount of water. Several cooly lines were inspected, and the workers seemed to be made at least as comfortable as in their own villages. On my way back from Gauhati I paid a visit to the Deputy Commissioner of Tezpur, on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. At Gauhati we left the river and went up to Shillong in tongas.

Shillong, on the Khasi Hills, is the capital of the Assam province. Though not nearly so high as Simla or Darjeeling, it seemed to me, so far as I could judge from a brief visit, to be the best after Ootacamund of all the hill resorts in India. Before breakfast I visited two cascades of great beauty—Beadon's and the Bishop's—and there are many fine streams in the immediate neighbourhood. Walking over the plateau I noticed that it was covered with plants like dried heather, and was surprised to hear that they were all azaleas. Unfortunately I could not see them in bloom. The climate, too, was very pleasant in October, and there are many shady and picturesque walks.

But it was now time to get back to Calcutta, and we had to descend into the Surma Valley. This involved a drive across the hills for some hours to Cherrapunji. On the way were several curious dolmans or khasia tombs. Cherrapunji lies at the top of a sheer limestone cliff, against which the south-west monsoon breaks furiously. It is the rainiest place in India, averaging five hundred inches in the year, with an occasional six hundred. A sepoy regiment had once been posted there but could not stand such a climate. There were still some dilapidated bungalows, roofless, and with large trees growing out of the floor. Owing to the heavy rainfall, where there is the slightest slope the paths have been paved. There was still some kind of a travellers' bungalow, where we passed the night, but it is rarely occupied. The man in charge produced for our dinner what he called a tin of salt beef, but it was uneatable, and he must have had it for years!

For the descent to the Surma valley a cooly has been provided for me with a sort of basket chair on his back in which I was to sit. I did get into it but only for the purpose of being photographed. This reminds me of a story about the women of Bhootan and their remarkable strength. One is said to have carried a piano up to Darjeeling. But the story is about a very stout man whose pony had collapsed under his weight. The villagers came round him and were wondering how they could further him on his journey. When up came a young Bhootia and the dilemma was explained to him. After a little thought he slapped his thigh and cried out " I know, my sister will carry him." And so she did.

However, the Ghat was easy enough and we walked down all the way. Part of it led through gardens of oranges, many of which go to Calcutta, and the whole road was very picturesque, with the great cliff on one side, and the clearest of streams at the foot, well stocked with large fish. But when we reached the Surma river we found it very disappointing, muddy and a great contrast to the Brahmaputra. It seemed remarkable only for the number and size of the mosquitoes. As we steamed down it we noticed that all the villages were placed on some rising ground. During the rains the whole country is flooded, and the prople must lead an amphibious existence.

Soon after our return to Calcutta we hears of Prince Eddie's death. Lord Lansdowne referred to it in a moving and sympathetic speech, and the Legislative Council at once adjourned. I was still in the Chowringhee House, and this time my wife was with me.

My old friend Crosthwaite rejoined the Council in March, and lived with us both here and afterwards at Simla, until he became Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces. I had introduced a Bill to establish a regular side of the S.C. Court of Madras, which would take cognizance of suits of trifling value and so relieve the High Court, but this was twice sent to Madras for local consideration, and had to be reserved for Simla. I also introduced a Bill to consolidate and amend the law regarding the expropriation of land for public purposes, but this was carried through its later stages by Mr. Bliss, as my other work was as much as I could manage.

The Bill regarding the Immigration of coolies into Assam could not be introduced before we left Calcutta, and had to be postponed till the next cold season, but a serious agitation arose out of the July question. This had long been under discussion with the Provincial Governments in the Home Department, and there had been a general agreement that in certain cases, and in particular where a Brahmin was charged with murder, an Indian jury could hardly be expected to bring in an unprejudiced verdict. The law, as it stood, left it to the Local Governments to determine both the areas to which the Jury System should be applied, and the offences which should be tried by juries, all other offences continuing to be triable by the Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors, by whose opinion the Judge was not bound.

I found that there had been an extraordinary divergence of views as to the offences which should be tried by jury. The Bombay Government conceived that the intention was to entrust the most serious crimes to juries, and notified that murders only should be so triable. The Government of Bengal also notified murders but added some other offences, and among them one or two of a seditious nature. The Governments of Madras and the N.W. Provinces took the more reasonable view that trial by jury, in India, was an experiment, and that it should be confined, at all events at first, to offences against property. On the other hand, as to the areas to which the system should be applied, only the Local Governments were in a position to form an opinion. My advice, therefore, was that the Law should be amended, that the areas should still be left to local discretion, but that the Government of India should take the responsibility of prescribing the offences. And I proposed that the Law should state that, within the areas prescribed by Local Governments, the offences against property previously notified in Madras and the N.W. Provinces, together with any other offences

which might from time to time be notified by the Governor General in Council, should be tried by July.

My proposals came before the full Council, but in the meantime Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, had suggested to the Viceroy that he himself should cancel the old notification by which trial by jury had been established in Bengal. I adhered to my own proposal but I ought to have pressed more strongly than I did that the responsibility was on the Government of India, and that it would be useless to shirk it as they would certainly be held responsible in the end. The legal member agreed with me, but the rest of the Council decided that Elliot's offer should be accepted. Directly his notification appeared in the Gazette the agitation commenced, and it was certainly a mistake to make such an announcement baldly, and without any explanation of the reasons which had led to it. We had to make the best of it, however, and I advised the appointment of a small unofficial Commission to consider what ought to be done. The Commission recommended the withdrawal of Elliot's notification, and when this had been done—again without explanation—the agitation subsided. My proposal to alter the law was forgotten, and I suppose the curious divergence of practice in the different Provinces remains to this day. The part which I had taken was not generally known, and, as the Head of the Home Department, I was violently attacked by some of the Indian Journals. One of them reviled me as "a would-be potentate, seated on my peacock throne" and issuing despotic decrees.

It must have been about this time that I read Mortimer Durand's novel "Helen Treveryan." Till then I had no idea that he was so excellent a writer and poet. Years later, in London, I was dining with a lady who had good means of knowing, and who told me that Durant and I were considered the men of best judgment in the Government of India. I can only imagine that the reason for my being bracketed with him was that the line I had taken on the Jury question had become known.

One of the last functions at Calcutta was a Public Meeting to receive the Annual Report on the working of the Dufferin Fund for supplying Female Medical Aid to the women of India, and this year Lady Lansdowne asked me to present the Report. I had never before addressed a Public Meeting at any length, and was naturally nervous. But I hit upon the idea of taking the audience round the different Provinces on a magic carpet and showing what had been done or was doing in each towards providing adequate

medical advice and attendance for Indian women. Either this year or in 1891, I had to return thanks for the guests at St. Andrew's Dinner. I then spoke of my first visit to Scotland when I was in a slow train on a very hot day and was roused from slumber by men tearing down the platform and shouting "*Speer* the Guard." I thought I was dreaming of Naga Head-hunters!

When the time came to leave Calcutta for Simla it seemed desirable that I should see something of the N.W. Frontier, and also of Walter Lawrence's Settlement work in Kashmir. I went straight to Peshawar where Mert, the Commissioner, put me up. From there I made an expedition to Ali Masjid, in the Khyber Pass. The Pass is only open and guarded on one or two days in the week, and my tonga was followed by another containing "globe trotters." On reaching the bottle-neck of the Pass we encountered so furious a sand storm that we all took shelter under the rocks; a mounted sowar was blown off the road with his horse. The "globe trotters began talking of having to give up the Pass, but as I had come purposely to see it, I turned up my coat collar, put down my head and forced my way against the storm. It was a very short struggle for directly I was through the bottleneck the pass opened, the wind dropped, and there was no more trouble. The tongas, sowars and "globe trotters" followed, and we drove on to Ali Masjid without further difficulty. The Masjid itself is in no way remarkable, but the country round was grand in its desolation.

In order that I might see something of the Indus, Merk desired the Tahsildar to prepare a boat for me at Attock, and Harry Kilgour, of the Northumberland Fusiliers, agreed to go with me. We were much amused on finding that the sides of the boat had been carefully closed with cloths. Apparently the Tahsildar thought I might be accompanied by a Zenana, but as our whole object was to see the river the blinds had to be torn down. Then we went down with the current and a little paddling to Khusalgarh. Up to that point the Indus is not very broad, but I believe it widens out a little further down. From Kushalgarh I went by train to Rawal Pindi, a great military cantonment, but Kilgour left me half way and returned to Peshawar.

At Pindi I put up with an old Madras friend, Colonel Mike Rowlandson, of the Military Accounts Department, but I hurried on the next morning to the hill station of Murree, which is the starting point for visitors to Kashmir. I had time, however, for a walk round Murree, and found it rather deserted, as it was still

quite early in April. Indeed, the road into Kashmir was only just open, and many of my ponies were still very wild and unbroken. The first stage was all down hill to the bridge over the Jhelum, after which the road keeps along the left bank. A stage further on there was another bridge with a road branching off to Abbotabad, but after that the only means of crossing the Jhelum was by rope suspensions of hazardous appearance. The scenery, of course, was magnificent, and the rest houses well found and picturesque. Until the last stage the road was in fair order, but just where it became bad I had the wildest of the ponies, and I only escaped disaster by a hair's breadth.

The road ends at Baramula, whence one proceeds by boat, and here the real valley of Kashmir begins. The fruit trees were all in blossom, so that it was at its best. Crossing the Kolar lake and passing the mouth of the beautiful Sind Valley, at Shadipur, we paddled under several curious bridges made of Deodar logs, and arrived at the capital, Srinagar. Here I found that Walter Lawrence had been obliged to go to Bombay, but he had deputed his Assistant, Rivett, to look after me and had placed his house-boat at my disposal.

I might write pages descriptive of all that I saw in Kashmir, but I have no intention of turning these reminiscences into a guide book. I, of course, saw the Dal Lake, and all the lovely gardens in the neighbourhood of Srinagar, but I will only mention two or three things which specially struck me. One was the splendid Chenars or plane trees which grow all round the city, and in particularly in the Chenar Bagh, where visitors usually encamp. Then I paid a visit to the buildings where silk worms are bred, and their cocoons unwound; this enterprise was then rather new, but on an extensive scale, well managed and promising. There is no lack of mulberry trees; further up the river I saw many overhanging the water; the fish feed on the fruits which are also used for bait. In the heart of the city there is a temple with a dome which gleams brilliantly, like silver, in the sun or moonlight. It lost much of its romance when I discovered that it was covered with old kerosene tins!

It took at least two days to see Srinagar and its environs. We then proceeded up the valley with the house-boat, but with the ponies following on the bank. Indeed, we started riding, for just above Srinagar the river makes some extraordinary convolutions from which, it is said, the pattern of Kashmir shawls has

been copied. In this way, sometimes riding but making our home on the boat, we saw the grand ruins of Avantipur and Martand, and came to Islamahad, Bawan, Achibal and Vernag, with their various springs and ponds full of tame fish. All these springs gush out from the foot of cliffs, and form various sources of the Jhelum river, but the chief and recognized source is at Vernag. From Vernag we climbed a hill and got on to the Banihal pass leading to Jammu, which is the Maharaja's other State. From here we were able to see the top of Nanga Parbat, over 25,000 feet high, gleaming in the sun. In swampy ground, on the hill, were some strange plants with hanging brown flowers. These were afterwards identified as Crown Imperial Fritillaries. I brought away some of the bulbs but they failed to grow at Simla.

The cultivators in Kashmir are Mahomedans, whereas the ruling class are Hindus and Brahmins have the greatest influence. Until Walter Lawrence came on the scene there were no settled rents. Those in power extorted as much as they could and there was an undefined liability to compulsory labour. Lawrence's settlement has fixed the revenue demand and has also placed reasonable limits on the work which the ryots may be required to perform. This is not only a great boon to the cultivating class ; it will certainly prove a real advantage to the State.

I had no time to explore any of the side valleys, but having traced the Jhelum to its source I returned as quickly as possible to Rawalpindi, and then to Simla. In April, Sir James Lyall's term of office expired, and Sir Denis Fitzpatrick became Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. We subscribed to give Lady Lyall a bracelet, which was presented to her by Lord Roberts. One day I got weighed at Viceregal Lodge, and on making the entry in a book kept for the purpose, I found the last entry was that of Lord Roberts ; we both weighed the same, nine stones, three pounds.

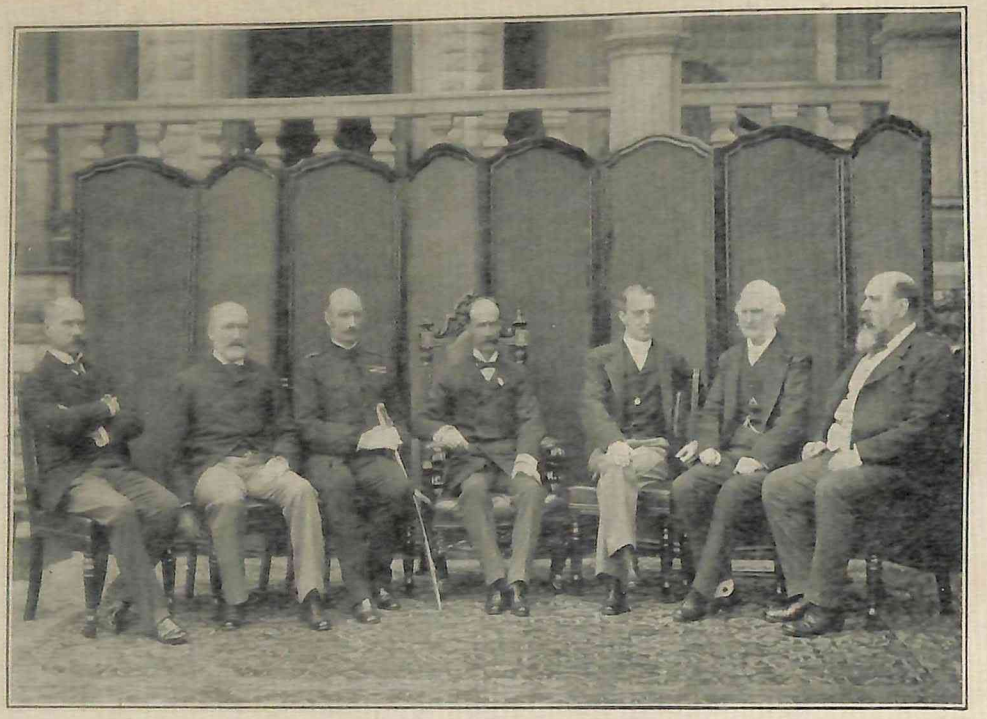
The only thing of importance during this stay at Simla, which I can now recall, is that at last I was able to pass my Bill to relieve the High Court of petty original suits. My original proposal had been to establish a regular side of the Court of Small Causes, to give that Court another Judge, and to empower the Chief Judge to appoint a Judge from time to time to such regular side. I still thought, and I think to this day, that that would have been the most convenient and elastic arrangement, but local opinion seemed to prefer a perfectly distinct Court. My Act, therefore, established a City Court, with jurisdiction to try all regular suits, *i.e.*, suits not

falling within the definition of Small Causes, up to a value of 2,500 Rs. Fifteen years later I was in Madras, and was given a seat on the Bench of this City Court. I was told that it was popular, and gave satisfaction, but I at once noticed a tendency to maintain all the formalities of the High Court, formalities which had been inherited from the old Supreme Court. The Judge, the Pleaders and the Parties to the suit were all Indians, and yet every question was asked, and every answer given, in English, through an interpreter. It seemed to have been forgotten that one of the chief objects in constituting the Court was to provide a simple and rapid tribunal for the poorer classes. I reported what I had seen to the Judges of the High Court, and the unnecessary employment of an interpreter was forbidden.

On our return to Calcutta we shared a house with C. J. Lyall, the Home Secretary, and his wife and daughter, but as a few days must elapse before regular work could begin, the Lyalls and ourselves, with Muir Mckenzie, who was then acting as Revenue Secretary, arranged an expedition from Darjeeling into Sikhim. We formed a large party, with two chairs and bearers, three ponies and our personal servants. Mr. Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, kindly made all the arrangements, and reserved the bungalows for our use. We went out in five stages but returned in three. At the fifth bungalow, Phallut, we were on the skirts of Kinchinjunga. Unfortunately there was much mist then, both in the evening and morning, but we had one grand glimpse of the mighty peak through a temporary clearing.

Throughout the journey it was very cold. Fires had to be kept up all night in the bedrooms. The bearers slept in the open in a circle, with their feet to a bon-fire. When starting each morning they wore high boots of felt, but after a hour's walk they discarded these, and they were all handed over to one of the number to be carried. Each day we descended and ascended from two to three thousand feet. The path frequently took us through forests of rhododendrons. At least we were assured they were all rhododendrons although the foliage varied considerably. Of course, in October, none were in bloom.

At an early meeting of the Legislative Council Lord Lansdowne explained certain changes in the Rules which would have the effect of enlarging the non-official element in the Provincial Councils, and would provide for the election of some of the members so that different classes might be fairly represented. He also announced



THE VICEROY AND HIS COUNCIL, SIMLA, 1893.

that the members of his own Council would be allowed to ask questions from the Government, that a copy of the Financial Statement or Budget would be given to each member, and that they would be allowed to discuss its provisions. The first interpellations were made and answered on the 16th February, and the Budget was fully discussed at the end of March.

I had brought forward a Bill providing for the better control of Criminal Tribes and habitual offenders, but this had to be postponed. My Bill for the better regulation of the Immigration of Cooly labour into Assam led to a prolonged debate, but became Law at the last sitting at Calcutta. It empowered the Local Government to prescribe routes and halting places, so as to enforce proper sanitary precautions and make kidnapping difficult, but the points most criticized related to the duration of labour-contracts, and the age at which young prople might be indentured. We had reduced the term for which contracts might be made from five to four years, and this was ultimately approved. The minimum age had been previously fixed at sixteen, and an attempt to increase it to eighteen was defeated. Mr. Buckingham, at whose tea-garden I had stayed in Assam, was made a member of the Legislative Council with special reference to this enactment.

In April, Lord Roberts' long service as Commander-in-Chief came to an end, and we all much regretted his departure. He was succeeded by Sir George White. I remember a military discussion at Simla, when White expressed particular aversion to being "kila-band"—or allowing oneself to be shut up in a fortress—especially against an Eastern foe. I often recalled this during his long siege in Ladysmith. At the close of the Calcutta season I had again to present the Annual Report on the Dufferin Fund. And on reaching England, at the end of the year, Lady Dufferin invited me to join her Executive Committee.

On my way to Simla I went again to Hardwar, where, by arrangement, I met my old friend Sir Charles Crosthwaite, then Lieutenant Governor of the North West Provinces. He had been succeeded on the Council by Sir Charles Pritchard, from Bombay. We had a day's shooting some distance up the Gorge, from which the Ganges debouches, and then rode on to his encampment. Then for three days we marched through Gahrwal and Kumaon, keeping on a high level and in full view of the perpetual snows. Our last stage was at Ranikhet, where we dined at the mess of the regiment quartered there. Of course we wore our decorations and John Crosthwaite,

Secretary, Sir Edward Buck. Dr. Voelcher, deputed by the Secretary of State, reported, after a two year stay in India, that our Agricultural policy was sound. Two Agrictural Chemists had come to India on his recommendation. Dr. Watts had just completed his elaborate Dictionary of Economic Products. Great progress had been made in systematically recording the condition of Agricultural tracts and of the cultivators. The preparation and maintanence of village maps and records were now entrusted in many parts of the country to the Village Accountants, who had been taught elementary surveying. The surveying of villages had also been undertaken in some Native States. The Maharaja of Gwalior, then quite a young man, had personally done the field-plotting of one of his villages, and had presented the book to the Viceroy.

In 1891-2 there had been scarcity, almost amounting to *Famine*, in some parts of the Country. Experience then gained brought to light several defects in the Famine Codes and necessitated their revision.

A few Civil *Veterinary* Assistants had been trained and posted to Districts where cattle diseases were prevalent. More were still under training.

In 1891 a Committee had been appointed to investigate the practical working of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act. This led to some restrictions being placed in some parts of the country on the powers of alienation possessed by the cultivating classes. I have mentioned most of the Legislative measures of which I personally had charge, but I may add here that all Acts of the Provincial Councils had to be carefully scrutinized in my Departments, as well as the Regulations for tracts such as Coorg and Beluchistan under the control of Political Officers ; all this entailed much work.

One Bill in which I was much interested had to be left to my successor. It introduced two reforms in the Court of Small Causes. These had jurisdiction up to 2,000 Rs., but I had always thought than an appeal should be allowed where the sum at stake exceeded 1,000 Rs. It was provided therefore that in such cases there should be the same right of appeal as in regular suits. And the High Courts were empowered to make rules regulating the procedure of these Small Cause Courts.

When I was in Lahore, in 1889, I paid a visit to the Chief Court of the Punjab, and was surprised to find that the day's hearing list contained no more than two Second Appeals, whereas in Madras we

often disposed of twenty such cases. I found that in the Punjab a second appeal was allowed on facts as well as on points of law; these were indeed second regular appeals, whereas elsewhere in India only one appeal was allowed on facts. I did my best to assimilate the Punjab Law to that which has long prevailed in other Provinces, but I was not able to overcone local prejudice and opposition.

In the Central Provinces and Oudh we took some steps in the direction of separating Judicial from Executive functions. The Divisional Commissioners were relieved from Judicial work. In Oudh the District Judges were increased from four to six, and in the Central Provinces a number of Judicial Assistants were created. In Madras it was provided that a special Sub-Magistrate should be stationed at the headquarters of every Taluk; the Tahsildar being thus set free to attend to the executive control of his charge.

Many useful changes were made in the *Police* Force of the Provinces. It was settled that most of the higher officers should be recruited in England by competition. Training schools for the rank and file were everywhere established. Many companies of the Military Police in Burma were transferred to the regular army. The Police reserves were divided into ordinary and special. The special reserves, armed with rifles, were to be located in frontier tracts or where armed opposition might be apprehended. The ordinary reserve was to form part of the District Force, and to be armed with smooth-bore breech-loaders.

In Calcutta a single officer had combined the incongruous appointments of Commissioner of Police and Chairman of the Municipality. A separate Commissioner was now appointed. Upon the initiative of Mr. Henry (afterwards Sir Edward Henry, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police), much progress was made in recording finger-prints in Bengal, and the system was recommended to other Provinces.

Some radical changes were made in the system of *transportation* to Port Blair. As regards male convicts, only those under a life sentence were to be sent there; female convicts, if their sentence was for seven years or more. Hitherto male convicts could not become self-supporting until they had served in the Settlement for ten years. A mark system was now introduced under which they might by good conduct obtain a licence earlier. Female convicts of good behaviour might marry after five years service. A new jail, on the radiating principle, was ordered to be substituted for the rather repulsive prison at Viper. A Conference of Jail

his father's A.D.C., told me that the young subalterns were saying that I was much too young to have been knighted, and must be a baronet !

Next morning we rode into Naini Tal, the Lieutenant Governor's summer quarters. It is quite a small place and the few houses are on steep hills sloping down to a beautiful lake. Some years before there had been a bad landslip not far from the Government House. At the head of the lake are a Club and a boat-house, which must have been almost overwhelmed when the whole side of a hill gave way and slid down into the water. I only remained here one day as it was time to get to Simla. On the way I stayed for a night with Hewitt, at Bareilly. By my advice he had left the Secretariat for another year's experience of District work, and Bareilly is a very good station.

The most important work of this Simla season was the adoption of a gold standard and the fixation of the Rupee at 1s. 4d. This was the work of Sir David Barbour, and it has stood the test of time fairly well. I did not pretend to be an authority on currency, and was quite content to follow my expert colleague. Later on I introduced a Bill to regulate Fisheries, but had to leave its subsequent stages to my successor, as my term of office would expire in November. About mid-summer we heard that the Judicial and Public Secretary at the India Office was about to retire, and Lord Lansdowne kindly cabled that I would be glad to succeed him. There had been a precedent in 1890, when Sir Stuart Bayley, on leaving Bengal, became Political Secretary in the India Office. My offer was accepted and the appointment was Gazetted in September, but I was allowed to complete my full term in India. My wife, however, returned to England.

The House of Commons had passed a Resolution in favour of Simultaneous Examinations for the I.C.S. being held in India and in England. Those who voted for it cannot have realised its practical effect. In a very few years the Service would have become wholly Indian. I have had some success in examinations, but I have never believed in them as the best criterion of ability, and they are no test at all of character. Indians excel in examinations, and are adepts at cramming.' Even if it could be ensured that no previous inkling of the papers would leak out they would certainly secure a large majority of the appointments. But experience has shown that in India, some candidates have few scruples. The most ludicrous example was when, the examiner being present to guard against leakage, one of the compositors, in white ducks, sat on the press and

carried away a blurred but legible copy of the paper ! But quite apart from the danger of leakage, Lord Kimberley saw the necessity of preserving an English element in the Service, and when he remitted the Resolution to India for consideration and report he desired that this point should be kept in view. We consulted the Provincial Governments and found there was a consensus of opinion that Simultaneous Examinations could not be allowed consistently with the axiomatic principle that a substantial proportion of the appointments must be reserved for candidates trained in England. We sent home a rather long despatch on the subject, but the conclusion reached may be briefly stated in those words.

This was the last year both of Lord Lansdowne's and of my own term of office. It will be convenient, therefore, to sum up here some administrative improvements which we introduced. Of course, discussions leading up to them had taken place in previous years.

The *Emigration* of Coolies to the French Colonies, Reunion and Guadeloupe, had been stopped for some years, but the French were anxious that it should again be permitted. We deputed the Deputy Secretary, Muir Mackenzie, to visit those Islands, and he reported that such emigration might be resumed subject to conditions to which the Colonial Governments had assented. These were that the duration of labour contracts should be reduced and that on their expiration the labourers should be free to settle or be repatriated. This was approved.

Legislation for *Mines* we considered unnecessary as they were generally worked by whole families labouring together, and were mostly above ground ; and also there had been hardly any accidents. An Inspector of Mines, however, was sent out from England.

The Area of Reserved *Forests* had been increased by 25 per cent., and in about half, private rights had been settled and recorded. Some progress had been made with working plans in Burma and Bengal, but little elsewhere. Many Assistant Conservators and Rangers had been sent out from the Forest School at Dehra Dun into the Provinces. These Provincial Assistants were designated *Extra Assistants* to distinguish them from the Assistants of the Imperial Service who had been trained in Europe.

Much progress had been made under the head of *Agriculture*. It has often been stated that the Agricultural Department was created by Lord Curzon. He may have put on the corner-stone, but the foundation was laid—and well and truly laid—in Lord Lansdowne's time, and the credit is principally due to the Revenue

Superintendents and experts made suggestions for improving the management and discipline of such prisons. Orders thereon were sent to the Local Governments and a Bill was framed and ready to be introduced.

Sir Alfred Croft's report on *Education* had been followed by annual statistical summaries. Five years having elapsed Mr. Nash was put on special duty to prepare another full report. There was much discussion as to the spread of juvenile indiscipline, and orders were passed in encouragement of physical training schools, of hostels or boarding houses, and of the use of text books of a moral character. A society had been started in Bengal for the diffusion of useful literature, and we granted it a subsidy. During my five years two new Bishopricks were created, Lucknow and Chota Nagpur.

Some steps were taken towards the provision of a Pasteur Institute for India. From papers about leprosy I gathered that lepers with open sores were dangerously contagious, and I suggested that they might reasonably be isolated, but my premiss was not upheld by the Surgeon General and the proposal dropped. The National Leprosy Fund sent out a Commission, but it was not able to recommend more than valuntary isolation and improved sanitation.

My term of office being now at an end I determined to travel to Bombay by the Nagpur line, which I had never seen, and on the way I made a halt at Barakar, in order to inspect the coal mine there. Though called a mine it is no more than a huge open quarry, and quite confirmed our conclusion that special legislation for Indian mines was not needed. As far as Nagpur I had my own railway carriage, but when I came back to the train after breakfast it had been taken off and my things had been removed to a compartment in which I travelled to Bombay as an ordinary passenger. I was no longer a person of importance but only a poor pensioner.

At Bombay I found that the Commander-in-Chief, General Nairn, was on my steamer, proceeding to Aden on a tour of inspection, and at his invitation I joined his very pleasant party at meals. He had been Inspector General of Artillery before his appointment to Bombay, and his brother had been with me at Haileybury. The Inspector General of Cavalry was General Luck, and there was an amusing story connected with his inspection of a large cavalry station. Two officers were talking there about Lux Mundi, when a young subaltern passing by just caught those two words. "What is that," he said, "Luck's Monday? Surely it is on Tuesday that the cavalry are to be paraded."

CHAPTER XX.

AT THE INDIA OFFICE, 1893 to 1908.

SIR Anthony MacDonnell relieved me on the 29th November, 1893, and I reached England on Saturday, 16th December. On the Monday following I reported myself at the India Office, and assumed charge of my office as Judicial and Public Secretary.

The next day a message came from the Accountant General asking if he might come to see me. In India Accountants General do not send courteous enquiries but convey their requisitions in the curtest of notes. I sent an equally courteous reply and he came down to enquire "from what date I wished to draw pay." I had assumed charge on the Monday and supposed that according to Indian custom I should be paid from that day. "Oh, no," said he, "you were appointed in September, and can claim the salary from the date of your appointment." As I was then paid as a Councillor of the Viceroy he admitted that there might be a difficulty, but we finally agreed that it should be the day of my resignation from the Council. The result was that I drew pay as Secretary during the voyage home, and there was not even a day's interruption in my service in or for India, lasting altogether fifty and a half years.

My wife had taken a flat in the De Grey Hotel, Kensington Gore, and we stayed there till April, when we moved to 72 Cromwell Road, where we lived for the next fourteen years. On first arrival in England I suffered a good deal from headaches, as I had during my last years in India. They were certainly due to overwork. I was overhauled by Sir William Broadbent and pronounced to be in all other respects sound in wind and limb. My brother Alfred came home for good in May, and went to live in Dorking where two of our sisters and my brother Arthur were already established.

My work at the India Office was, in comparison with what I had in India, quite absurdly light. One reason for this, at first, was that most of the questions which arose had been fully considered by me in the Home Department in India, but I never had to complain that

I had no leisure. I had two Assistants, one of whom had been many years in the office, while the other was a clever young man fresh from one of the Universities. The latter is now Permanent Under Secretary of State, and his successor occupies my place as Judicial Secretary. But I can safely say that I could easily have done all the work single-handed.

One of the very first subjects with which I had to deal was that of Simultaneous Examinations, to which I have already referred. Lord Kimberley and the Cabinet accepted the conclusions embodied in our Despatch from India, and naturally it gave me very little trouble to draft the reply. This, however, was not finally passed till much later, as Lord Kimberley retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Fowler (Lord Wolverhampton).

All work in the India Office came before Departmental Committees. There were six such Committees—Judicial, Revenue, Financial, Political, Public Works and Military—each consisting of four or five Members of the Council. Their meetings were attended by the Secretary of the Department concerned. Every matter which came to the office was first put forward by the Secretary with an explanatory note, and in most instances with a draft of the order or reply to be issued. The file then went before the Permanant Under Secretary of State and the Secretary of State, who marked it for the appropriate Committee. When it had been passed by the Committee with or without modification, it went back to the Secretary of State and was by him marked for Council. Ordinarily the Council and the several Committees met once a week and it took a long time for a file to pass through all these stages for final orders. And there was even further delay if the matter concerned more than one Department, and had to go before more than one Committee.

This statement of the ordinary routine makes it clear that as Secretary I had no such personal responsibility as I had in my last seven years in India. And even when I became a Member of the Council, in August, 1898, such responsibility as I had was shared with my colleagues. I shall, therefore, have but little to say in this chapter about any particular work in which I took part. My reminiscences will deal chiefly with matters outside the routine of the office.

I soon became a Life Fellow of the Imperial Institute. At that time many admirable lectures were given there. Two in particular dwell in my recollection. One was given by Dr. Jameson with King Edward—then Prince of Wales—in the chair. At the end of the

lecture Cecil Rhodes was called upon for a speech, and that is the only time I met him. But the Prince of Wales often presided at dinners or meetings of the Fellows. The other lecture was given by Sir Martin Conway on his exploration in the Himalayas. I had the honour to preside on that occasion, and was able to say that I had seen the whole range, at a greater or less distance, from Nanga Parbat on the west to the peaks above Dibrugarh on the east. Concerts were also given at the Institute, and in the summer evening promenades, but ultimately it was converted to a different use, and my fellowship badge has long ceased to be of any value.

As Secretary I attended the India Budget Debate in the House of Commons both in 1896 and 1898, and I was also at one or other of the Houses of Parliament on other occasions. Once Sir Richard Webster (Lord Alverston) came quietly round and asked me a question. Soon after, in his speech, he gave the information conveyed in my answer as " on the best authority," by which I was rather amused.

Each year, up to 1898, there was a Dinner of old Haileybury Civilians. In '96 I was in the chair, but this has already been mentioned. Soon after '98, the dinners for the whole Indian Civil Service were started, and I was elected Chairman of the Dinner Committee, an office which I continued to hold till 1924, when I resigned on account of my deafness.

In 1896, at the request of friends in Madras, I arranged with the sculptor, Mr. Wade, for a statue of my old friend and colleague Mr. Justice Muthusany Aiyar, and it was sent out at the end of the year and erected in the High Court. I thought it should have been in bronze, but his Indian friends insisted on white marble. Mr. Wade had some difficulty with the covering of the legs, as Muttu always wore a *dhoty*, but I sent him as a model a Madrassi, who was making cigarettes at some Exhibition.

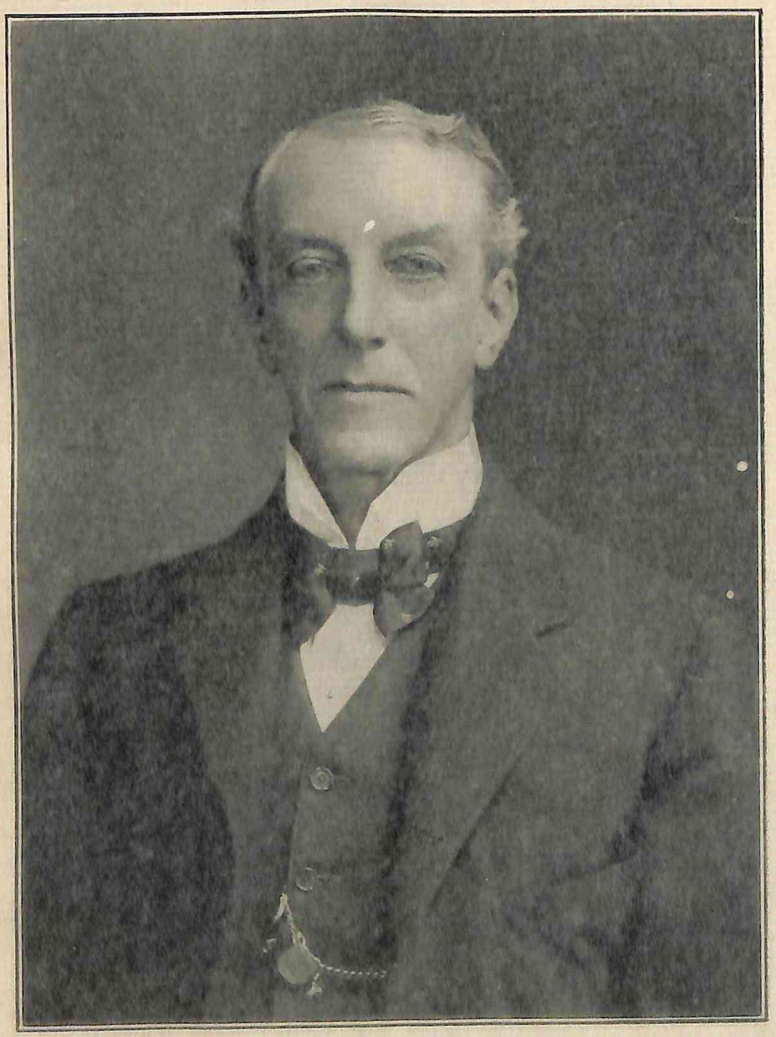
On several occasions I went to Stratford-on-Avon for the Shakespeare Festival. Benson was then doing admirable work in the theatre which has just been destroyed by fire. Since then I have been glad to recognize many of his Assistants acting on the London stage with distinction. I have now seen at least once every Shakespeare play which is ever acted ; the only exception is " All's well that ends well," a play which has only once been produced in my recollection. I have already mentioned that I saw Macready as King Lear. Of the many Hamlets I have seen, the best, in my opinion, was Forbes Robertson.

In 1897, Professor Bose, from Calcutta, exhibited before the Royal Society a powerful light which would penetrate a brick wall or thick book. He kindly gave me a private seance in addition. He has been in England more than once since, and had made some wonderful discoveries with regard to the sensations of plants. As far as I know he is the only Indian who has shown capacity for independent scientific research. He is still working with much distinction, and I believe all his assistants are Indians.

In 1896 I was introduced to a new mode of locomotion by Sir Charles Bernard, who gave me three half-hour lessons in cycling, at 7 a.m. From that time until 1923 cycling has been my chief form of exercise, and I have ridden over nearly the whole of England and Wales, a little in Scotland and Ireland, and even in France. When I reluctantly gave up my bicycle I had ridden 56,832 miles. My favourite ride while I lived in London was round Richmond Park, about nineteen miles. One that I can never forget was from Woking to London on a bitter winter morning. I started in the dark soon after six and reached London about 8-30. My feet became so cold that several times I dismounted and ran with the machine. That was in 1899.

In 1901, I saw the Funeral Procession of the old Queen from a house in Park Lane. The last State Funeral which I had witnessed was that of the Duke of Wellington. For Queen Victoria's second Jubilee, 1897, we had seats in Parliament Square. For King Edward's coronation, seats were given us in the nave of the Abbey. Among the Indian troops who came over for the Coronation was a Havildar whose father had been one of my clerks at Madura ; we had several talks together. There was a beautiful Reception for these troops in the Marble Hall of the Indian Office, then newly laid down. In 1902, I was invited to the Guildhall, when Lords Roberts and Kitchener received the Freedom of the City. In 1906 I had the honour of being present at the Mansion House, when King George, then Prince of Wales, made his famous speech regarding his visit to India and the east.

In 1904, I was one of a deputation from the India Council to the Colonial Secretary, Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, about the grievances of Indians in South Africa. I had only known Lyttleton before as a cricketer, but I was much struck by his ready grasp of this rather perplexing question. We were only concerned with those Indians who were already in Africa, and had been brought there on certain agreed conditions, or well understood expectations. He fully



Sir Philip Hutchins, 1904.

agreed that they should be protected. We all felt that future immigration must be left to the Local Authorities.

On the 1st November, 1904, it was my turn to be Vice-President of the India Council. That meant that I must always be at hand, and could not have the usual two months leave until my year of office had expired. Up to that time I had always been able to get away during the summer months. One year we had been to the Engadine, once or twice to Scotland and Ireland, and once I went to Norway. But now that I could only take my holiday in the winter there seemed to be a good opportunity to revisit India. It was hardly worth while going so far for two months, but I obtained permission to tack on January, thus anticipating one of the two months due to me for the following year.

We left England on 2nd November, and travelled via Bombay and the S. Mahratta Railway to Bangalore. During my time in India I had always regarded Bangalore as a cool place but coming straight from an English winter, we found it somewhat oppressive. Later on we paid a brief visit to the Nilgiri Hills, and decided that in December the climate of Ootacamund was near perfection. My wife then crossed to Rangoon while I revisited my old stations at Madura and Cuddalore. At Madura I was pleased to find I was not quite forgotten ; I received a cordial address from the Local Bar in my old Court. At Cuddalore the Collector summoned a conference to decide how a gift of £1,000 from my old friend Banbury could best be laid out for the good of the town. We settled to erect a market, and inspected its site. Subsequently Banbury sent out a fine clock to be placed in the tower over the main entrance. In 1903, in company with many other Madras friends, I had presented him with a testimonial on the occasion of his Golden Wedding.

In Madras I sat for a day in the new City Court, as I have already explained. I then joined my wife in Rangoon. Some days were occupied by a visit to Mandalay, to Maymyo, the new hot weather station for Burma—where I met an old Madras friend, Donald McLeod, then commanding the Burma Division—and to the famous Gohteik Bridge. This railway bridge spans a very broad and deep ravine in the Shan States. It rests, partly, on a natural bridge under which the torrent flows. We left Rangoon for Calcutta directly after witnessing the arrival of the present King and Queen, then Prince and Princess of Wales. Before I left England they had lunched at the India Office, and as Vice-President I had sat quite close to the Prince. I had also congratulated the Princess on

having included Burma in their tour, but I never expected to be so near meeting her there.

At Calcutta we stayed with my old Tanjore friend, Arundle, then a member of the Viceroy's Council. He arranged a conference for me with Mr. Erle Richards, the Legal member, as to the best method of training Indian Civilians for Judicial work, but I was not able to wait till a scheme had been evolved. Returning home by Bombay, we brought with us Lucy's little girl, aged four, who had been born in our house, and has lived with us ever since our return from that visit to India.

One or two important matters which came before the Council may now be mentioned. In 1905, we had to consider Lord Kitchener's proposal to abolish the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, wrote strongly against the proposal, and I took the same view, though I was aware that Lord Roberts, when Commander-in-Chief, had sometimes taken exception to his recommendations being reviewed by a junior military officer. It seemed to me that a tactful member of Council would not presume to criticise the Commander-in-Chief's plans for military operations, and that on mere administrative questions his advice might be useful and should not be open to objection. The Cabinet, however, decided in favour of Lord Kitchener.

In 1907, when Lord Morley was Secretary of State, we agreed to some further concessions in regard to the Legislative Councils, and largely increased the numbers of the unofficial members. In the same year I lost my old friend and Chief Justice, Sir Charles Turner. Another old friend, Sir Charles Bernard, had died in 1901, soon after leaving the India Office, where he had been Secretary in the Revenue Department. We subscribed to put up a tablet to his memory in the Rangoon Cathedral, as he was the first Chief Commissioner of Burma after the annexation of the Upper Province. When in Rangoon in 1904, I saw the tablet, and was glad to find it had been put up in a conspicuous position. Sir Arthur Godley, now Lord Kilbrackan, was the Permanent Under Secretary of State throughout my fourteen years in the India Office. It would be presumptuous for me to speak of his good judgment and efficiency, but I may perhaps testify to his unfailing courtesy and friendliness.

In 1902, I was asked to join the Committee on Visual Instruction, which had been convened by Sir Charles Lucas of the Colonial Office. Sir Charles himself was the mainstay of the movement, but other prominent members were the Earl of Meath, Sir Clementi

Smith, and Mr. H. J. Mackinder. Our object was to promote understanding and sympathy between the component parts of the Empire, and we were persuaded that such understanding could best be diffused by lectures giving, and illustrating by lantern slides, descriptions of the various countries in the Empire and their resources. We hoped that such lectures, while primarily intended for children, would also be welcomed by adults. In fact our idea was very similar to that now taken by those who would spread education by means of the cinematograph.

In pursuance of our plans two sets of lectures were prepared, one describing the United Kingdom, for the benefit of the Dominions and Colonies, the other depicting the several Dominions and Colonies, for use in Britain or other parts of the Empire. Mr. Mackinder wrote the first lectures by way of establishing a pattern, and he also gave an eloquent explanation of our scheme at a public meeting. H.M. the Queen came to that meeting, and showed great interest in our proposals. Money was then raised by a Committee of Ladies, and this enabled us to send to India a competent artist, who brought back some beautiful sketches and photographs illustrating that country.

After our work had been completed it was made over from the Colonial Office to the Colonial Institute, but the slides and lectures can still be bought, or hired at a small cost. I have myself delivered some of the lectures to my old school, Merchant Taylors', and in other places. My seat on the Committee was probably due to my being Chairman of the League of the Empire, originally known as the Children of the Empire, but that part of my life's work deserves a separate chapter.

In December, 1907, I presided at a Dinner given by the staff of the India Office to two of their number, Messrs. Wollaston and Scott, who were about to retire after fifty years' service. As I myself had also just served for the same period (counting from the date of my Covenant), I was able to sympathize with them and their entertainers.

On the 31st July, 1908, my ten years on the Council of India was completed. In taking leave of Lord Morley and the Members of the Council, I mentioned that I had served India for more than half a century, and also that to the best of my belief, I was the only servant of the Old East India Company still in active employment. With my retirement, therefore, the last relic of the Company's rule came to an end.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LEAGUE OF THE EMPIRE

IN the autumn of 1901 a lady came to me with a proposal to start an Association to be called "The Children of the Empire." Her idea was to establish a system of correspondence between young comrades in different parts of the Empire. A boy or girl in one part was to be put into communication with one in another part. They were to be encouraged to write freely to one another, describing in particular each his own environment, so that his comrade might gain some understanding of at least one other part of the Empire. I have never been a Jingo, but I have always felt that every Briton should do what he could to promote Imperial sympathy, unity and development. I felt, too, that the idea was a sound one, that the best way to spread a sense of Imperial citizenship would be to bring influence to bear on the rising generation with minds still malleable. I, therefore, agreed to join the proposed Association and shortly after met a few others similarly disposed. I was then elected Chairman, and a friend, Colonel Garstin, became Hon. Treasurer, the lady originator of the scheme undertaking to act as Hon. Secretary.

Steps were then taken to make the movement known in the Dominions and Colonies, with the result that many boys and girls sent us applications to be linked to comrades of their own age—preferably in the United Kingdon, where comrades were readily found. Many of their letters interchanged, came before the Committee. They were most interesting, and encouraged us to continue on the same lines. A few meetings were held in London and Oxford to make the scheme more generally known. But unfortunately the Hon. Secretary's health broke down and she was quite unable to cope with the growing work. On her resignation, however, another lady, Mrs. Ord Marshall, came forward to take her place. She had made a study of educational methods, and was willing to devote all her energies to the furtherance of the Association's plans. After twenty-four years she is still our Hon. Secretary, and

it is but just to put on record that all our success has been due to her devotion and inspiration.

We soon discovered that our original title would not do. The older boys and girls were not willing to be reckoned as children, and the comrades would, of course, grow up and yet in many instances desire to continue their correspondence. After considerable discussion we changed our name to " The League of the Empire," and we have been known by that title since the beginning of 1903. In that year we extended our first idea by linking together as comrades entire schools and not merely individuals.

And with our new title the whole scope of our activities was greatly enlarged. It had become apparent that the children could best be reached and influenced through their teachers, and we prepared ourselves to undertake any work which seemed likely to further the interests of Imperial Education. We were also brought into formal relation with the Educational Departments and Governments throughout the Empire by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary, recommending our work to their notice. This was followed up by similar action on the part of all the Agents General, and our schemes have been widely accepted by the different Education Authorities and Governments.

In 1906, we determined to invite all the Education Departments of the Empire to a Federal Conference on Education, to be held the following year in London. Certainly this was a rather audacious undertaking for a private association, at that time little known, for these Departments are official. But pioneers have often shown the way to Governments. Even the British Government of India had its origin in the enterprise of a few traders. We were, and are, quite content to be judged by the results, and unquestionably the adventure was eminently successful. The Official Delegates not only cordially approved of what we had done, but passed a formal resolution that the Conference ought to be repeated periodically ; and in the end H.M's. Government undertook itself to convene one every fourth year.

This matter, therefore, was taken, and very properly taken, out of our hands, and we have since directed our special attention to the teachers who are not officials. Another Resolution which had been passed by the Conference of 1907, was that " arrangements ought to be made to enable teachers to acquire experience in parts of the Empire other than their own." We at once outlined a scheme for the " Migration of Teachers," and submitted it to the various

Education Departments. It was received very favourably, and many teachers from overseas quickly availed themselves of our arrangements. Many difficulties had to be overcome—especially with reference to leave, salary and status—but the scheme has now been placed on a sound basis by the Imperial Education Conference of 1924, and has the cordial Co-operation of the London County Council and other Local Educational Authorities. Every year, now, about a hundred Overseas teachers come to England on leave for a year's work and experience, while a like number of British teachers proceed to the Dominions. With a view to make their year at home as profitable as possible, large groups of the Overseas teachers are taken to places of interest, and during longer holidays even to the Continent. We have received many touching letters of thanks, showing their appreciation of all that has been done for them, and that the benefit of their experiences will be passed on to their pupils.

For many years, now, the League has been trying to raise funds to enable them to establish a Club or Headquarters, where these teachers from the Dominions could have facilities for meetings, and where many of them might have better accommodation than is to be found in the ordinary lodging house, but the requisite money is coming in all too slowly. By way of a beginning, however, a few teachers have been given rooms in the house occupied by the League's Office, and a larger room has been provided there for their meetings. By 1910, most of the Teachers Associations throughout the Empire had affiliated themselves to our League. In 1911, a brief meeting was held to review and record what had been done since the Conference of 1907, and we were then able to issue invitations for a full Conference of teachers. Accordingly, in 1912, over six hundred Delegates and representative teachers from all countries of the Empire assembled together in London, and on the invitation of the Minister of Education for Ontario, it was settled that the next Conference should meet at Toronto. In 1913, the Imperial Union of Teachers was constituted.

In 1909-11, with Professor Pollard as editor, we prepared a History of the British Empire, " Its Past, its Present, and its Future," and two shorter Imperial text books were also compiled. The funds for these works had been generously supplied by the late Mr. Spitzel, who had spent many years in Australia, and knew how urgently such books were wanted. These works have now been made over to an Imperial Education Trust. A revised edition is under preparation, bringing them up to date.

For many years the League has arranged Essay Competitions for (1) Secondary, and (2) Primary Schools of the Empire. The subjects are settled by our Executive Committee. A silver Challenge Cup had been given by the Earl of Meath, and a money prize has been added by the League, for each set of schools. Essays have been received from all parts of H.M's. Dominions, and almost every part has been represented at one time or another by the successful competitors. The local Education Departments have given us valuable help in selecting the best essays returned by competitors in their several jurisdictions.

Every year, since 1909, we have organised an Empire Day Parade in Hyde Park. Some ten thousand boys and girls, representative of the Uniformed organisations, march past the Union Jack, along with the sixty-four flags of the several Dominions and Colonies, which had been presented to the League by the Local Governments. For several years the Salute was taken by Lord Roberts. More recently it has been taken by our Honorary President, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught ; and our late Patron, H.M. Queen Alexandra, was pleased to be present whenever she was able. The Earl of Meath, one of our original Vice-Presidents and most valued supporters, has generally made a point of attending. During the War a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral was substituted for the Parade, and in those years our Headquarters was used as a depot for the receipt and despatch of medical and other war supplies, and for the training of about five hundred V.A.D's.

After the Armistice the League presented a silver shield and Union Jack to each of the Contingents from the various Dominions and Colonies, and copies of Shakespeare's works as a souvenir to many disabled soldiers. We also held a special conference of such teachers as had come over to serve their country with those Contingents. The opening meeting was held in the Marble Hall of the India Office, under the presidency of Prince Arthur of Connaught. Later, these teachers were personally conducted to many interesting places and institutions in, or within easy reach of, London, and much hospitality was shown to them everywhere.

Much that is written above regarding the Migration or Interchange of Teachers refers to the present state of things, but the War necessarily obliged us to suspend our ordinary activities. The second conference of teachers had been fixed to take place at Toronto in 1916, but it had to be postponed till 1921. I was not able to attend myself, but our Delegates received an enthusiastic welcome. By

special invitation from the Government of Ontario, the opening meeting was held in the Parliament Buildings. It was followed by a Ministerial Reception in the corridors of the House. Subsequent meetings were in the University Buildings, where the Delegates were housed as guests. " One who was there " wrote a full account of the proceedings for the *League of the Empire Review*, and his opening paragraph seems worthy of quotation :—

" The Conference was a brilliant success, there is no doubt about " that. Everything went with a swing and the high, imperial " note that was struck at the outset was maintained to the end. " Three hundred delegates had assembled from all parts of the " Empire to see one another, and to learn from one another, and " they parted after a week of delightful comradeship with a new " conception of the meaning of British Citizenship, and of the " mission of British teachers. For, if the Conference has proved " anything, it has proved what a boundless field lies before those " who have devoted themselves to the service of Education, and how " much the future of the British commonwealth and of the world at " large depends upon the united efforts of the teaching profession."

In 1918, deafness compelled me to resign the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee. Doctor Rendall, Headmaster of Winchester, kindly agreed to take my place. Doctor Gardner, now Vice-Chancellor of London University, who had long been a prominent member of the Committee, became Deputy Chairman, and has acted as Chairman during Dr. Rendall's prolonged absence from England. I undertook the post of the Hon. Treasurer, and am still in active connection with the League's operations.

The Comrades Correspondence Scheme, with which we started in 1901, has by no means been adandoned. We have now sixty thousand Comrades linked together. We have, however, no patent or exclusive rights to the idea, and have been glad to welcome the co-operation of the League of Nations Union and others in providing correspondents for all who seek them.

The third Imperial Conference of Teachers Associations was held in 1924, at University College. H.R.H. The Duke of York was present and addressed the opening meeting. The Duke and Duchess of Devonshire included the Delegates in an Evening Reception, and they were also invited by H.M. The King to a Garden Party at Buckingham Palace. At that party I had the honour of presenting to their Majesties twelve of the more important representatives. During the whole week discussions took place on educational

matters, ranging from the university to the primary school. At one of the meetings, as Hon. Treasurer, I spoke to the Overseas teachers about the Headquarters which we are anxious to establish for their benefit. An appeal, warmly backed by Queen Alexandra, the Princess Louise, and the Duchess of Devonshire, and published and strongly supported by the *Daily Telegraph* and other newspapers, had elicited very little response. I pointed out that we were doing all that was possible with such funds as we had been able to collect, but that we could not set up such a Headquarters as we had in contemplation unless we received generous help from the Local Governments and Teachers' Associations.

Having done so much for Overseas teachers, the League, in 1925, arranged a tour through Canada for English teachers and others, and a somewhat similar tour will be made this year, 1926. A full account of last year's journey was published in the League's Magazine, from which the following extracts have been taken :—

" The tour was planned to include amongst its members teachers " of the elementary schools whose holiday lasts for just a calendar " month. Through the generosity of the English Education " Authorities, notably the London County Council, leave on full " pay was given for four days beyond this time, and thus the term " of five weeks and a day or two became available, which, after " deducting nine days each way for the voyage, left twenty days for " the tour through Canada and back, from coast to coast. . . ."

" At Montreal a great reception awaited the party. At the " station a deputation met us of members of the City Corporation " and Education Authorities. In the afternoon there was a " Reception at McGill University, where we had tea on the Campus. " In the evening we were entertained to dinner at the Windsor " Hotel, Dr. Black, of the C.N.R. . . . in the Chair. This " Dinner was a really great function. . . . Dr. Black, in a " remarkable speech, set forth the present progressive effort of the " great Dominion, and asked the co-operation of all in solving her " great problems. . . .

" From Montreal we went by night to Ottawa, the Domion Capital " of Canada, and one of the lovliest garden cities in the world. . . " Here a Representative of the Government of Ontario had been sent " to meet and welcome us by the Premier of that Province. . . ."

" From Ottawa we started on a journeying which was to last " from the 4th of August to the 21st, practically without a break, " and to include crossing the Rockies at Jasper and sailing down

" the fiords from Prince Rupert to Vancouver, and thence across " to Victoria. Two standard Pulman cars were provided for us by " the C.N.R. . . ."

" From the start at Montreal the party was in charge of Mr. James " Morrison, District Manager of the C.N.R., and the most courteous " and able of conductors. It was certainly no easy thing to bring " a party such as ours over six thousand miles of territory ; to see " to their comfort and their meals on board or at hotels when we " went ashore or at the cities ; to pass us from steamboat to steam- " boat, as during our cruise down the Pacific coast from Prince " Rupert to Vancouver, and across from Vancouver to Victoria. " But all this and much more he did. . . ."

" The next halts were at Winnipeg and Edmonton, cities of the " prairie, and then we came to Jasper, the entrance to the Rocky " Mountains, and the Jasper National Park. . . . Round " Jasper is an ampitheatre of great mountains. . . But it was " urgent that we should catch the boat from Prince Rupert to " Vancouver. . . . . Many travellers take the tour through " to Jasper by the fiords, returning overland. It is, indeed, " a beautiful two days' coast voyage, reminiscent of the fiords of " Norway, or of the West Coast of Scotland. It was made the " more enjoyable to us because the British Columbian Government " had sent a Representative, Mr. Gower, to meet us at Jasper, and " from him we obtained much information and help. . . ."

" At Vancouver and Victoria we were in the hands of many old " friends, and our time was mapped out with precision to include " both hospitality and the visiting of many interesting places. . ."

" In returning we stopped at Toronto and Quebec, and spent " a day at Niagara."

Quite recently, in July, 1926, a further important development of the League's work has been made by holding in Paris—for the first time in a foreign country—a Congress of representatives from all parts of our Empire. It was attended by over two hundred delegates from Universities and Educational Authorities and Associations. Our aim was, first, to offer a friendly greeting to a Nation with which our Empire had been intimately connected through years of stress, but we also sought to learn something of the methods which that brilliant Nation has adopted. The Congress met under the auspices of the Sorbonne, of the British Ambassador, and of the League of Nations Centre, for intellectual co-operation, and received the warmest welcome from the Bienvenue Francaise

and other important French Associations. The Delegates were received at the Elysees by the President of the Republic. An autographic message from the Prince of Wales to the Rector of the Sorbonne, and another from Sir Austen Chamberlain, showed the value attached to the gathering by those of the highest influence in England. Full particulars of the several meetings can be obtained from the League of the Empire, 124 Belgrave Road. A return visit has been promised by our French hosts in the summer of 1927.

In this chapter I have now given an outline of what has been done by the League during the twenty-five years of its existence. Whilst all its work has served good imperial purpose I think it may be claimed that in its scheme for the Interchange of Teachers the League has initiated, perhaps, the most effectual means that could be devised for keeping all parts of the Empire in close touch with the others, and for securing a real Empire brotherhood in the generations to come.