12/1/85 Govt Gen Dept
24/11/87 Ecc 1643
19/10/88 Ecc 1269

K.M. 7/10/7

For orders.
E.W. 14/8

Revenue Dept
Public Dept
Accts Genl

G.O. 9th Sept/86 No 1996 Mis
The Government have read the foregoing report with much regret and have now no alternative but to place Mr Bell on the unemployed list until he succeeds in passing the prescribed tests.—
Mr Bell will be informed that unless he complies with the requirements of the rules, within a reasonable time, his case will be reported for the orders of the S. of State

F.W.
31/8/86

Circulated
F.W.

Mr Bell Exam"
Bd of Rev.

11/11/86

CURRENT NO 3161

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

RECEIVED ON
No. 1906 Mis
9 Sept 86
BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR

From

THE PRESIDENT,
BOARD OF EXAMINERS,
Madras,

To

Hon'ble
THE CHIEF SECY. TO GOVERNMENT,
Fort St. George.

Confl. 17 D
1886

No. 1169.

Dated 3rd
Despd. 5th
Recd. 6
} August 1886.

No.

ENCLOSURES. two.

Subject.

Reporting for the orders of Government Mr. Bell's inability to pass in the Vernacular examination at the Assistants' Examination held in July last.

P.T.O

General Table of Marks connected with Half Yearly Examinations of Mr. M. D. Bell from July 1882 to January 1886.

Name	Division A.			Division B.			Div. C	Division D.				Division E				Div. F	Div. G	Div. H	Total	Remarks.
	Revenue	Revenue History	Revenue Case	Penal Code	Criminal Procedure Code	Magisterial Case	Law of Evidence.	Conversation	Translation	Dictation	Reading and explanation of Arzee.	Conversation	Reading of Arzee	Explanation of Arzee	Dictation of Orders	Revenue Survey.	Revenue Settlement.	Civil & Revenue Codes.		
Maximum number of marks	160	40	50	80	80	50	80	50	30	30	50	30	30	30	30	80	80	80	1060	
Minimum number of marks	100	25	35	100		35	50	35	65			15	45			40	40	50	635	The red ink underlines show the Division or Divisions in which Mr. Bell passed at each examination.
Lower Standard																				
Mr. M. D. Bell appeared in																				
July 1882 in all Divisions.	75	30	40	66	45	45	53	35	11	10	40									Failed in A and D.
January 1883 in Divns. A, D & H.	37	32	48					35	15	18	35							32		Failed in A and H.
July 1883 in Divns. A & H.	71	37	45															53		Failed in A.
January 1884 in Divn. A.	107	33	50																	Passed.
Higher Standard																				
July 1884.																				Mr Bell was ineligible for examn. on this occasion owing to his not having undergone the prescribed training in Survey and Settlement.
January 1885 in all Divisions	100	27	0	59	54	0	63											50		Failed in A, B, D, E, F and G.
July 1885 in Divns. A, B, D, E, F & G	90	13	40	73	68	35			Did not take up											Failed in A, Did not take up papers in D. E. F and G.
January 1886 in Divns. A, D, E, F & G	137	30	50						Did not take up							45	54			Did not take up papers in D and E.

Office of the Board of Examiners
Madras, 3rd August 1886

W. J. Whitcombe
President, Board of Examiners

C.203161 A.6

No. 2775. Office of the Board of Examiners,
Madras, 14th February 1885.

From

The President, Board of Examiners,
Madras.

To.

C. A. Galton Esq.
Collector of Bellary.

Sir,

I have the honor, with reference to your endorsement to the address of the Secretary, Board of Revenue, No. 287, dated 27th Ultimo (forwarding for the favorable consideration of the Board of Revenue a letter addressed to you by your Assistant Mr. Bell dated 26th January 1885, No. 5, objecting to the recent order of Government on his claim to be examined in Canarese as his 1st language) to inform you that the same has been transferred to me for disposal by the Board of Revenue in their Proceedings, No. 617, dated 5th Instant, the application not being one

with

with which the Board of Revenue can deal.

2. In reply I beg to point out that Mr. Bell desires to have a special case made in his favor for which there are no valid grounds, and which if sanctioned, would create a precedent that would undoubtedly be quoted and relied on hereafter by any gentleman who, like Mr. Bell, desires to evade the Examination Rules long in force, and of the existence of which he is perfectly aware.

3. It is unnecessary for me to explain to you the Rule objected to by Mr. Bell. I will merely remark that if it were relaxed, as that gentleman desires, it would be impossible hereafter to enforce it in the case of Government officials who have been transferred from one District to another, even though, as in Mr. Bell's case, many months have intervened since their change of appointment.

4. It has no doubt occasionally happened that a transfer of this kind has occurred just before the half yearly examination came on, and, in such instances, (when it would be manifestly hard upon the young officer to require him to come up for examination in a language that he has had no time or opportunity for studying) he has been allowed to bring up the language of the District he has just left.

5. But Mr. Bell's case is vastly different. He is

He has now been continuously employed in the Bellary District for just nine months. He has had ample opportunity for acquiring in that time a knowledge of its official Vernacular, and, if he has not chosen to do so, he has no right to regard the enforcement of the Rules as a grievance, and to object to the Board of Examiners expecting him to obey them.

6. There being no grounds whatever for any special favor as regards Mr. Bell, I request you will be so good as to instruct that gentleman to address himself, without further delay to the study of the Telugu language.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient Servant
(sd) W. S. Whiteside
President, Board of Exams

(True copy)

Pub 3161/1/86.

W. S. Whiteside

President, Board of Examiners.

C. 203161 No 6

No. 1169. Office of the Board of Examiners,
Madras, 3 August 1886. Pub.

CURRENT NO. 3161

From

W. S. Whiteside Esq.
President, Board of Examiners,
Madras.

To

The Honorable F. Webster,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.

Sir,

I regret to have the honor to report for the unfavorable consideration and orders of Government, Mr. Matthew Denny Bell, at present acting as Head Assistant to the Collector of Bellary.

2. Mr. Bell arrived at Madras on the 25th November 1881, and, on the 1st January 1882, he joined the District of South Canara as Assistant. He appeared at the periodic half yearly examinations, and gradually passed in the various subjects, until he completed

completed his Lower Standard at the examination held on the 23d January 1884. The Vernacular in which he passed (at the examination in January 1883) was Canarese, and he then got exactly 3 marks above the minimum required for a Pass.

3. In May 1884 he was transferred to Bellary as Ag. Head Assistant, which appointment he still holds.

4. On the 4th December 1884, Mr. Bell wrote to me to say that he proposed to take up Telugu as his second and Canarese as his first language, that being the Vernacular chiefly spoken in his Division. In reply I informed him that number 32 of the Examination Rules requires an Assistant to appear for examination in the Vernacular used in official business in the district where he is employed, for his first language, and that as Telugu is the official Vernacular of Bellary he must pass in it, but that there was no objection to

to his selecting Canarese as his second language. Mr. Bell objected to this and complained to his Collector, who on the 23d December 1884 wrote to me supporting Mr. Bell's wish to take up Canarese as his first language. On the 6th January 1885 I laid the matter before Government for orders in my letter No. 2636, and Government in their order No. 77 (Mis.) dated 12th idem decided that my reading of Rule 32 was correct. Copy of this order was at once furnished to Mr. Bell, who, on the 26th January 1885 again wrote to his Collector objecting to the orders he had received, and urging that he should be allowed to pass his examination in Criminal and Revenue cases in Canarese, and the Collector thereupon addressed the Board of Revenue in his Memo. No. 287, dated 27th idem supporting Mr. Bell's application. This communication was transferred to me

for

for disposal by the Board of Revenue, and on the 14th February 1885, I addressed to the Collector my letter No. 2775 (of which I forward copy) in which I pointed out that there were no circumstances connected with Mr. Bell's reiterated claims that in any way justified a special case being made in his favor. He had then been employed for 9 months in the Bellary district, and had had ample time and opportunity for making himself acquainted with the official Vernacular, if he had chosen to exert himself. I therefore called upon him at once to apply himself to the study of Telugu.

5. Mr. Bell appeared at the half-yearly Examinations in 1885, but refrained from trying to pass in the Vernaculars. At the examination in January of the current year he succeeded in passing in all his remaining subjects for the Higher Standard except the Vernaculars, which he again declined

declined to attempt.

6. At the examination held on the 19th Ultimo, I naturally expected that Mr. Bell would pass without difficulty in the two languages for the study of which he has had such ample opportunity, but I received with surprise a Report from the Local Committee that he had declined altogether to attempt the examination in Telugu (his 1st language) while in Canarese he had made an ineffectual attempt to converse, and then declined the remainder of the examination. Viz. Reading and Explanation of Arzees, and Dictation of orders.

7. Mr. Bell has now been employed for the last four years and seven months continuously in two districts, in both of which Canarese is universally spoken by the people, and for upwards of two years and a half the official Vernacular in which he is supposed to have done his daily wor

is

is Telugu. I need hardly remind the Government that, as regards character, idiom, and grammatical construction, these two languages possess a remarkable affinity, and they have very many words in common. It is therefore wholly inexcusable that after such protracted experience Mr. Bell should admit as he has now done his complete inability to pass the required examinations in languages with which he ought to be thoroughly conversant.

8. I am aware that of late years a practice has come generally into force amongst Revenue Officers in this Presidency of getting through their Vernacular work by perusing brief Precis prepared for them in English by their clerks which profess to summarise the contents of the Vernacular papers received from the Talugs, and upon which they docket their orders in English. This system no doubt simplifies the work immensely but, while it opens up an illimitable field to corruption and fraud of every kind, it at the same time effectually deprives the officers who adopt it of their chief opportunity for maintaining and improving their knowledge of the Vernaculars, on the possession of which their efficiency almost entirely depends. Mr. Bell must have done his Vernacular work in this way for the last two and half years, and to it I ascribe in great degree his present ignorance of any Vernacular language. I have addressed the Board of Revenue on this subject, and I believe that it will very shortly be laid before Government in view to the necessary orders being passed.

9. In

9. In their Proceedings No. 742, dated 11th May 1859, the Government removed from the Civil Service Mr. Carbonell because, after qualifying in Telugu, he had failed to pass the required examination in his second language (Tamil) within two years, the period of probation then allowed to Junior Civilians. Mr. Bell has been more than double that time in the Country, and is now as ignorant of the languages as Mr. Carbonell was then, but it must be remembered in his favor that during his residence in India he has gradually succeeded in passing the examinations in the other

other branches for the Lower and Higher Standards.

10. I attach to this letter a Tabular Statement from which can be ascertained the manner in which Mr. Bell passed his examinations, and the marks he obtained in each subject. It will be noted that in many he only just got passing marks.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

W. J. Whitehill

President, Board of Examiners.

Note C.No 3161/86 Pub

Mr Bell's case

Mr Bell's service has been about equally spent between the Districts of S. Canara and Bellary.

I have always heard him as an excellent officer. Evidently he has not a taste for Languages.

After a residence of 6 months in Bellary Mr Bell did not attempt the Telugu papers for the second standard on the ground that he was not acquainted with that language. He had been desirous

S. Canara 1 Jan 82 - 11 May 1884

Bellary 17 May 84 - Aug 1886

Examination 1 January 1885

para 2 of Whitesides letter in G.O. 10 March 85 No 612 Public -

4½ years residence in a District in which Canarese is spoken he cannot pass the modified test required for a second language & after 2 years in a District where Telugu is the official language he is unwilling even & attempts & passes the usual test.

I see nothing for it but to put Mr Bell on subsistence allowance removing him from his present employment as was done on a similar occasion in 1870. This is very much to be regretted but obviously rules must be obeyed.

If the description in para 8 of Mr Whiteside's letter is accurate and if the evil spoken of is universal it will be necessary to

Smallness of remedies when pointed out when it must be settled & place Mr Bell's services at the disposal of the G.I. for employment in Burma

H.E.I.

G.O. 15 August 1870 No 1021 Public.

Comet

Best to put matter upon proper footing

Agreed

Comet 18/8/86

I suggest that the B. of R. be consulted

Report
on
Mr Charles Stewart Crole
Collector of Madura
by
Henry Sullivan Thomas Esquire. F.L.S. F.Z.S.
Senior Member of the Board of Revenue. Madras.

1886.

PARAS.
52. Who quite understood it.
53. So do the ryots.
54. Foreshore storage capacity also taken from the tank.
55. And the cultivators criminally punished for endeavouring to restore it.
56. Though they were driven to assert their rights.
57. Mr. Crole, his Deputy, and Taluk Magistrates combined to wrench justice.
58. The necessity for noticing it.
59. This iniquitous judgment struck terror though Mr. Crole reported there was no pressure.
60. A misrepresentation noticed in passing.
61. The Park formed almost entirely out of waterspread and foreshore.
62. Mr. Crole misled Government about lowering the storage capacity of the Tellakulam Tank.
63. And about the land given being not waterspread.
64. Government was consequently misled.

The Mànagiri Tank.

65. The Mànagiri Tank likewise encroached on for the Farm, and the evidence of encroachment made away with.
66. Vellaya Ambalakàran despoiled of his lands, his office, and his father's memorial charity house.
67. A possible double interpretation.
68. Vellaya Ambalakàran should be righted.
69. Solamalayan's land appropriated.
70. Mr. Crole's disclaimer of connection open to doubt.
71. The foreshore of the channel continuation of the Mànagiri Tank drained off.
72. The masonry weir should be raised.
73. The supply channel was blocked and the year's crops endangered.
74. The case indicative of Mr. Crole's unscrupulousness.
75. The channel re-opened.

The Sirunàyakanpàlayam Tank.

76. It was a private tank.
77. The Deputy Collector, the Huzur Sheristadar, and the Collector, Mr. Crole, all knew it was private.
78. If a Government tank, they could not have offered to purchase it.
79. Yet they treated it as a Government tank for the purpose of oppressing.
80. Fined the tank owner criminally also.
81. And began digging a channel in his land.
82. The alleged free sales of land were really made under compulsion.
83. Rs. 10,000 refused, and yet Mr. Crole reported he was in treaty to sell.
84. Mendacity further evidenced.
85. The British administration brought into disrepute thereby.
86. Ahmed Moideen should be righted.
87. The local agitation dissected.
88. Vellayan, the agitator.
89. Tellakulam a pendant to Mànagiri.
90. The local agitation subterfuge confounded by dates.
91. Confounded also by Ahmed Moideen's dates.

The Working of the Farm.

92. If a spontaneous popular movement it would have worked itself, but it was worked also by pressure.
93. The Madura Thàsildàr had to do work on the Farm which left him Rs. 1,090 out of pocket.
94. The then Acting Town Sub-Magistrate of Madura was compelled to do works to the extent of Rs. 200 and degraded for not doing more.
95. The sub. *pro tem.* Deputy Thàsildàr of Madura employed on the Farm.
96. The late Huzur Sheristadar's letters to Mr. Crole about his being worked on the Farm because non-officials would take no interest.
97. The works he had to do and the amount he was out of pocket.
98. The Huzur Sheristadar's statements supported by others.
99. Other officials used on the Farm.
100. And called on to make purchases for it and to see to its every detail.
101. A confession of weakness.
102. Thus were they compelled to revert to old corrupt custom.
103. The very site of the Farm, the Park, and the Club unsuitable except for Mr. Crole's personal convenience.
104. Non-officials taking no interest whatever in the Farm.
105. Cattle starved, calves stunted, improved breeding a farce.
106. Sheep similarly neglected and ignorantly treated.
107. Like signs of neglect and ignorance in the cultivation.
108. A curious commentary on what Mr. Crole had represented it.
109. The Farm should be abandoned.

SUPPLIES EXACTED AT NOMINAL PRICES FOR MR. CROLE'S HOUSEHOLD USE.

PARAS.
110. One thousand six hundred and fifty measures of horse-gram sent for in the name of the Farm was really for Mr. Crole's horses without payment.
111. Though he was at the same time explaining to Government his personal knowledge of the distress of the cultivators.
112. Much of the report being in his own hand.
113. Paddy for his fowls was obtained in like manner.
114. The prob. bility of the requisitioned cows also being for Mr. Crole.
115. Seven cows, twenty sheep, hundred fowls received by Mr. Crole from one of his own dalayats.
116. The evil notoriety implied by such gifts from a menial.
117. Household requisites of all sorts drawn from the Thàsildàrs.
118. This though incredible to the English mind is simple in India.
119. Mr. Crole's clothes washing had to be paid for by his duffadar.
120. His accounts kept by the official translator who was promoted.
121. The office attender dismissed because Mr. Crole's teal died.
122. A taluk peon made butler on Rs. 5.
123. The duffadar Rs. 200 out of pocket in his household.
124. The duffadar also had to make good the value of unused mutton.
125. And when he could pay no more he was degraded.
126. A dalayat also ordered to be degraded for wanting payment on his pigeons.
127. The Government cash-keeper made to purchase Mr. Crole's old packing cases at excessive prices.
128. The old blankets of his servants sold to the Government Treasury.
129. The Periyakulam Thàsildàr punished in connection with supplies.
130. The Madura Thàsildàr also.
131. And the Mélúr Thàsildàr.
132. And the Madura Town Sub-Magistrate after being made a butcher of.
133. The Deputy Thásildár of Tirupatúr out of pocket.
134. Wood for carriage building supplied by the Bodynayakanúr Zemindar.
135. Proposal for its disposal.
136. The great body of evidence in one direction.
137. Presentation of jewelry.
138. Though Mr. Crole is the apostle of purity.

THE PERIYAKULAM FIRE.

139. Made the pretext for degrading a Thàsildàr really punished for not making supplies.
140. He should be reinstated.
141. Government Order set aside by Mr. Crole.
142. A false criminal case trumped up against the Vakeel leader of the opposition to the street widening.
143. And the Vakeel's father retired from office by Mr. Crole.
144. Though we acquit Mr. Crole of participation it reflects discredit on his administration.
145. And Visvanatha Row should be reduced to a clerkship.
146. Mr. Crole misrepresented the matter as usual.
147. The improvements commenced in Periyakulam should be carried into completion and sufferers compensated.

CONCILIATED PUBLIC OPINION.

148. Mr. Crole worked by instilling fear, not by conciliation. Mr. Stokes' testimony.
149. Mr. Collector Turner's report.
150. Mr. Crole surrounded himself with bad characters, *e.g.*, Kotasamy Tèvar.
151. And the Bodynayakanúr Zemindar.
152. And Ramasubaiyar and S. Subramani Aiyar.
153. And corrupt officials.

REVIVED MUNICIPAL LIFE AND ADVANCED LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

154. Mr. Crole rather stirred faction and utilized it.

The Friction between Mr. Crole and the Rev. Dr. Chester.

155. Mr. Crole's condemnation of the Rev. Dr. Chester unjustifiable.
156. The withdrawal of the Dindigul dispensary grant unworthy.
157. Mr. Stokes' testimony thereto.
158. The manner of the vote instructive.
159. The manner of summoning meeting is also noteworthy.

The Pulney Hill Roads Maintenance.

160. The stoppage of the maintenance allowance credited by the Europeans to Mr. Crole's personal spite.

CONTENTS.

The Introduction of Water Supply for the large Towns.

PARAS.

161. Mr. G. Stokes on the Dindigul water works.
162. The consensus of opinion in favor of the Kudavanàr stream.
163. Unveracity again.
164. The enforced collections for the Dindigul water works.
165. Colonel Crighton should be reimbursed.
166. The Madura water works admirable and highly creditable to Mr. Crole.

The Roads of the District.

167. The state of the roads of the district.
168. The reason therefor.

THE VAIGAY BRIDGE.

169. The object of the Vaigay bridge discussed.
170. Recommended to be postponed.

VILLAGE SANITARY ASSOCIATIONS.

171. Mr. Crole entered somewhat into the labors of his predecessors.

HIGH-HANDEDNESS.

172. Autocracy not autonomy his rule.
173. Mr. Crole's housebreaking for a tin of salmon.
174. His report about it.
175. The evidence afforded of terrorism.
176. The evidence of the girls' school collection.

THE STRIKE IN THE BAZAAR.

177. A mountain out of a molehill, Madura Parnell.
178. Unveracity again.

ADMINISTRATION.

179. Mr. Sub-Collector G. Stokes paralysed.
180. Also Mr. Sub-Collector Kough, Police Superintendent Colonel Kilgour, Police Assistant Superintendent Mr. Gadsden.
181. Mr. Kough's remonstrance.

REVENUE COLLECTIONS.

182. A Thàsildàr degraded.
183. The previous administration decried Mr. Crole's professions.
184. Mr. Crole's practice.
185. His treatment of the arrears assorts ill with his professions.
186. His profession and practice contrasted again.
187. And wet assessment permanently sacrificed.
188. Such permanent sacrifice shou'd be avoided.
189. And the revenue subordinate staff revised by the present Collector.

SUMMARY.

190. The several sufferers to be righted and wrong-doers to be punished.

No. of File	Subject.
	MADURA. *Farm and Park.*
I	Periyakulam taluk, in II Parts.
II	Madura taluk.
III	Tirumangalum taluk, in II Parts.
IV	Mélúr taluk.
V	Dindigul taluk.
VI	Nelakotai Deputy Thàsildàr's division.
VII	Vádasunthúr Deputy Thàsildàr's division.
VIII	Palni taluk.
IX	Shivagunga Estate Deputy Thàsildàr's division.
X	Shivagunga Estate, Tirupatur Deputy Thàsildàr's division.
XI	Ramnad Division, in II Parts.
XII	Muthukolatur Deputy Thàsildàr's division, in II Parts.
XIII	Muthukolatur Thàsildàr's division.
XIV	Tiruchuli division.
XV	Kamuthi taluk.
XVI	Pallimadam Thàsildàr's division, in II Parts.
XVII	Tiruvadanai Deputy Thàsildàr's division.
XVIII	Anumanthagudi taluk.
XIX	Rajasingamungalum taluk.
XX	Madura Model Farm—General Correspondence.
XXI	Madura People's Park—Correspondence.
XXII	Papers connected with Agricultural Show.
XXIII	Acquisition of land for Park without payment of compensation.
XXIV	Encroachment on the waterspread of Periya Connoy (~~big tank~~) by the Members of the Park and Union Club Committee.
XXV	Encroachment on the waterspread of the Mánagiri Tank by Members of the Farmer's Club.
XXVI	Encroachment on the tank-bed of Sirunayakanpalayam Tank by the Park Committee.
XXVII	Destruction by fire at Periyakulam and transfer of the Acting Thàsildàr, Sunthiram Aiyar.
XXVIII	Reduction of the Vaccine Staff at Madura.
XXIX	Introduction of Village Sanitary Associations in Madura district.
XXX	Papers in connection with the criminal complaint of a cartman against the late Collector and his coachman.
XXXI	Remarks on extracts from the criminal diary maintained in the District Magistrate's Court, Madura, from January 1832 to 31st December 1885.
XXXII	Introduction of the gang-cooly system and abolition of the mile-cooly system, and also papers regarding the condition of roads in the district.
XXXIII	Calling away the subordinates of the Sub-Collector from their stations without the knowledge of the Sub-Collector.
XXXIV	Widening of streets at Periyakulam.
XXXV	Papers given by Mr. G. Stokes as also those relating to Dr. Chester's case and Dindigul water-supply.
XXXVI	Demi-official papers.
XXXVII	Depositions regarding Madura Farm.
XXXVIII	Depositions regarding supplies.
XXXIX	Bazaar strike at Madura.
XL	Breaking open a shop at Kodaikánal.
XLI	Instigation of false charge against Rájam Aiyar, Vakeel, because of his opposition to the Periyakulam street widening.
XLII	Encroachment by farm on tank-bed.
XLIII	Extract from a deposition regarding Dindigul water-works.
XLIV	Extract from deposition regarding repairs to the Tamakum.
XLV	Extract from a deposition regarding Park.
XLVI	Collections of subscription to the Girls' school from officials.
XLVII	Papers concerning dry remissions.
XLVIII	Resolutions regarding Madura Model Farm.
XLIX	Miscellaneous papers.
L	Papers regarding the friction in connection with Dr. Chester's supervision of the Madura Medical School and minor dispensaries which led to the resignation of Dr. Chester and two of his subordinates.
LI	Papers connected with the Mánagiri Vellayan Ambalagar's case.
LII	Papers regarding the water dispute of the Kumbilinayakankulam in Dindigul taluk.
LIII	Papers connected with the embezzlement by Periya Meeranan Sérvai Ravuthan, late Nàttaùnmaigar of Kalimungalum village.
LIV	Vaigay Valley Railway Project.
LV	Memorandum on the Jamabundi Settlement by Mr. Crole in Fasli 1294 of Madura, Dindigul, and Mélúr taluks and on land-revenue and irrecoverable arrears in Madura taluk.
LVI	Madura Model Farm order books, in III Parts.

MADRAS, 17 August 1886.

No.

From

H. S. THOMAS, ESQ., F.L.S., F.Z.S.,
Senior Member, Board of Revenue,
on Special Duty in Madura District,

To

THE HON'BLE E. FORSTER WEBSTER,
Chief Secretary to Government, Madras.

SIR,

In obedience to Government Order, dated 12th March 1886, No. 532, directing me to "report generally upon the condition of the Madura district when Mr. Crole was its Collector, and on the results of his administration of it," I entered on the duty on the 14th March, and after two months' labor, I still find myself far from the completion of my task. Involving as it does an impartial examination of the entire administration of the province over a period of 4½ years, the scope of my inquiry is necessarily wide, and the subjects of it are so many and so overlaid with difficulties which will be seen as this report proceeds, that I feel it quite impossible to bring this investigation to the speedy termination that would be otherwise desirable. In lieu, therefore, of waiting till I have examined each point in the exhaustive manner which might to me appear most desirable, it seems due that I should, without further delay, furnish Government with a preliminary report showing the course my inquiry is following, and how far it has reached up to date, so that the Government may be in a position to direct my further inquiries as it may think proper, and that the Government may be in a position to judge for itself whether or not there is, in any part of my report, the slightest tinge of even unintentional coloring. The matter on which it is based is arranged in consecutively numbered files as shown in the list of files following the contents, each paragraph in each file having again its own consecutive number, so that reference may be easy, and throughout my report they are marginally quoted, so that my report rests on, and at every turn is open to challenge from, the record.

MR. COLLECTOR CROLE'S UNTRUTHFULNESS.

2. Studying carefully my instructions, and referring especially to the parts marginally mentioned, I observe that the prime question is "how far Mr. Crole's statements are justified by facts." It becomes incumbent on me then painstakingly and impartially, to the best of my ability, to discern and demonstrate what are the real facts of each point set down for my report, and confronting them with Mr. Collector Crole's statements, to leave the issue to Government. But, before confronting Mr. Crole's statements with facts, it will perhaps be best that I should confront Mr. Crole with himself, so that the Government may be able to judge of his veracity from his own pen; for, apart from the Government instructions, it will be clear, as the report proceeds, that Mr. Crole's veracity or unveracity is really the crucial point of the whole inquiry. If "Mr. Crole's statements are justified by facts," then he is entitled to the high mead of praise he claims; if they are not, he is in a very different position.

Concluding sentence of para. 3 of the Government Order.
Opening sentence of para. 5.

3. On the 9th May 1884, the Board* of Revenue, under instructions from Government, asked Mr. Crole demi-officially "whether there was any ground for the report that subscriptions were being collected in the manner indicated by the *Mail's* correspondent," *i.e.*, if they were being collected by the Thàsildàrs and other officials "under his instructions." Mr. Crole's† reply of 11th May, besides being replete with statements hereafter in their proper place to be confronted with facts, contains these words, "Money is being collected by non-official sub-committees acting in concert with a large central committee of a most influential character, and consisting almost entirely of non-official gentlemen of position,"—a statement which he emphasised with the assurance, "the Board may rely on my not countenancing, for an instant, the slightest irregularity." The Board, however, on the 13th May 1884, called‡ again demi-officially for "a list of the persons who comprised the central and sub-committees," requiring Mr. Crole "in the case of officials in Government service to state what appointments they hold." On the 17th May 1884, Mr. Crole§ submitted the list; and on the 23rd May, the Board‖ reported officially to Government, No. 4419, "In looking at the lists, the Board have been greatly surprised to find that the central committee, so far from being composed almost entirely of non-official gentlemen of position, consists of 40 members, of whom 18 are European or Native officers of Government."

* File XXXVI, No. 1.

† File XXXVI, No. 2.

‡ File XXXVI, No. 3.

§ File XXXVI, No. 4.

‖ File XXXVI, No. 10.

"Moreover, the lists show nearly every Thàsildàr and Deputy Thàsildàr in the district to be on one or other of the sub-committees."

When making these remarks, the Board were not aware that the number of officials was very much larger than they were informed, for, though distinctly required "in the case of officials in Government service to state what appointments they hold," Mr. Crole, while professing to do so, withheld all mention of the numerous Nàttàumaigàrs, (Village Magistrates and Munsifs) and Karnams (Village Accountants) with whom every list is swollen, and by whom, in conjunction with a chuttram Manager also on the committee, and the rank and file of taluk peons and process-servers not on the committees, the collections were practically made. The withholding of the fact of the large utilisation of these village authorities was more than a *suppressio veri*, for Mr. Crole wrote, "You will observe that the total number of local committee men is 511. Of these, only 23 are Government officials." The real number of officials on the committees was, however, not less than 150. It embraces:—

File XX, No. 45 and its enclosures.

1 Deputy Collector.	1 Zemindary Manager.
5 Thàsildàrs.	1 Apothecary.
5 Deputy Thàsildàrs.	44 Zemindary Thàsildàrs.
1 Subdivision Sheristadar.	5 Local Fund Overseers.
5 Sub-Magistrates.	5 Sub-Registrars.
4 Taluk Sheristadars.	2 Police Inspectors.
4 Revenue Inspectors.	1 Local Fund Schoolmaster.
44 Village Magistrates.	34 other Zemindary officials, and the Zemindary referred to is directly under the Collector's management.
17 Village Accountants.	
3 Chuttram Managers.	
1 Zemindary Huzur Sheristadar.	

Keeping, however, for the present to what may be seen from Mr. Crole's own pen, I see that in the original copy of the list sent to the Board and returned to the Collector,¶ Mr. Crole has written in his own hand with reference to the officials: "The connection of all these gentlemen, many of them non-residents, is purely nominal, and with the exception of No. 4, the Secretary, they have taken no part in

¶ Board's Proceedings, No. 1410, dated 13th April 1886. File XXXVI, enclosure to No. 4.

the proceedings up to date." This, to the Board. But when silencing his Head Assistant, who reported the irregular collections to him officially, he* wrote with his own hand*: "The Deputy Thàsildàrs are acting in accordance with the Collector's wishes in actively co-operating with the local committees in connection with the central committee of the Farmer's Club at Madura." This letter to the Head Assistant is dated 17th April 1884, those to the Board from 11th to 17th May 1884, so that before giving the Board all these assurances in his own hand, he was well aware that he was deliberately penning the exact opposite of the truth, on a point to which his attention had been specially called in more than one communication.

* File XX, No. 30.

"I have the honor to bring to notice that some of the Deputy Thàsildàrs in this division inform me that they have begun collecting money for the Farmer's Club and Agricultural Society, lately started in this district, but that they have not received any clear instructions from any one as to the collecting of the money. As I am not aware what instructions you may have issued in the matter, and whether the action of the Deputy Thàsildàrs is in accordance with your wishes, I report the matter officially."

4. Moreover, when sending this list to the Board on the 17th May 1884, Mr. Crole wrote, using the past tense, "they *have* taken no part in the proceedings up to date." It is curious that the list itself, that day received from his Sheristadar, is headed in the future tense "list of gentlemen who *are to form*† the members of the general committee, Madura Farmer's Club," and is enclosed in an office wrapper apologising for delay, so that it would seem that the list was not one of which the past tense could properly be used, but was completed only just in time for submission to the Board, for it was on that very date that he forwarded it. This view is strengthened by the fact that the resolution forming the general or central committees is missing, and is the only resolution of that day's meeting that is missing; and by the fact that this list differs also from any list we can find, it differs from the list of those present at the meeting of 1st March 1884 by the omission of two non-officials who were then present, and the addition of two officials who were not then present. It is further a strange use of terms to say that the "non-official sub-committees were *acting in concert* with a large central committee of a most influential character, &c.," for, the "large central committee" never "acted," it simply elected an executive committee of four, and delegating its functions to the small body composed of two officials and two non-officials, declared that it would meet every six months, but never met again that we can trace, for the simple reason that when the official element was taken out of it, it remained a mere lifeless padding. The official element of the central committee was taken out of it to form the Presidents of the several local committees, so that so far they may be said to have acted in concert each with himself individually, or in concert with the executive committee of four containing the Huzur Sheristadar and the Deputy Collector with the Collector for President, but certainly not in concert with the "large central committee," which never acted.

† The italics are mine.

File XLVIII, Part II, page 1.
„ XXXVI, enclosure to No. 4.

Italics are mine.

5. But not content with such a reply in answer to the call for explanation from the Board, Mr. Crole went out of his way to volunteer uncalled for a repetition of the same untruth to Government, and, under the same date, 17th May 1884, wrote again, in his own hand, to the Chief Secretary: "Government in the Revenue Department has asked the Board of Revenue to inquire from me whether it is a fact, as stated by an anonymous correspondent of the *Mail*, that, acting 'under my instructions,' the Thàsildàrs in the Madura district are collecting money for the People's Park. I have fully replied to the Board. But I feel it due to myself, to bring to the notice of Government, a disgraceful, and groundless slander, made on me behind my back, by Mr. —— in the presence of witnesses, a few days before the appearance in the *Mail* of the letter referred to." * * * * "I crave the protection of Government against this particular imputation, especially considering what has happened. For, as I believe, owing to it, I am now placed in the humiliating position of having to deny a false statement made

File XXXVI, No. 6.

by the anonymous correspondent of a scurrilous print, which, there is fair reason to suppose, would not have appeared but for Mr. ——'s improper conduct."

"I beg that this matter be laid before His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor."

6. Thus, is the denial not only repeated, but enforced with exceptional effrontery by claiming for it the personal attention of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor.

7. Yet once again on the same day (17th May 1884), and again, in his own hand, he wrote in his covering letter to the Board:* "Strict orders were issued to them (*i.e.*, Government officials,) not to take any part in the collections."

* File XXXVI, No. 4.

8. It is noteworthy here that the office draft in his own hand runs, "Any active part," the word active being subsequently struck out, again indicating that he was aware that he was fencing with the truth. He concluded to prefer the bold line and wrote and repeated an uncompromising falsehood.

9. In further elucidation of these contradictions from his own pen, it may be briefly noted here, as will appear in detail hereafter, that what really occurred was that, in most taluks, the Thàsildàrs were actively co-operating in their own persons, while, in the Madura taluk, the Thàsildàr pulled the wires and put others forward, taking care the while to give them the full benefit of his official support, by making it thoroughly well known that they had his countenance, so that the wording, not to take any part, would have just covered the rôle which this Thàsildàr tried to play.

Paras. 42 to 45 *infra*.

10. In connection with Mr. Collector Crole's disingenuousness as evidenced by his own pen, I may, in passing, refer Government to its own very recent estimate of his manner of explaining away the inuendo that the Board's orders to him had been issued only by their Sub-Secretary and this, though Mr. Crole himself professes to have a keen sense of truth, complaining bitterly of "the stigma attaching to him on account of" * * "a still unwithdrawn reflection on his veracity." Mr. Crole's letter to Government, dated 19th November 1885, No. A, paragraph 30 in two places.

G.O., 1st January 1886, No. 1.

Collections by Official Pressure.

11. But turning from the contradiction given to Mr. Crole's statements by his own pen, to the contradiction given by facts, it will be well, first, to continue the subject with which we have thus been led to commence, the question whether or not "the private subscriptions raised for the Madura Park and Farm and other projects were purely voluntary, or were in any way the outcome of official pressure." This, it will be remembered, has already formed the subject of direct inquiry by the Government and the Board; and if

Para. 6 of G.O., 12th March 1886, No. 532.

File XXXVI, No. 1.

Revenue Board Office,
Madras, 9th May 1884.

Dear Crole,—The attention of Government has been attracted to a letter which appeared in the *Madras Mail* a short time ago to the effect that, under instructions from you, the Thàsildàrs and other officials in your district are collecting subscriptions towards the People's Park at Madura, and the Board have been asked to make inquiries into the allegation. I am accordingly directed to request that you will explain whether there is any ground for the report that subscriptions are being collected in the manner indicated by the *Mail's* correspondent.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) E. GIBSON,

—

File XXXVI, No. 2.

Madura, 11th May 1884.

Dear Gibson,—Your note of the 9th instant. It is not a fact that "the Tahsildars and other officials in my district are collecting subscriptions towards the People's Park in Madura." If you will refer to the Proceedings of the Municipality published along with the District

Gazette for May, you will find that the People's Park has been presented to the town by the three gentlemen whose names are given. Not an anna was collected from any one else. The movement was entirely voluntary, and my connection with it has been as President to take charge of money lodged with me by the Secretary, Mr. R. Ramasubbaiyar, B.A. and B.L., High Court Vakil, a wealthy Madurian. The allusion in the *Mail* probably refers to subscriptions for the establishment of a Model Farm, and the misdescription was probably intentional for the purpose of concealing the authorship. Even as to this, however, the statement is incorrect. Money is being collected by non-official sub-committees acting in concert with a large central committee of a most influential character and consisting almost entirely of non-official gentlemen of position. A very full account of a public meeting at which the project was started appeared in all the public prints in March last. Wilson has warmly taken the thing up, and has promised a large grant-in-aid. A formal report will go up in due course. It only awaits the closing of the subscription lists. I believe the whole thing to be the result of a fair and honest effort for improvement, and the Board may rely on my not countenancing for an instant the slightest irregularity. Every subscriber receives a printed receipt, the strictest accounts are maintained, and the money is lodged in the Government Treasuries. I conceived it a duty which Government would have justly censured me for neglecting to place myself at the head of a movement of the nature referred to. As a private individual, I have shown what I think of it by subscribing Rs. 1,000.

Yours Sincerely,
(Signed) C. S. CROLE.

—

File XXXVI, No. 3.

Revenue Board Office,
Madras, 13th May 1884.

Dear Crole,—In reply to your letter of the 11th instant, I am directed to request that you will send, for the information of the Board, a list of persons who compose the central and the sub committees for the formation of the Model Farm. In the case of officials in Government service, please state what appointments they hold.

Yours Sincerely,
(Signed) E. GIBSON,
Secretary.

—

File XXXVI, No. 4.

Madura, 17th May 1884.

Dear Gibson.—Yours of 13th instant. The lists required by you are subjoined.
You will observe that the number of local committee men is 511. Of these, 23 only are Government officials. Strict orders were issued to them not to take any part in the collections. These orders have been obeyed.

(Initialled) C. S. C.

Mr. Crole had replied truthfully, there would have been no need for my being ordered to inquire again. The better to understand the inquiry, past and present, it will be well to read in full the demi-official letters from which I have hitherto quoted only in part, as far as they were connected with the point considered, Mr. Crole's own pen. For ready reading, therefore, I place them in the margin.

12. In continuation of remarks that have been made above, we may note first that Mr. Crole says, "strict orders were issued to them not to take any part in the collections. These orders have been obeyed." Unable to find these orders, I asked the present Collector for them. He replied that there were none such on his record. Resolved to exhaust every effort to find them if they ever had any existence, and presuming the possibility of the office-copy having been lost, I addressed a circular to every Thàsildàr and Deputy Thàsildàr in the district, not forgetting the Shivagunga Manager, and they all replied, without exception, that they had never received any such orders. The only papers in any way touching the subject are the following circular, sent by the Secretary of the Farmers' Club, and signed for him by the Farm Superintendent, who is an ex-student of the Agricultural College, and a mere Farm Bailiff on Rs. 50 a-month, with the two reminders following it:—

File XXXVI, No. 4.
„ XX, „ 23.
„ XX, „ 32.

Exhibits H, J, K, in No. 2 of File No. XXXVII.

Exhibit H, 13*th June* 1884.

"It is now more than three months since the subscription list for the Madura Farm was opened by your Committee. Ample time has thus been allowed for the receipt of subscriptions, and it is not worth while for the sake of the collection of any paltry outstandings to keep the lists open any longer, especially as the application of the Executive Committee to Government for a grant is delayed until the total amount of the subscription is known. You are, therefore, requested to close the lists at once, and send your accounts to the Secretary of the Executive Committee within three days, so as to permit of necessary action being taken."

Exhibit J, 2*nd July* 1884.

"The Superintendent of the Madura Farm has already written to you to close the subscription list, and your Local Committee has virtually dissolved from the date of his letter. No further collection of subscription should therefore be made. Please send in your accounts at the earliest possible date."

Exhibit K, 17*th July* 1884.

"The Local Committee does not seem to have paid any attention to former letters asking it to close the subscription list for the Farm, and stop collections. Please collect not a pie, and forward the list of subscribers at once."

By no stretch of fancy can these be construed as orders from the Collector forbidding his subordinates to take any part in the collections, and even if it were sought to put such a construction on them, their dates are all subsequent to the 17th May 1884, when Mr. Crole wrote that "strict orders had been issued and obeyed." Indeed, if there had ever been any such orders, and they had been obeyed, we should hardly find both the Huzur Sheristadar, K. Krishna Row, and the General Duty Deputy Collector, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai, still addressing the Thàsildàrs as President of the Local Committee, Farmers' Club, and Taluk President, Local Committee; we should hardly find them complaining that they had "paid no attention." In place of orders from the Collector forbidding his subordinates to take any part, these two reminders from the Huzur Sheristadar and General Duty Deputy Collector, signed in the capacity of Secretary to the Farmers' Club, read rather as if it was well recognised at headquarters that every subordinate, from the highest to the lowest, had, at the least on the date of Mr. Crole's writing (*i.e.*, 17th May, or nearly a month before the earliest of these three letters), been under orders actively to co-operate. That this was the real position will be seen from facts hereafter. In these circumstances, the closing sentence of Mr. Crole's letter is unique. Referring to orders, which we now know had never any existence, he gravely assures the Board "these orders have been obeyed."

13. The above refers to Mr. Crole's own orders to his subordinates, but even when, later on, he received, on 11th June 1884, the Government Order of the 5th June 1884, No. 2331, communicated to him by the Board of Revenue, saying, "His Excellency the Governor in Council is, therefore, of opinion that none of the officials subordinate to the Collector should serve on Committees engaged in the collection of subscriptions for the purpose in question; and Mr. Crole should be instructed to cause the names of all such persons to be withdrawn," even then no orders were issued by the Collector in pursuance of the Government Order. The Government and the Board ~~that~~ had, in the first instance, been told the reverse of truth about the connection of the officials with the collections were, when they issued orders on the subject, quietly ignored; so that, in effect, the government of Madura had its finality in Mr. Crole.

14. The only papers approaching to orders in pursuance of the Government Order are the Farm Secretary's circular above quoted, with its two reminders, and even these do not touch the point of the Government Order—the point that officials should take no part in the collections; they assign quite a different reason for closing the accounts, and leave the Collector's action with reference to his officials quite unretracted, not even alluded to. And yet it is singular that the first of them should be dated just two days after the receipt by Mr. Crole of the Government Order, and that the reminders which followed should be signed by his Huzur Sheristadar and General Duty Deputy Collector. However, in this connection, we have to remember that they signed as Secretary, Farmers' Club, and that Mr. Crole, in his first letter placed above in the margin, was very careful to disconnect himself officially from the action of the Committee of the Farmers' Club. The position is inexplicable, except when we know from inquiries which will appear below that Mr. Crole himself and almost every available official were most intimately and actively connected with the working of the Club, in other words, that his disclaimer is as utterly untruthful as usual, and thus to his untruthful representation of the position did he add the insubordination of practically ignoring superior orders.

Paras. 48 to 55, 57, 92 to ~~97~~ 101 *infra*.

15. It may save trouble while we are fresh from the reading of Mr. Crole's letter, that we should note that it closes with the words "as a private individual, I have shown what I think of it" (*i.e.*, of the movement referred to) "by subscribing Rs. 1,000." From the immediate and preceding

No. 2 of file XXXVI.

context in which we find the words, it seemed to my mind that the Board was meant to understand that the movement was a spontaneous one, "entirely voluntary," * * "the result of a fair and honest effort for improvement," before Mr. Crole "placed himself at its head," by munificently contributing from his private purse the very handsome donation of Rs. 1,000, and in connection with other circumstances which had come to our knowledge, such pecuniary liberality was a strange incongruity of character. For instance, we did not expect it of the man who had sold the second-hand country blankets (*i.e.*, common cumblies) of his servants to his Treasury, sending one of his peons to receive for him and grant a receipt for the petty sum of Rs. 7. We did not expect it of the man who could get all his old packing cases together, send for his Treasury cash-keeper, and tell him the price he was to get him for them—a price which was more than they were worth, and which the cash-keeper had to make up out of his own pocket. We did not expect it of the man who could bargain as he did about the price of fowls, eggs, horse-gram, fire-wood, &c. But we come across strange incongruities daily in otherwise estimable characters, and in this my inquiry it was more than ordinarily incumbent on me to presume nothing unworthy where the more generous view was possible. But we have failed to find any trace of Mr. Crole ever having presented a single rupee to the cause. He seems to have used the word "subscribe," in the sense of under-write, and though the Board construed it as we did to mean "contribute," Mr. Crole never corrected the misrepresentation into which the Board had not unnaturally fallen. What really occurred was this. Mr. Crole with his own hand drafted without date "Private subscription for purchase of nunjah lands for Madura Farm to be repaid by Municipal Commission when funds are available," and wrote down his name for Rs. 1,000. Then, again, on the 9th April 1884, when he was presiding over the Executive Committee, the Resolution was: "Resolved to call in the subscriptions to the loan fund amounting to Rs. 5,000, and that nunjah lands be purchased forthwith." But the Resolution seems not to have been carried into effect, for, we find it proposed first that Government,* and then that the Local Fund Board should pay for this nunjah land, and up to 6th March 1885, it was not even acquired;† so that what he really subscribed was his name with the indication of the sum which others were expected to contribute, and it does not appear that even they ever made good their subscriptions.

File XXXVIII, No. 6, para. 2.
„ „ „ 7 „ 1.
„ „ „ 9 „ 3.
„ XXXVIII, „ 6, „ 1.
„ „ „ 8 „ 1.
„ „ „ 9 „ 2.
File XXXVIII, No. 1, paras. 28 and 29.
„ „ „ 2 „ 1, 2.
„ „ „ 4 „ 5, 9.
„ „ „ 5 „ 2.
„ „ „ 11 „ 2, 5, 6.
„ „ „ 12 „ 5, 10.
„ „ „ 13 „ 1.
„ „ „ 14 „ 1.
„ „ „ 15 „ 1.
„ „ „ 19 „ 2.
And paras. 110 to 128, *infra*.

Para. 5 of No. 10 of file XXXVI.
File XX, No. 1.

File XLVIII, part II, page 8.

* Mr. Crole's letter which is enclosure No. 1 in G.O., 5th February 1885, No. 145, Revenue, in file XX, No. 7.

† File XX, No. 3, Mr. Crole's endorsement.

16. The only things which, there is any indication of Mr. Crole having presented to the Park or Farm, were some cows, and these, as the evidence goes, were always milch cows that had been wrung from the poor by a species of extortion and presented to him, some of them by his own dalàyat, others by other subordinates, accepted by him without question, utilised by him for some months, and then handed over to the Farm. These are gravely entered in the Farm books as presented by Mr. Crole. But, except for such presentation, they

File XXXVIII, No. 4, paras. 2, 3.
„ „ „ 26.
„ XXXVII, „ 4, end of para. 1.
„ „ „ 9, para. 2.
„ „ „ 10, „ 2.
„ „ „ 11, „ 1.
„ „ „ 24, „ 2.
„ „ „ 33, „ 4.
„ „ „ 35, „ 6.
„ „ „ 40, „ 1, 2.
„ II, „ 69.

would not be mentioned here, for the subject of the improper receipt of supplies must form a heading of its own.

17. Returning to the collections, their story is, that a printed circular was issued by the Deputy Collector saying, "the Collector is desirous to meet gentlemen interested in the improvement of agriculture" in the People's Park at Madura on the 1st March. A copy of this was sent to every Thàsildàr and Deputy Thàsildàr, requesting him to attend "with a few intelligent and respectable gentlemen." The result was a meeting of all the high officials of the district, accompanied by not a few Nàttànmaigàrs (heads of villages) and Karnams (village accountants), with wealthy men who were non-officials. The Collector read a paper in English, which was translated into Tamil by S. Subramani Aiyar, and then the meeting was addressed by the Huzur Sheristadar (since deceased), and Thàsildàrs were told to make out then and there lists of sub-committees for their taluks, and they did so, and gave them in to the Huzur Sheristadar, and they included in them the Nàttànmaigàrs and Karnams whom they had brought with them to the meeting, which Nàttànmaigàrs and Karnams they had introduced to the Collector and Huzur Sheristadar as such officials, so that they were well known to be officials, and one of the Thàsildàrs deposes that he was ordered to add the name of his Taluk Sheristadar, though that official was not present or consenting. The result was that every taluk sub-committee had the Thàsildàr for its President, with a strong official following of Taluk Sheristadars, Deputy Thàsildàrs, Registrars, Nàttànmaigàrs, Karnams, and Chuttram Managers; and though there were non-officials also on the committees, who might have been made Presidents, it was always the Thàsildàr who was President of the taluk committee. Thàsildàrs were given receipt forms with a foil and counterfoil, and told to make collections for the Farm, and if they delayed to do so, they received reminders from the Huzur Sheristadar and General Duty Deputy Collector.

File XXXVII, No. 2, exhibit A.

File XLVIII, part I, No. 1.
„ XXXVII, para. 2.

File XXXVII, No. 2.

Para. 15 of No. 2 of file XXXVII.
Exhibits E and F of No. 2 of file XXXVII.

18. Thus, we see that the movement had its inception with Mr. Crole; he himself writes to the Director of Agriculture, "I wished to get in all the subscriptions and start the thing in some sort before laying the subject before you in a complete form in view of obtaining a Government grant." Started by Mr. Crole, it rested on his officials for its furtherance, whereas, it was not so represented to the Board and Government, who were rather led to believe that the movement was a spontaneous one coming from the people. I refer to Mr. Crole's first letter in the margin of paragraph 11, *supra*, in which he writes, "the movement was entirely voluntary" * * * "I believe the whole thing to be the result of an honest effort for improvement" * * * "I conceived it a duty which Government would have justly censured me for neglecting to place myself at the head of a movement of the nature referred to." I would wish here to guard against being misunderstood as commenting on Mr. Crole's action in commencing an agricultural movement. Confining myself to my instructions, I have to indicate only that in his description of its origin, "Mr. Crole's statements are" not "justified by facts." Mr. Crole also, after first employing his Deputy Collector to write to his cousin, the Sirkele of the Rajah of Puthukotai, himself wrote to the said Sirkele about a donation from the Rajah to the Hindu Union Club, and received direct from his Abkári Contractor the first of four sums, making up together Rs. 3,000 for the Park and Farm, though he wrote to the Board, "my connection with it has been as President to take charge of money lodged with me by the Secretary, Mr. R. Ramasubaiyar."

File XX, No. 37.

File XX, No. 38.
„ XX, „ 36.
„ XX, „ 2.
„ XXI, Nos. 13, 14, 15.

19. It cannot be said that it was not known at head-quarters that the sub-committees were essentially official in their character, for, they were made up under the immediate instructions of the Collector and his Huzur Sheristadar, were enlarged under their orders, and when so amended were approved by them, and when the Deputy Thàsildàr of the Shivagunga division was asked who were the non-official members on his sub-committee, he replied to the Huzur Sheristadar so early as 21st May 1884, "the members referred to therein were unable to collect subscriptions owing to the private business. Myself and the receiver undertake the business of raising and collecting subscriptions," so that it was thoroughly well known at head-quarters that the sub-committee was essentially official. Nay more, it is brought home to Mr. Crole himself more closely and in his own handwriting. On the list of collections made in Tiruchuli, and submitted by the Tiruchuli Sub-Magistrate and also containing the foot-note "the sum of Rs. 2,253-13-0 * * is exclusive of rupees about 2,000 collected in Tiruchuli division by the Zemin *Thàsildàrs of Tiruchuli and Kamuthi*." On this clear statement of collections having been made *officially*, Mr. Crole wrote in his own hand: "To the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Club for information. C. S. Crole, Collector 5-5-84;" and the date, 5th May, is previous, it will be observed, to 11th May 1884, the date on which he assured the Board, on his being specially questioned on this very point, that it was by non-officials that the money was being collected, and it was closely previous, only six days, that it was the less likely to escape his memory.

Paras. 2, 3, 5, 6 of No. 2 of file XXXVII.
File VII, Nos. 5, 6.
„ III „ 1, 8, 43.
„ II „ 9, 10, 11.

File IX, No. 18.

Italics mine.

File XIV, No. 20, enclosure.

20. The sub-committees having been thus made up, and the first meeting at head-quarters having been presided over by the Collector and Huzur Sheristadar, a Deputy Collector presided over a taluk meeting in the Mélur taluk, and the Thàsildàr presided over subsequent meetings, and "not a name was entered" on the subscription lists except in their presence, and the people were told they must subscribe liberally, and some of them sent in themselves the subscriptions, for which, in the presence of officials, they had signed their names, and others paid it on requisition made by peons, and one declined to pay the Rs. 150 which he had subscribed directly the rumour spread that the Government had prohibited official pressure; and though, when the Collector was on circuit in that taluk, the Huzur Sheristadar personally informed the Thàsildàr that it was the Collector's wish that that Rs. 150 should be collected, the Thàsildàr had to reply that it was no longer possible for him to collect it without an order in writing from the Collector, as the recusant knew of the Government Order. This occurred in July 1885, or long after the Government Order of 5th June 1884 forbidding collections by officials. In explanation of delay in remitting, the Thàsildàr of Kamuthi writes to the Honorary Deputy Collector and Manager, Ramnád Estate: "As I had to collect money by going to each village and granting receipt myself, and as your order said that I should send money so as to reach Madura by the 17th instant, &c."

Letter 2 in margin of para. 11.

Para. 2 of No. 2 of file XXXVII.

Para. 13 of No. 2 of file XXXVII.

File XXXVII, No. 31, para. 1.
„ „ „ 26 „ 4.
„ „ „ 35 „ 1.
„ „ „ 38 „ 1.
„ III, part II, Nos. 79 to 87, 89 to 98, and 100 to 110.
„ I, part II, Nos. 23, 24.
„ XVI, No. 16 and file VII, No. 27.
„ XXXVI, No. 11.

Para 14 of No. 2 of file XXXVII.
File IV, No. 7.

File XV, No. 11.

21. The Huzur Sheristadar and the Thàsildàr thus interesting themselves con-

jointly in the collection of subscriptions, and so late as July 1885, and that, too, while the Collector was present there in camp, and the Thàsildàr was openly remitting his receipts to the Treasury, is scarcely compatible with the "strict orders," which Mr. Crole assured the Board and Government he had *suo motu* issued at the outset that officials were "not to take any part in the collections," and scarcely compatible with any orders having been subsequently issued by Mr. Crole in pursuance of the Government prohibition of 5th June 1884.

22. In two taluks, Periyakulam and Tirumangalam, we find the collections were made by process-servers and taluk peons. These men, who form the regular subordinate machinery for the collection by compulsory and *quasi*-compulsory process of arrears of Government land revenue, were sent out supplied with memoranda of the names of subscribers lying in their beats, with the sums due entered against each name, and they, without giving any receipts to the donors, brought in the money they collected to the taluk office.

File III, part II, Nos. 11, 40.
" " " II, " 79 to 87, 89 to 98, 100 to 110.
File I, part II, Nos. 23, 24.

23. One man who would not subscribe was arraigned on a criminal charge by the Thàsildàr, when he quickly subscribed Rs. 50, whereon it was found that the criminal charge could be dismissed. Of this, more hereafter.

Para. 36, *infra*.

24. In another taluk, Madura, the Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, played the rôle of taking no active part, and the opening meeting was held by R. Ramasubaiyar, a High Court Vakeel and non-official, and the Municipal Vice-President. He is the Secretary of the Madura Farmers' Club, and the prominent non-official in the matter. He held a meeting at Sholavandàn, which is a wealthy locality near Madura Town, for the purpose of starting a voluntary subscription. This, then, had all the verisimilitude of being a really voluntary movement started by a non-official. But before this non-official held his meeting, the way was prepared for him by the Thàsildàr warning the village officials that he was coming on such a day, and that they must show him every respect, and give effect to his wishes; and on the day of his meeting he was surrounded on the platform by the Revenue Inspector, all the Village Magistrates (Nàttànmaigàrs), and for such a large place as Sholavandàn and its suburbs there are four, by the Sub-Registrar, and the Chuttram Monigàr. He addressed the meeting, and went away without opening any subscription list. He advisedly left that to the officials, for he put the active exacter, the Village Magistrate, on his committee list, and went through the farce of electing as Secretary, on 19th March 1885, the Nìlakanta Shàstri who had already been appointed by the Thàsildàr on 2nd May 1884, and directly Ramasubaiyar was gone, the Village Magistrates and the Chuttram Manager, Nìlakanta Shàstri, opened a subscription list, and told the people that the Collector, the Huzur Sheristadar, the Thàsildàr, and all the officials were of one mind, that they must subscribe; and when the people demurred, they were told that if they did not subscribe, they would be punished under got-up charges of committing nuisances, would have punitory assessment put on their lands, would get no remission, and so on, and so on; and that, having suffered these troubles, they would have to pay in the end, so that it was better they should pay at once and escape them. Then, when they reluctantly entered their names for small sums, they were told the sums they ought to pay, that is, Rs. 10 and Rs. 15 and Rs. 20 were dictated to a man who tried to get off with Re. 1, and so on. Many entered their names on the subscription list, hoping still to

File XXXVII, No. 35, para. 1.
" " " 33 " 1.

File XXXVII, No. 35, para. 1.
" XLVIII " 26.

File XLVIII, No. 26.

File XXXVII, No. 30, para. 1.
" " " 32 " 2.
" " " 33 " 1.
" " " 35 " 1.
" " " 39, paras. 2, 6, 11.
" " " 38, para. 1.

evade actual payment by postponement, and some of them went in to Madura to see the Thàsildàr, and ask him if they need pay, and he told them, yes, they must do as Nìlakanta Shàstri told them, and others were daily reminded by the Village Magistrates, and suffered domiciliary visits from them, and others paid half and hoped to get off with promises for the rest, showing at every turn that the subscriptions were by no means voluntary, and were nothing but the outcome of official pressure.

File XXXVII, No. 9, para 3.
" " " 10 " 2.

25. Others, again, entered their names on the subscription list on the distinct understanding that they would get a remission of Government assessment, and that what they contribute should form only a slight percentage on their remissions, and others were told that the village must make up such and such a sum, calculated on a percentage of promised remissions, and they withheld these contributions till the jemabundy was over, and they found these promised remissions actually entered in their puttahs; thus was Government itself made, by its own officials, to contribute to the Farmers' Club. The revenue remissions were bargained away.

File XXXVII, Nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 33, 36.

It may be noted here that the Board of Revenue doubted at the time the necessity for such large remissions of Government revenue, and made the following remarks, which are singularly justified, now that we see how revenue remissions were bargained away in order that a percentage of them might come back into the Farm coffers:—"The Board are constrained to notice the persistent tendency of Mr. Crole to recommend remissions without due reason, and to submit his proposals in an incomplete shape, by no means justifying the confident assertion at paragraph 11 of his present letter," which confident assertion may be referred to in the margin as showing how, through it all, here as elsewhere, Mr. Crole paraded his high sense of duty. In passing, we may here note that similarly Government fuel was used for the Farm, and below it will be seen that other Government interests had, in like manner, to give way to the Farm (paragraph 47, *infra*).

Board's Proceedings, No. 608, dated 24th January 1884, and Nos. 718 and 941, dated 4th and 21st March 1885.
File XLVII, Nos. 2 and 8.

"I believe, therefore, that there never has been a district in the Madras Presidency, the condition of which was known in such accurate detail as was that of Madura on the date of the letter now disposed of by the Board on the assumption apparently that the recommendation for the relinquishment of revenue contained in it was made in a careless spirit or on superficial grounds instead of under the sense of duty and with the regret which were actually present to my mind when I signed it."

File III, part I, No. 46.

65/

26. As Ramasubaiyar figures as the prominent non-official, so Nìlakanta Shàstri is put forward as a non-official, but he draws a Local Fund salary as Chuttram Manager, and was just at this juncture promoted therein by recommendation of the Thàsildàr and order of the Collector, and he was supported everywhere by the Village Magistrates. It was the Village Magistrates that threatened the people and got the money out of them, and Nìlakanta Shàstri who gave the formal receipt. Nìlakanta Shàstri is also the landlord of the house which the Thàsildàr and his brother occupy in Sholavandàn, and he had in that capacity also another countenance in the general impression that he was the Thàsildàr's man. In brief, he was well known to be accredited by the Thàsildàr, he was himself loud in announcing it, and the Thàsildàr when appealed to confirmed it.

27. With variations the story is seemingly the same in all taluks; the Thàsildàrs in some going only as far as they were compelled to do for fear of displeasing Mr. Crole, in others taking advantage of the opportunity in their own interests.

28. In the Madura taluk subscriptions for the Farm were not confined to money payments only, but the Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, himself told the people that a good milch cow was wanted for the Collector; it must not be a common one, it must be a good one, worth not less than Rs. 40. The ryot had not got such a

File XXXVII, No. 33, para. 4.
" " " 35 " 6.

cow in his herd, so he and his friend had to make up the sum and give it to the Revenue Inspector under orders of the Thàsildàr, and the Revenue Inspector paid it over to Nìlakanta Shàstri, and the cow was bought and presented, but whether to the Collector or to the Farm is not very clear here, but it may be noted that it comes out quite clearly in another case that things ordered for the Farm were really for Mr. Crole's own household consumption. Then, four Village Magistrates were told by the Thàsildàr that they must make up a good cow between them, again for the Collector, and they made up a part of their shares and shirked the rest, showing by such shirking how far the gift was from being a free-will offering. Milch cows were similarly demanded through Nìlakanta Shàstri and through the Revenue Inspector.

File XXXVII, No. 40, para. 1.
" " " 33 " 4.
" " " 35 " 6.

Para. 110, *infra.*
File XXXVII, No. 40, para. 3.

File XXXVII, No. 9, para. 2.
" " " 10 " 2.
" " " 11 " 1.
" " " 39 " 7.
" " " 39 " 10.

29. Then straw was wanted for the Farm cattle, and people were told that they must give a cart-load each; it was the Thàsildàr's order and they must obey or incur his displeasure, and the Farm cart came round to their doors with a peon, and they had to give it, and this though the Collector had himself written of that year in the following terms: "I discovered in June that in certain tracts referred to by me in the correspondence alluded to, cattle were offering for sale at one-fifth of their value, and that the stock of fodder had completely run out. In one large village of those parts, I saw in the streets and open places many cattle, which, being too weak to rise, had to be lifted up by men. I was told that this was common. Straw was in that month being carted forty miles;" and in his previous letter he had written: "In consequence of the drought which lasted till late in October, many of the cattle had either perished or become weak and useless from want of sustenance;" and yet it was in this year that straw was thus exacted of the cultivators.

File XXXVII, No. 10, para. 4.
" " " 11 " 1.
" " " 40 " 4.
" " " 8 " 3.
" " " 9 " 4.
" " " 35 " 4.

Para. 16 of Mr. Crole's letter, dated 11th March 1885, No. 160, in Board's Proceedings, dated 21st March 1885, No. 911.
File XLVII, Nos. 5 and 8.

No. 112, dated 18th February 1885, para. 4, in Board's Proceedings, dated 4th March 1885, No. 718.
File XLVII, Nos. 1 and 2.

30. A cart-load of bamboos was wanted for the Farm, and the Revenue Inspector cut and carted it off in the face of the protests of the owner; and another cart-load of bamboos, which cost Rs. 8-4-0, had to be supplied by the cultivator at the nominal price of Re. 1, because it was "the Collector's order."

File XXXVII, No. 39, para. 4.
" " " 8 " 1.

31. The ryots were asked to lend their carts and cattle, and they "lent" them for a week or ten days, that is to say, the Thàsildàr sent them distances of 50 miles, and while so "lent" and employed, not while marching to and fro, the cartmen got 2, 3, or 4 annas a-day batta, and the oxen got straw, and the carts were drawn up in long rows in the public road, which is at the Collector's very gate, and can be readily seen from his windows and his garden, and this went on for a month and-a-half, so that he could not have been ignorant of it. They were under his very eyes, he speaks Tamil well, he had only to talk to the cartmen direct and alone to know the whole history; and Mr. Crole is not ignorant of native character, and how to deal with it. Few Europeans know it better.

File XXXVII, No. 1, para. 2.
" " " 2 " 18.
" " " 5 " 5.
" III, Nos. 14, 15 to 26 and 45.
" XXVII, No. 1, para. 2.

32. The ryots had again to send in their ewes to be tupped by Saidapet rams, and the ewes were neglected and were never returned.

File XXXVII, No. 2, paras. 21, 22, 23, 24.

33. There was also a separate set of collections in the Ramnad Zemindari under the head Cart-hire. The Deputy Thàsildàr of Tiruchuli says he made it by desire of the Deputy Collector, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai, and the late Huzur Sheristadar, and remitted it for the Farm. But it is not to be found in the Farm accounts under this head, and the sums alleged to have been so remitted need explanation, for there are differing statements, one letter putting the collections at Rs. 100, a previous one at Rs. 1,900. It is explained that they consisted of contributions for the hiring of carts for manuring the Farm by ryots who were too far distant to lend their own carts and bullocks. Time has not allowed of the matter being investigated.

File XIV, Nos. 13, 31 to 35.

34. Even Thàsildàrs themselves were placed under requisition, and had to pay out of their own pockets, or partially pay for, or themselves requisition things that were required of them and never paid for. The Thàsildàr of Mélúr had to pay the cart-hire on a cart-load of Mélúr earth, to pay Rs. 10 to induce carters to take their carts into the Farm under promises of further payments, was charged with the keep of Farm oxen required to be fattened up before they could be sold at the price assigned him, had to pay Rs. 30 to induce shepherds to send in their sheep to the Farm, and to advance Rs. 100, which has never been repaid him, for 2,000 measures of gram ~~either for the Farm or~~ for Mr. Crole's household use, besides supplying and carting margosa seedlings, and being taxed with the keep of a ram. The Thàsildàr of Tirupatúr had twice to supply ropes for the Farm, to expend Rs. 142 for a carved door frame ordered by Mr. Crole and now standing unclaimed in the Tamakam house, to meet cart-hire and be Rs. 50 out of pocket for bamboos. These are instances, as far as we know them as yet, of things which Thàsildàrs had to send to the Farm unpaid for, besides all the more expensive work they had to do on the Farm, which will be mentioned in its proper place under the heading Farm. All this they would hardly have done if they felt that it was only the non-official Secretary of the Farmers' Club that was asking it of them, and that the Collector was as thoroughly disconnected from him as he is so careful to lead the Board to believe in his letter of the 11th May 1884, quoted in full in paragraph 11, *supra.* On the contrary, they knew right well that the requisitions were practically the Collector's own. They had *quasi* demi-official notes from the Huzur Sheristadar and the General Duty Deputy Collector, and they knew from report how things were done by the Collector himself.

File XXXVII, No. 2, paras. 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27.

File XXXVII, No. 3, paras. 6, 7, 8.

Paras. 92 to 97, *infra.*

Para. 94, *infra.*

35. Village officials also were placed under requisition. We find from a Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Farmers' Club, dated 9th April 1884, that certain *ryots* are asked to be thanked by the Secretary for having voluntarily dug and presented three wells to the Farm. To call the first three ryots was to ignore their being Nàttànmaigàrs, or village mayors, under the immediate orders of the Thàsildàr, and two of them who have been examined appear to prefer payment to the thanks of the Committee for works executed by them, for, they say they are poor and were forced to do it. It is manifest that what they did was simply under official pressure, one having promises of Government employ for his son thrown in. As regards the fourth man, Mìrana Sérvai

Resolution book, page 8, file XLVIII, part II.

File XX, Nos. 41 and 42.

File XX, Nos. 42, 43, 44.

Ràvuthan of Kalimangalam, the circumstances under which he dug that well are singular. In August 1882, he had been dismissed from his office as Nàttànmaigàr by the then Deputy Collector Dorasami Aiyar for withholding revenue collections, and pronounced disqualified for re-entertainment on future vacancy. On the 24th March 1884, the Madura Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, brought to the notice of the General Deputy Collector, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai, an embezzlement of revenue collections of Rs. 339-4-9 by Peria Mìranan Sérvai Ràvuthan, a cousin of the well-digger. Peria Mìranan Sérvai Ràvuthan died before the discovery of the embezzlement, and Chinna Mìranan Sérvai Ràvuthan claimed to be appointed in his stead. The well in the Farm was dug by him at the same time, and three days after the resolution of the Executive Committee asking the Secretary, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai, to convey their expression of thanks to him for it, the same Secretary, in his capacity of Deputy Collector, passed a Proceedings "that his claim for the office of Nàttànmaigàr cannot be taken into consideration unless he pays up the amount reported to have been misappropriated by his brother" (meaning cousin). Thus he cancelled, though he had no power without reference to the Collector to cancel, the order of his predecessor declaring the well-digger disqualified for further employ, and out of Rs. 339-4-9, which he was required to pay, we trace only Rs. 100 as made good, and the remainder is reported by M. Tillanàyagam Pillai's successor to have been remitted, and in October, or six months after the digging of the well, we find that the same Deputy Collector who was to thank him for digging the well, gives him the appointment, though he had previously been declared disqualified, and he had not made good the Rs. 339-4-9 embezzled. In brief, Rs. 239-4-9 of Government money was written off as irrecoverable, and the Park got a well by it. The order of the Deputy Collector, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai appointing him was appealed against and all the facts of the case brought to Mr. Crole's notice, but the man was allowed to retain the appointment.

File LIII, No. 1.

File LIII, No. 2.

File LIII, No. 2.

File LIII, No. 7.

File LIII, No. 3.

File LIII, Nos. 6 and 11.

It is not proved, however, and it does not follow, that Mr. Crole knew and was moved by the well-digging connection—all that is clear is that the Thàsildàr and Deputy Collector must have known it, and that that was the way they followed Mr. Crole's example of how to get work done for the Park.

36. Whether or not the money collected by official means was to any extent embezzled appears to be a question suggested in the Government Order that "their accounts should be carefully scrutinized." Mr. Crole assures the Board and Government "every subscriber receives a printed receipt, the strictest accounts are maintained, and the money is lodged in the Government Treasuries." I do not know what steps Mr. Crole took to assure himself of the accuracy of this report before making it, but we find that, while a printed form of receipt book in foil and counterfoil was issued to Thàsildàrs, such books were only used for sums which it was intended to bring to account; in other cases, no receipts at all were given, or if claimed, a receipt was written with a stile on a dried cocoanut leaf, or a receipt was given on a Treasury form that there was no checking by

In margin of para. 11, *supra*.

File XXXVII, No. 15, end of para. 1.
" " " 16, para. 1.
" " " 18 " 1.
" " " 22 " 2.
" " " 24 " 1.
" " " 29 " 1, 6.
" " " 39 " 5, 11.
" " " 13 " 3.
" " " 23 " 4.
" " " 7, exhibit A.
" " " 34, para. 19.

XX " 22
" 22 A. para 4.
" 34.

counterfoil. This last was the form of receipt given to the man who had Rs. 50 extorted from him by a false criminal prosecution, or as a thank offering for being let off, whichever way his deposition is read, and this Rs. 50 never appeared again in any account.

Para. 23, *supra*.

37. One Nìlakanta Shàstri has been mentioned above as a sham non-official, and the central figure of the varied forms of extortion practised through the medium of Village Magistrates with the Thàsildàr at their back. This Nìlakanta Shàstri would seem to have availed himself of opportunities, for he collected sums as small as 4 annas, and even descended to entering 2 annas. His collections must have been very general to make such small sums worth taking. His business was to collect, grant receipts, and forward the money to R. Ràmasubaiyar, the Secretary of the Farm. We checked his and the Farm accounts, and they were found to fairly approximate in totals, for there had been ample time for their being made to do so before we became possessed of them. But when we compared them date by date, it was found that they were far from concurrent, the Farm accounts showing a credit from Nìlakanta Shàstri of Rs. 700 and 400, total Rs. 1,100, long before Nìlakanta Shàstri had ever collected it. He had only collected Rs. 115 up to that date. Nìlakanta Shàstri's explanation was that R. Ràmasubaiyar was in a hurry for the money for Farm expenses, and that he, Nìlakanta Shàstri, had to advance it out of his own pocket within the limit of the monies subscribed for, but not yet paid up, making it good to himself on collecting it. But is it likely that "R. Ràmasubaiyar, the High Court Vakeel and wealthy Madurian," as Mr. Crole describes him, would have been in such a plight for funds, as to be driven to borrow of a man on Rs. 14 a-month with chuttram perquisites, especially when such large sums were coming in from all directions.

Paras. 24, 26, 28.

File XXXVII, No. 4, end of para. 1.

File XXXVII, No. 4, para. 2.

38. So far from "the strictest accounts" being maintained, Nìlakanta Shàstri's accounts were clearly not subjected to any scrutiny or check whatever, and what he really collected, it is impossible to say. He himself deposes: "No one ever examined my accounts, and if I collected more money than I have given receipts for, God only would know it and punish me; they trusted me entirely to collect;" and the fact that the two sums of Rs. 700 and Rs. 400 remitted by Nìlakanta Shàstri on 28th April 1885 and 13th July 1885 were acknowledged by R. Ràmasubaiyar in one receipt on the 13th July, no receipt being given for the earlier sum for 2½ months, is not indicative of the strictest accounting, either in the remitter, Nìlakanta Shàstri, or in the Farm Secretary, R. Ràmasubaiyar. And the Farm Secretary, R. Ràmasubaiyar, is similarly at fault in the accounts which he personally handed to the present Collector, Mr. Turner, and which he stated were the only accounts he had, for they are neither signed nor initialled by Ràmasubaiyar, and show no opening balance to the credit of the Farm in 1885, though we know from other sources that Rs. 21,817 were collected and credited in 1884, and with the exception of two sums of Rs. 400 and Rs. 200, all the rest seems to have passed through the Secretary's books and was acknowledged by him. This, taken in connection with the above fact that Rs. 1,100 were remitted to R. Ràmasubaiyar, when by Nìlakanta Shàstri's accounts only Rs. 115 had been collected, certainly does not justify Mr. Crole's statement that "the strictest accounts were maintained." On the contrary, these things leave room for the conclusion that there was at least a very wide door open for peculation, and when Mr. Crole's attention was drawn to it by the Board's first letter in the margin of paragraph 11, *supra*, he should surely have

Para. 3 of No. 4 of file XXXVII.

File XXXVII, No. 4, exhibit G.

File XX, No. 46 and its enclosures.

File XX, No. 33.
" XXVII, No. 34, paras. 3 and 8.
" XXI " 18, margin of para. 1.
" XX " 33, item 1.

discovered it, instead of giving the Board and Government the assurance, presumedly not without inquiry made, that "the strictest accounts were maintained."

39. While all this was going on in his own taluk, under his own immediate support, it was not surprising that T. Krishna Row, Thàsildàr of Madura, should collect straw and rice for his own household consumption, and that in goodly quantities.

File XXXVII, No. 33, paras. 5, 7.
" " " 35 " 4, 5, 8.
" " " 37 " 2, 3.

40. Similarly, we have indications of opportunities having been freely abused in other quarters also, but this may be enough to say, on this head, in a preliminary report, especially as the conduct of subordinates was a point subsidiary to that of the head of the district, and we did not give it first attention, taking only such cases as threw themselves in our way.

41. Leaving them, therefore, we shall notice below that Mr. Crole himself is not to be excepted in that, under color of collecting for the Farm, he collected gram for his own household use.

Para. 110, *infra*.

42. In connection with Mr. Crole's statement that money was being collected by non-official agency, officials being strictly ordered not to take any part, it may be noted that, as far as accounts are available, what we find is that there were no collections by non-officials up to 17th May 1884, the date on which Mr. Crole wrote that they only were collecting, that in 1885 and 1886 non-officials collected only Rs. 2,578, against Rs. 23,627-8-3 or nearly ten times the amount collected and remitted by officials. This of course takes note only of monies that have been brought to account, the probably very much larger sums that have been misappropriated being as yet untraced, and probably in a large measure untraceable. It may be further noted that of these Rs. 23,627-8-3 collected by officials, Rs. 7,441-4-3 were collected *after* Mr. Crole, on 11th May 1884, in continuation of his statement that non-official agency only was employed, gave the further assurance: "The Board may rely on my not countenancing, for an instant, the slightest irregularity," and added on the 17th May 1884 that "strict orders had been issued" to officials "not to take any part in the collections," which order he said "had been obeyed;" it was *after* all this that Rs. 7,441-4-3 were collected by officials. Nay more, even after the receipt of the Government Order prohibiting such collections, still they were made to the amount of Rs. 4,766-14-0, and they were continued even into 1885 and 1886. Nìlakanta Shàstri, of whose collections we have already seen so much, deposes: "I never had any orders to stop collecting, either in writing or verbally;" and the Thàsildàr of Mélúr deposes that in July 1885, which is long after the Government prohibitory order of May 1884 and all Mr. Crole's assurances, he was pressed to collect a certain sum of Rs. 150. "The Huzur Sheristadar told him that the Collector wished the sum collected."

Margin of para. 11, *supra*.

File XX, No. 33.

File XXXVII, No. 4, para. 5.

File XXXVII, No. 2, para. 14, and para. 20, *supra*.

43. Mr. Crole wrote "money is being collected by non-official sub-committees acting in concert with *a large central committee of a most influential character and consisting almost entirely of non-official gentlemen of position.*" The italics are mine. Referring to the proceedings of a meeting held on 1st March, we find "the resolution was that the management of the Farm be committed to the care of an Executive Committee as follows:—

In margin of para. 11, *supra*.

No. 2 of File XI.

President: Collector, ex-officio President.
Secretary: Mr. Tillanàyagam Pillai Avergul.
Members: Messrs. Kottasàmy Tévar, Sub-division Zemindàr: S. Subramani Aiyar; K. Krishna Row; Tillanàyagam Pillai.

and turning to paragraph 4, *supra*, it will be seen that this Executive Committee was the only one that acted centrally, the large Central Committee of which Mr. Crole writes being a purely nominal farce. The real Central Committee was composed of the four men just quoted with Mr. Crole as President. Of these four, two were his own subordinates, K. Krishna Row being his Huzur Sheristadar, and Tillanàyagam his Deputy Collector, the same that has since been dismissed for fraud in Tanjore. Of the other two, Kottasàmy Tévar is the young man whom Mr. Crole recommended for the Statutory Civil Service, and who has, I understand, a grave criminal charge hanging over his head. S. Subramani Aiyar has been rewarded with a seat in the Madras Legislative Council, and R. Ràmasubaiyar since imported is his nephew.

Para. 8 of Mr. Crole's memorandum in his demi-official letter, dated 20th September 1885, to the Chief Secretary.

44. Had this agricultural movement, started as it was in Madura town, been as spontaneous and voluntary as Mr. Crole represented, surely we might expect to see Madura itself, the large capital town of the district, making a prominent show in the subscription list? On the contrary, we find Madura Town avoided, and the whole of the rest of the district canvassed far and wide, aye and freely menaced too, for subscriptions, while the Madura Thàsildàr deposes, *quantum valeat* from such an one, that though he had received two orders to collect for the Farm, and a third letter to send in his collections, he "told the Collector personally that he found it very difficult to make collections in Madura, and that he had not collected anything. He said, 'very well, you can keep quiet,'" and he returned his receipt books without any collection,—a fact which remains in corroboration of his testimony; and this, though in more rural quarters, not under the eye of the European Barristers in Madura, he collected very freely as we have seen, through Nìlakanta Shàstri and the Village Magistrates, both for the Farm and for himself. It was only the clique of his creatures and subordinates that remained with Mr. Crole. The clique of S. Subramani Aiyar, now the Hon'ble S. Subramani Aiyar of the Legislative Council, and his relations *cum* Kottàsamy Tévar, and the notorious Bodynàyakanúr Zemindar are found with Mr. Crole everywhere. The whole thing is too obviously no public movement at all but simply the doing of a clique put forward and worked by Mr. Crole, with the aid of his official subordinates.

File XXXVII, No. 1, para. 6.

Put in and marked A and B.

45. As the Government itself observed: "The movement which is for an apparently laudable object may be spontaneous and popular, but if so, it does not need the aid of official influence;" and travelling beyond Madura Town itself to the collections generally, we find the opposite of indications of spontaniety and popularity. Instead of a Central Committee of non-official native gentlemen issuing their invitations to sub-committees of non-officials in the country, such as Mr. Crole represents, and herein he truly represents the test of spontaniety and popularity, and may fairly be judged by his own test; instead of this, we find the exact opposite; we find every order for collections going out signed by a Deputy Collector or the Huzur Sheristadar, sometimes calling themselves "Member," sometimes subscribing only their official designation. The only communication from the Farm Committee which is not signed by an official has no connection with making collections, only with closing accounts; and these are all addressed not to private individuals, but without exception always to the Thàsildàr and Taluk Magistrate.

G.O., 5th June 1884, No. 2331, in file XXXVI, No. 11.

Mr. Crole's letters in the margin of para. 11, *supra*.

Quoted in para. 12, *supra*.

46. Turning once more from the collections to the working of the Farm, here at least if the movement were, as represented by Mr. Crole, "the result of a fair and honest effort for improvement;" here at least, after the difficulty of procuring funds had been surmounted, here we should expect to see non-officials actively interesting

themselves in the management of the Farm; but here also, as will be seen in detail below, the Farm is found to have been directly supervised by Mr. Crole himself, and worked essentially by officials, without any assistance that can be traced from non-officials, even officials themselves being forced to spend their own money. Among non-officials, we must except only the gift of a pulsometer by Kottasàmy Tévar, the young man referred to as being one of Mr. Crole's clique, and having his recommendation to a Statutory Civilianship, and a grave criminal charge hanging over his head.

Paras. 93 to 97, *infra.*

Para. 44, *supra.*

47. In the want of support in subscriptions from the Madura Town itself, in the official nature of the collections, and in the official nature of the working of the Farm, as well as in all the other indications above set forth, as contrasted with Mr. Crole's representation that the movement was "entirely voluntary" and that he "believed the whole thing to be the result of a fair and honest effort for improvement," he and his officials being disconnected with it, we find that "Mr. Crole's statements are" not "justified by facts," and that is the point on which I am required to report.

Para. 5 of G.O., 12th March 1886, No. 532.

THE MADURA MODEL FARM AND PEOPLE'S PARK, AND HINDU UNION CLUB.

48. Let us pass now from the collections to the object of them, the Madura Model Farm. This was at one time connected with the People's Park, but was afterwards dissevered. The Hindu Union Club, too, stands on a part of the same site, and the lands for all three were acquired after the same fashion, so that, in this respect, they may as well be dealt with altogether. Indeed, as regards the purposes of this report, to wit, Mr. Crole's administration, there is no object in keeping them apart; and though Mr. Crole, for no traceable reason, lays stress on their having been kept apart, we find that Rs. 1,595-9-7, at any rate, of money collected for the Farm was transferred to the Park, and a plot of land, again, bought for the Park, whether on payment or not is not known, was transferred to the Hindu Union Club. As the funds for the Farm were extorted from the people of the district, so were the lands wrested from them by the improper exercise of authority. As the Government itself was made to contribute to those funds by the bargaining away of its revenue collections in remissions, so the Government itself was again made to contribute lands, by encroachment on the waste which it had set aside for waterspread in tank beds, and that though the alienation of such lands necessarily carried with it a permanent sacrifice of revenue to Government in consequent diminution of irrigable area, which diminution must eventually become a loss to Government, either in annual remissions on short cultivation, or in relinquishments. It was very hard also on the cultivators whose wet lands are injured by curtailed water-supply, and who could not replace them with like lands anywhere within cultivable distance of their homes. It was specially strange that these things should be done by the very authorities who were the constituted guardians of the Government and cultivator's interests in such lands, the very authorities whom both the Government and the cultivator were entitled to look, and did look in vain, for their protection.

"It is not a fact, &c." in the margin of para. 11, *supra.*
File XXI, No. 23.
„ XX, No. 34.
„ I, No. 1.
„ XXI, No. 17, para. 5.
„ XXIV, No. 6, enclosure 2.

The Tellakulam Tank.

49. Let us instance first the site of the Hindu Union Club. The accompanying plan will show its position in connection with the Model Farm and People's Park. It lies between the two, having the Collector's house on a third side, and being an encroachment on the bed of the Big tank of the Tellakulam village on the fourth side. So obvious is the encroachment, that without any need for reference to

accounts or measurements, it strikes the eye at a glance, and it is at the Collectors very gate, so that he could not be ignorant of it. When the Secretary of the Hindu Union Club applied to the Collector for the site, the Deputy Collector reported, after the usual inquiry made, that a portion of it was "the Tellakulam tank waterspread perambokе," and perambokе means land set aside. This portion of the land then was, by the Deputy Collector's report, land set aside for waterspread of the Tellakulam tank. Mr. Crole, however, ordered that a puttah or title-deed for it might be granted to the Club, informing the Club Members "that they should enclose their Club premises by a wire fence, that a portion forming the waterspread of the Tellakulam tank may be utilized as lawn tennis ground, but that they should not do anything in the land which may interfere with the storage or drainage of the water of the said tank." The Club wanted to redeem the land tax, when Mr. Crole dissuaded them, assuring them that their title under a puttah was as indefeasible as if the land tax were permanently redeemed, but the Club adhering to their request, Mr. Crole referred the matter to the Deputy Collector, and again learning from him that a portion of the site was perambokе waterspread and consequently unassessed, nevertheless sought the Board's sanction for redeeming the assessment, but in so doing, he withheld all mention of the fact that a portion was unassessed waterspread, and quoted the whole area, ~~20·25~~, as all assessed land on which the assessment could be redeemed; and while thus misleading the Board by withholding from their knowledge the point which was primarily essential to their judging rightly of the case, duly ventilated a point of secondary importance, on which, as it happened, they rejected the application. This is the more remarkable as, in the correspondence with the Club which immediately preceded this application to the Board, he wrote, "the Government have no power to cancel this puttah as long as you continue to pay the assessment *except on the ground of fraud which of course in the present case does not exist,*" and yet he straightway committed a distinct fraud by endeavouring to get for the Club a freehold title to tank waterspread, by withholding from the Board that it was land set aside for waterspread, and bearing no assessment to be redeemed, and this though he was the Collector trusted with the protection of the interests of the Government and of the cultivators, which were in this case joint interests.

File XXIV, No. 1.

File XXIV, No. 2, dated 27th August 1883.
„ „ „ 4, „ 11th October „

File XXIV, No. 5, dated 19th November 1883.
„ „ „ 6, with map and details enclosed.

File XXIV, No. 9.

The italics are mine.

File XXIV, No. 4.

50. It may seem singular and attributable possibly to accident that Mr. Crole should have overlooked to make mention of the fact, that a portion of the land to which the Hindu Union Club desired to obtain an indefeasible freehold title was land of a character which should never have been granted to them even on puttah, much less on freehold tenure after the payment of 25 years' assessment as redemption, which, as the portion of land was unassessed, was necessarily in this case twenty-five times nothing. But the plea of accident from oversight would seem to be entirely excluded by the consideration, that the character of the land was twice brought before him by the Deputy Collector, and was twice recognized by him, once by a notice in his own hand, by imposing exceptional conditions. Neither could he have overlooked the terms of Board's Standing Order No. 38, which preclude the idea of such lands being granted on freehold, for, he refers to some of its requirements in his endorsement to his Deputy Collector, and discusses at length its applicability to the case in point, both to the Club, and to the Board. Moreover, there are not wanting

File XXIV, Nos. 1, 6.
„ „ „ 2, 6.

File XXIV, No. 5.

File XXIV, Nos. 4 and 8.

indications that he took an exceptional interest in this Hindu Union Club. The earlier members of it were the men of his following, and this was their recompense. He was an habitual frequenter of the Club. In writing to the Sirkele in connection with a gift to it of Rs. 500 by the Rajah of Puthukottai, he styles himself the founder of it. On 21st August 1883, he writes to his own Sheristadar: "Club operations seem to be somewhat hanging fire." Some of the lands were originally purchased for the Park, and were made over by Mr. Crole to the Club, and we shall see how he practically neutralized the conditions which he formally imposed on the Club in the professed interests of the tank storage. Finally, the Club itself in its printed report for 1883 "acknowledges the deep obligations the Club is under to C. S. Crole, Esq., the worthy Collector of the district, for having granted the site on which the Club now stands, and for the incessant interest evinced by him in the formation of the Club," &c.

File XX, No. 36.

File XLIX, No. 1.

File VII, No 33, para. 6.

51. It has been said above that lands set aside for waterspread should never have been granted on puttah, for, Mr. Crole clearly knew that the accompanying conditions, which he professed to impose for the protection of the water storage, were idle, for, on the first letter after imposing those conditions, he himself wrote to the Club: "By the puttah already granted to you, you have become possessed of an indefeasible right over the property, and by converting the tenure into a freehold on payment of the 25 years' assessment, you will obtain no more stable title to the land than you now possess under an ordinary puttah. The Government have no power to cancel this puttah as long as you continue to pay the assessment:" and after assuring them that they had every right under this puttah, he himself advises them to so turn the water drained off the waterspread and foreshore as to appease another petitioner, Ahmed Moideen, and he is aware that they have so drained, for, in Ahmed Moideen's petition he writes to Government: "So far from cutting off the supply of water to and interfering with its storage in the petitioner's tank, the Park Committee have built substantial tunnels and culverts in order that every drop of the Tellakulam surplus water and also the surface drainage of the Park lands on the north of the petitioner's land may flow into his tank." This surface drainage of which the diversion is admitted is drainage, it will be remembered, that should have gone off the foreshore lands into the Tellakulam tank. But Mr. Crole continues: "If the petitioner had waited to see how far his tank would be affected by the improvement made by the Park Committee until the rains had set in, he would certainly not have complained to Government in the matter * * * His tank was quite full this year as in any other good year, and he actually raised the water *beyond the usual limit* by raising a temporary dam over the crest of the calingula." Whether this last statement is true or not, I do not know; but if it is, it simply means that his tank was benefited at the expense of the Tellakulam tank, the tank now in point.

File XXIV, No. 4.

File XXVI, No. 12.

File XXVI, No. 12, paras. 2 and 3.

Italics mine.

52. That the Members of the Club knew as well as Mr. Crole that the conditions that "they should not do anything in the land which may interfere with the storage or drainage of the water of the said tank" was purely farcical may be concluded from their proceeding to dig a deep ditch into the waterspread, connecting it with lower land, so that they thereby lowered the height at which water could stand in the tank by several feet. In short, they arranged for permanently draining off such portion of the tank as would otherwise swamp their tennis court and kitchen buildings, because they designedly occupied for such purposes land which they knew would be otherwise waterspread. This broad deep drainage channel is an obvious fact that could not but strike Mr. Crole's eye in his almost daily visits to the Club, and it was close to his gate, he had to pass it every day he went to office, and it was still further brought to

his notice by his Deputy Collector proposing an extra road culvert "to allow of free flow of the surplus water" which it drew off. In short, having shown by his professed imposition of conditions that he was aware that they were necessary for the protection of the Government and cultivator's interests involved in the tank, he was himself a consenting party to those valuable interests being sacrificed to the Club kitchen and tennis court.

File XXIV, No. 14.

53. That he was playing this farce was apparent even to the illiterate cultivators, for, they complain of it in their petition to Government: "We beg to call your Excellency's attention to the fact that none of these acts, or those which have already been complained of by enclosure A, are done without the permission of the Collector, in fact quite contrary to his own formal orders, who dwells next door in Tamakam bungalow, and who daily inspects and gives instructions as President, or under any other denomination whatever of the Park and Club, to his subordinates to go on with the works."

File XXIV, No. 15, para. 7.

54. Besides lands which are set apart by Government for waterspread, and kept unassessed that no one may hold them, there are commonly other lands adjoining them which are held by the villagers on dry assessment on the understanding that, being on the foreshore, they are annually subject to submersion for a month or so when the tank is at its fullest. So long as they are held by villagers, no objection is raised to such temporary submersion, because all the villagers have a common interest in the tank being full, as Mr. Crole himself says they were "lands in the foreshore on which the ryots of the village had been accustomed by mutual arrangement to store water," and when these lands pass to outsiders who have no interest in the tank being full, then the case is very different; and not a few such lands having been acquired for the Park and Club, their new proprietors at once commenced to drain off the tank as we have seen by cutting a deep ditch.

File XXIV, No. 22, para. 3.

55. The cultivators petitioned Government against this and other acts, and before they had received orders on their petition the tank filled, and they saw the waters on which they were dependant for the cultivation of their wet crops draining off through this ditch; so they commenced to block it up with earth, so as in some measure to save the water up to the previous usual level; but they were observed by Mr. Crole, who sent verbal orders to them to desist, which they declined to do. So, Mr. Crole wrote a Proceedings, first as Collector and then as District Magistrate, taking the matter on his own criminal file, and then transferred it, not to the Town Sub-Magistrate in whose jurisdiction the place is, but to the Madura Taluk Magistrate, T. Krishna Row, of whom we have seen something already. He apprehended the cultivators, and trying the case up to 12 at night, sentenced them all to fines, and one of them to a month's imprisonment. They appealed, and the appeal lay to the very Deputy Magistrate who had twice reported that the land taken up for the Club site was in part waterspread, and though it must consequently have been present to his mind that they were only exercising their unquestionable rights, he had before him Mr. Crole's Proceedings laying it down as mischief, and so, he, speaking of this new wrongfully cut drainage ditch as the *usual* outflow, &c., elaborately confirmed on appeal the unrighteous judgment of the Taluk Magistrate, who had been set in motion by the District Magistrate, Mr. Crole.

File XXIV, Nos. 27, 28.

Paras. 49, 50, *supra*.

56. The Taluk Magistrate was such an one as we have seen in paragraph 39, *supra*, the Deputy Magistrate was Tillanàyagam Pillai, since dismissed in Tanjore. The Collector was himself the prime mover in starting the Club and the Park, and placing them on the lands of these ryots. To whom, then, could the ryots look for justice? They had petitioned Government, praying for a Special Commissioner, any one rather than their then Collector and Magistrate. The water was running away under

their eyes. Were they to continue looking passively on while it carried away with it their hopes of a harvest for the year, their living? It was not surprising that having exhausted all channels of appeal, they should at last have lost patience, and asserted their unquestionable rights in endeavouring to save their water. They had also the Collector's own order that the Club Members were "not to do anything in the land which may interfere with the storage or drainage of the water of the said tank." That order had not been withdrawn or modified; nevertheless, the Club Members had set it at naught, and the ryots were only insisting on its being respected. In so doing, also, they did not in the least exceed their rights, but were well within them, endeavouring only to restore the *status quo ante*, and no manner of fault could justly be found with their action.

57. But the District Magistrate Mr. Crole's Proceedings, the Taluk Magistrate's sentence, and the Deputy Magistrate's appeal judgment so wrenched the facts, that a distant Government or High Court, judging of necessity only from the papers, and not being able to see the land, would be led to think that the Collector, anxious for the safety of an irrigation work, was rightly discharging his duties as the constituted guardian thereof, that the cultivators, following their wont, were endeavouring to store more water than the tank could safely hold, and to that end were blocking up the escapes provided for its safety, were stopping the *usual* outflow, and were even rendering the adjoining public road dangerous to traffic, and these three men, who thus worked together, twisting the facts to pervert judgment in the interests of the little kitchen and the tennis court of the Hindu Union Club, knew the locality intimately.

File XXIV, Nos. 27, 28, 29, 39.

58. Of these three men, the parties to this iniquitous and deliberate abuse of the powers of the criminal law, one, the Deputy Magistrate, has fortunately been already overtaken by other sins in the Tanjore district; about another, Mr. Crole, it is not for me to make suggestions; but about the third, the Taluk Magistrate, T. Krishna Row, it is my duty to submit that the Government cannot retain such a man in his position, and expect the people to believe that it is in earnest in its endeavours to secure for them just administration. The only claim which an alien Government has on the loyalty of peoples acquired by conquest is that it is a good Government, that it holds firmly over them the shield of truth and justice. Sentimental patriotism is a thing nonexistent in our favor; it is only to practical justice that the peoples look, and justice has been woefully dethroned in Madura, and requires rehabilitation. This is the man that we find availing himself of opportunities and backing Nìlakanta Shàstri's exactions and settling Mr. Crole's gram transactions. He should be degraded to a non-magisterial office and transferred to another district.

59. This iniquitous judgment does not stand alone by any means as will be seen hereafter. In connection with similar experiences, the degradation of imprisonment to respectable farmers struck terror and crushed all opposition to the giving up of any lands that Mr. Crole might want for the Park, the Club, or the Farm, and yet Mr. Crole, in reporting to Government on the petition of the ryots, wrote: "As for the necessity for forbidding the 'Association' from pressing us (petitioners) to sell them any more lands, when I mention that lands worth Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per acre have been without exception paid for by the Park Committee at rates varying from Rs. 12 to over Rs. 170 per acre, Government will be able to judge of the species of pressure which has been exercised." How could any Government judge rightly on such misleading reports.

File XXIV, No. 22, para. 9.

60. As Mr. Crole says that this foreshore was "without exception paid for" we may note in passing that one Solamalai Pusàri complains to me that, whereas he consented to give up his land on condition of an equivalent in land being given him elsewhere, together with Rs. 125 as compensation for well and trees, and a fencing to a grave, yet the grave has not been fenced or the compensation paid. His contention is supported by the Thàsildàr's mention bringing his claim to notice.

File XXIII, No. 8.

File XXIII, No. 4.

61. In brief, almost every bit of the land which Mr. Crole has taken up for the People's Park was either waterspread or foreshore, liable to be temporarily submerged, and it is only by draining off the water by a deep channel that Mr. Crole, at the expense of the irrigation, has made the land suitable for a Park. In 1852, the then Sub-Judge, living in the Tamakam, found his way to Court cut off by the whole road being under water, from the waters of the Tellakulam and of the Sirunàyakampàlayam or Muthukrishna tank spreading till they became one; and so throughly was the right to such submersion admitted, and so stoutly was it maintained, that on the Sub-Judge draining off the water, Muthukrishna, the son of a Havildar, and a man of military tastes, defended his rights with a pistol, and the Sub-Judge, locking himself up in the Tamakam, wrote to the Collector for protection, and the Collector, admitting the rights of submersion, raised the level of the road, and supplied it with culverts, so as to allow the Sub-Judge to use the road without diminishing the submersion. But Mr. Crole has drained all these lands and made them a Park.

62. In the meantime, the ryots had petitioned Government, and Mr. Crole, being called on to report, wrote: "There is the less reason for the complaint now made in this, that the very nature of the Club and Park fences (wire) precludes the possibility of any interference with the storage of water." This, of course, is true as far as it goes, but the existence of a light wire fence was no preclusion to a deep broad ditch being dug crosswise under it, and it was the ditch or new surplus channel that drained off the water, it was this drainage that was complained of, and the manner in which the wire fencing is reported is misleading.

File XLII, No. 2.
„ XXIV, „ 22, para. 5.

63. Again, it is said in Mr. Crole's report to Government, No. 69, dated 29th September 1884, that the land granted to the Club was not waterspread, but abandoned site of the Tamakam bungalow. In a sense, this would seem to be true. But relying on the report on which Mr. Crole relies, and quotes from only in part, it is *100 years* since it was abandoned, or rather utilized, by its then owner, Mr. Johnson, for enlarging the tank. He enlarged the tank between "1783 and 1789," and gave the added waterspread out of his own lands to the ryots, and they have had the use of it for 100 years, and it was entered in the Government accounts accordingly as peramboke or land set apart, and it was when recognising it as land set apart, that Mr. Crole granted it subject to nominal conditions, and it was only after the petition to Government that he ordered fresh inquiry to be made, and on it he reports of the water-storage on this waterspread "albeit illegitimate as that storage most undoubtedly is, strictly speaking." In plain English, however, it is *bonâ fide* waterspread, and has indisputably been so for a century.

File XXIV, No. 22.

File XXIV, No. 21, para. 8.

File XXIV, No. 22, para. 5.

64. It is not surprising that, on Mr. Crole's misleading report, Government rejected the petitioner's prayer on all but one point, the slight moving back of the wire fence, adding: "The claim to the rest of the land granted to the Union Club appears to be unfounded." I submit that their prayer should be granted and suggest in brief that the waterspread of the Tellakulam tank should be restored, that to secure these ryots and the Government revenues from like injury in future the annually submerged foreshore also should be declared tank bed peramboke so that all dealing with it in such a way as to prevent its being annually submerged may be precluded, and that point thus secured in the interests of the wet cultivation, and the lands re-acquired for this purpose under the Act, it may then be left to the present Collector to decide whether to restore their occupancy to the original holders or to leave it with the Park Committee, but in either case subject to the condition that they are mere tenants-at-will, never to have a puttah and never at liberty to do any act that will limit the submersion. The new drainage ditches should be filled in so that the

G.O., 5th November 1884, No. 1100, in file XXIV, No. 23.

water should stand as formerly. The fines imposed for blocking them should be refunded and Sholamalayam Pushàri should be paid his compensation, Rs. 125, by the Municipality, and his family grave should be fenced in.

The Mànagiri Tank.

65. Of a piece with this encroachment on the Tellakulam tank for the Park, was the encroachment on the Mànagiri tank waterspread for the Farm. A deposition was taken from the village accountant to the effect that it was no encroachment, and then the old paimash account, which would have contradicted that deposition, was made away with, and the demarcation stones of the new survey, which would also have belied it, were removed. But the field books of the Survey Department will allow of the waterspread being restored, and the village accountant now deposes that it is an encroachment.

File XXV, No. 11.

File XXV, Nos. 23 and 24.

File XLII, No. 1, para. 1.

66. Vellaya Ambalakàran owned lands wanted for the Farm, but he was unwilling to sell, so by a notification published by the Deputy Collector, M. Tillanàyagam Pillai, he was deprived of his ancestral office of watchman, an office that had been upheld by Civil Court decree, under which pressure he consented to sell, when he was paid for that portion and practically reinstated by the Deputy Collector's order passed on his petition. The notice prohibiting the collection of the fee was cancelled, and Vellaya Ambalakàran collected the *kàval* or watchman's fees as usual that year, but on his reserving, on sacred grounds, the small corner containing a chattram (*Anglice* alms-house) erected in part by his father, as a personal memorial, and in part by his son as his father's grave, and kept up with worship and alms-giving three times a year by the son as being an ever open rest-house, his reinstatement was cancelled. He was prepared then to give that land also together with the chattram, only stipulating that an opening might be made in the wire fence, by which access to the chattram might be possible. But this, too, was denied him. The chattram and all, as I have seen myself, is fenced in for the Farm, and one stone pillar of it has already fallen, and he may not enter to repair it, his father's grave, except under pain of punishment as a trespasser. But omitting all mention of this previous fast and loose bye play, this publication and cancellation of notice in connection with the acquisition of land for the Farm, Mr. Crole reported to Government: "The undersigned issued an official prohibition against the levy of black-mail by the Kallar or cattle-lifting class *for the first time* during the fair now reported on. The innovation was carried out with complete success in spite of the gloomy prognostications of the public. There were no cases of cattle theft. So, the ancient *kàval* system, which was a scandal to our police administration, has been quietly swept away for ever." And the end of it all was that the Municipality sold the right of collecting fees to another man, who was allowed to charge twice as much as Vellayan, so that the public were not advantaged, and Vellayan lost his land and father's grave, and the Farm got it, and the Municipality got the sale-value of his fees.

File LI, Nos. 20, 22.
„ LI, „ 2.

File LI, Nos. 4, 23, 24.

File LI. Nos. 12, 13.

The italics are mine.

67. In this case, the papers admit, as above indicated, of a double reading, that of the Deputy Collector having cancelled his notice on seeing the strength of petitioner's representation, and without any connection with the acquisition of petitioner's land, though in this also he must have had the Collector's consent as it was practically the Collector's order, or it may be, as urged by petitioner in person to me, solely in connection with wresting his land from him, with which it is strangely synchronous;

and petitioner's view is strengthened by the representation in his petition that Mr. Crole had previously seen his proofs of right to collect watchman's fees and the frequent occurrence of like acts of wresting, turn the balance of probabilities in favor of petitioner's interpretation.

File LI, No. 4.

68. His father's grave and alms-house should be restored to him, the fence being removed, so should his lands. About his watchman's fees, he holds a Civil Court decree, and may be left to sue or not as he thinks well.

69. The land of one Solaimalayan was quietly appropriated by being enclosed by the Farm wire fence, Solaimalayan declining to sell it. The man complained to the Collector, who referring it to the Deputy Collector, that officer reported it was "by a mistake" that it had been enclosed, and Solaimalai still declined to sell, and the ryots petitioned Government that they were compelled to sell their lands by threats of criminal prosecution and being held to bail. Whereon Mr. Crole was called on to report. Solaimalayan dying, the land was bought of his widow, and the Government Order was: "The petitioners will be informed that the Government, having received a report, find that their complaints are groundless and see no reason to interfere on their behalf." Doubtless, Mr. Crole's report is in part correct, there had been an objectionable system of levying black-mail on the cattle frequenting the annual fair by the cattle-lifting caste, and that had been stopped; but that did not cover the whole ground, and the truth remained that Solaimalayan's land had been forcibly taken possession of, not "by a mistake," for he was protesting and declining to sell, and the ryots had before their eyes the like pressure in the adjoining village of Tellakulam, and the tank-bed had been encroached on.

File XXV, No. 7.

File XXV, No. 21.

Para. 65, *supra*.

70. Mr. Crole, in his report to Government, this part of the report being drafted by himself, is at pains to disconnect himself from these transactions: "Notice the fact," he writes in his instructions to the English head clerk, "that * I had nothing of any sort or kind to do with purchases which were carried out by private gentlemen." * * "The whole thing was an entirely private undertaking with which I had nothing whatever to do;" but he had a remarkably intimate knowledge of the position of the land for one so wholly disconnected, for, when the Deputy Collector proposed that the fence should be put back so as to leave out the land, he at once endorsed on the letter that "the disputed land does not adjoin the Farm fence, the proposed removal of which would not do anything in the way of effecting a settlement." There is also another singular point attached to this acquisition of land. The owner, who was a joint owner with another, complained in his petition to Government and notice to the Collector, that the village authorities had refused to receive from him his kist, and prayed that they might be ordered to receive it of him as usual, and the village head-man deposed, and the Collector reported to Government, that "no kist was due on the land," thus leading Government to conclude that the petitioner's complaint was false. But petitioner's complaint was all the while perfectly true; his kist had been due from him, and he had preferred payment so as to have in the receipt for the money the evidence of having maintained his rights; but this evidence had been undermined by his kist having been paid for a year in advance by the President of the People's Park Committee, and thereon declined from him. It is a most unheard of thing for any one to pay kist for a year in advance, and this

File XXV, No. 17.

File XXV, No. 7.

File XXV, No. 2.

File XXV, No. 3.
„ XXV, „ 18, para. 6.

File XXV, Nos. 26 and 27 and 29.

very exceptional course was evidently taken in connection with the fencing in of the whole land, though they had only bought the portion belonging to the joint puttadar, with a view to create a title for the whole. All this was withheld from Government in Mr. Crole's report, and the appearance given that the petitioner's complaint was idle.

File XXV, No. 18.

71. The Mànagiri tank is supplied from the River Vaigai by a channel, which runs along the southern border of the People's Park, and is, for some distance, at the same level as the tank, so that, in effect, it is a continuation of the tank, and the tank water heading up it submerged formerly land that is now taken up for the People's Park and laid out for a pony race-course and a tennis court. Consequently, I found a new masonry calingula or weir constructed in the channel, so that the water in the channel might hereafter be permanently regulated to surplus at a height which would preclude such submersion in future. This was another case of temporarily submerged foreshore taken up and drained off to the detriment of the people and the Government, by diminishing the irrigating capability of the tank.

72. This masonry structure should be removed or heightened honestly, and the water in the channel allowed to stand at its former level; and if the pony race-course is thereby submerged at seasons as of old, the People's Park must suffer it. It will be no great loss, as the course is laid with such sharp curves that it would be impossible to gallop on it. But in any case, the prior and weightier interests of the tank are paramount, and to secure the irrigation the foreshore annually submerged lands should, as in the Tellakulam tank, be made peramboke.

73. Walking further up the supply channel of the Mànagiri tank, I found it completely filled in with earth for a new road which crossed it, and though a masonry diversion under this road was in progress a little further on, it was at a standstill, because the ryot, through whose palmyra wood it was to be carried, resolutely refused it passage. Nevertheless, they had begun to dig through his land, doubtless calculating that the same means which had been used elsewhere would suffice to make him also succumb. But he had been exasperated beyond measure by varied methods of oppression, and this time he found he could take his stand upon his rights in a Civil Court; so he took it angrily, determined to bring things to an issue, and when what follows is read, he can hardly be blamed. The result was that for the formation of this road, which seems to have been little more than a pleasure drive, the supply channel of the Mànagiri tank was completely blocked without any pre-arrangement for a diversion and so left in dispute, with the positive certainty to the tank that it could obtain no water at all, and that every acre under it must remain uncultivated for the year.

74. The case is indicative of Mr. Crole's ordinary procedure, which can be recognised again and again. When once he had formed a plan, everything was resolutely and unscrupulously borne down before it. Men were crushed, facts distorted, the law abused, till ruthlessly the end resolved on was gained. His strength of purpose was indomitable, and had it only been tempered with truth and ruth, it would have been grand.

75. In the circumstances, I took upon me, the Collector being absent at Madras on the Bodynáyakanúr case, and the water coming down the river, to reopen the channel.

The Sirunáyakanpálayam Tank.

76. Within the People's Park precincts is another tank, the Sirunáyakanpálayam tank, spoken of above as Muthukrishna's tank. To Mr. Crole it was a Naboth's vineyard. The owner of it was the vexed Ahmed Moideen Taragan of paragraph 73, *supra*. Under Board's Standing Order No. 9, on private construction of tanks, paragraphs 4 and 5, the owner of a privately constructed tank is permitted to hold the waterspread free if it has not paid assessment for the ten years previous, and the land irrigated is exempted from water-rate; in brief, the cultivated land pays the ordinary dry assessment, and the rest is free. The Sirunáyakanpálayam tank came under these rules. But it was wanted for the People's Park; so it was enclosed by the wire fence, as we have seen was also done in another case, where it was said to

be "by a mistake." It was curious that the very same mistake should occur again. But the Mussulmán owner declined to sell, and pulled down the fence run across his land, and to make himself safe asked for a puttah, though he was already entitled to the waste land free of assessment. The puttah was refused him.

File XXVI, No. 3.

77. The Deputy Collector's reports on this tank are somewhat self-contradictory, seemingly because he had a difficult case to make out. He is the same Deputy Collector that we find again and again lending himself to support Mr. Crole's untenable positions, the M. Tillanáyagam Pillai since dismissed in Tanjore. This much is, however, indisputably clear, that he knew the tank was constructed by private agency "fifty years ago" on Government assessed waste, and maintained by Ahmed Moideen Taragan, which of course constitutes a private tank under paragraphs 4 and 5 of Board's Standing Order No. 9. Yet he calls it a Government tank. From the Huzur Sheristadar's pencil remarks, it is clear that he, too, knew that the tank had been constructed by Muthukrishna in the days of a former generation, and was consequently a private tank. Mr. Crole also knew of it, for he saw these reports and notes, and when the Deputy Collector, after making out his case, admitted the weakness of it by adding: "To avoid litigation, I think it advisable for the Park Committee to buy the tank, and if necessary even the wet land under it," the Collector wrote "yes."

File XXVI, No. 1 A.
" " " 3.

File XXVI, No. 3.

File XXVI, No. para. 7.

78. It is pertinent to ask here how could they possibly propose to buy the tank of Ahmed Moideen Taragan, if they really thought it was a Government tank, for, if it were indeed a Government tank, as they maintained, how would the Collector, the Huzur Sheristadar, and the Deputy Collector be justified in proposing and permitting that one private party should sell away to another what was Government property in their safe keeping? And as regards the purchaser, the Park Committee, how could it have expected a good title to the land if the seller was not really the owner? And yet the Park Committee counted, for its members, public servants and Vakeels who thoroughly knew how to buy a good title. It is very clear that Mr. Collector Crole, and his subordinates, and the Park Committee, knew thoroughly well that it was a private tank, and not a Government tank.

79. Knowing then that it was a private tank, they chose to treat it as if it was a Government tank, because they wanted to enclose it in the People's Park. They interfered at pleasure with its supply, and destroyed a part of the embankment; they took possession of, and wire fenced a part of the land for the Park; and dug a well in it. Mr. Crole himself charged the owner a prohibitory assessment for cultivating his own lands with the water of his own tank. When the owner, seeing how the lands of others were being taken away from them, sought to make himself more secure by a puttah, though, under the Board's Standing Order No. 9, he should at once have been informed that he was equally safe without puttah, he was refused a puttah, and the Deputy Collector suggested that his lands might be given to the adjoining puttah-holders, that is to say, in circuitous language, to the Park Committee, they having acquired the surrounding lands. The Thàsildàr also charged the owner Rs. 38-12-3 tree-tax for the palmyras growing on his tank embankment, and if he had been backward to pay these unauthorized impositions, they would have sold his land for arrears as he well knew. And Mr. Crole was aware of, and countenancing, what was being done to make this man surrender his land. He knew it from his Deputy Collector's reports, he knew it from the owner's Civil Court notices, and from his issuing orders thereon; he cannot but have known it

File XXVI, No. 3.

File XXVI, No. 3.

File XXVI, No. 1-A.
" " Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10.

as he knew everything else about the Park, the Farm, and the Club, from their all being close under his eye, at his very gate, and daily visited and superintended by him. So that, when I say they, I include Mr. Crole working through his subordinates and the Park Committee, and at least countenancing, if not instigating, their action.

80. Then they found out that the tank owner was a dealer in hides, and that they could be smelt from the road, so they fined him again and again criminally for nuisance, fifty times, he says, till they drove him to remove his warehouse. He was equally a dealer in hides, and had a tannery before they wanted his land, but they did not criminally punish him for it then. They duly licensed him then on a payment of Rs. 25 a-year.

File XXVI, No. 15.

81. Lastly, they commenced digging the Mànagiri diverted supply channel through his palmyra wood without his leave or license; and it is not surprising that he should have applied to the Civil Courts to restrain them, and now they have proposed, through the Director of Revenue Settlement and Agriculture, to forcibly dispossess him of his land under the Land Acquisition Act.

File XXVI, No. 10, last para.

82. In accordance with their usual practice, they accompanied these oppressive acts with offers to buy, the meaning of all this oppression being, here as in other cases, that he was to be compelled to part with his land by a forced sale. Having habitually acquired land in this fashion, Mr. Crole, in reporting to Government, instances it as an evidence of a free-will sale to *bonâ fide* purchasers. "The purchases were carried out entirely by private gentlemen, including Mr. S. Subramani Aiyar, the Vice-President of the Municipality, who were members of the Park Committee. The purchases have been made from many and different individuals on many different occasions, at considerable intervals, between January 1883 and July 1884. No sort of threat or pressure appears to have been used by any one on any occasion. The owners of lands have admittedly executed and registered the necessary deeds of conveyance. In many cases, transfers of puttahs have also been effected with the consent of the parties concerned. I myself settled the village during the late jammabundy. There was not even a whisper of complaint of any sort. The fact is that the Park Committee paid most extravagant prices which the ryots were only too glad to accept." With such a report as that from the head of the district, the Government was naturally led to conclude that the petitioners who appealed to them for protection were really only the "local agitators" Mr. Crole represented them to be; whereas, from what Government has now seen, it will readily understand that ryots who were threatened, and who had seen how threats were carried into effect on recusants, by fine, and imprisonment in the Tellakulam instance, by dismissal from office in Mànagiri, by the varied exactions in this instance of Ahmed Moideen, and throughout the district generally, that ryots who had seen that Mr. Crole himself was the prime mover, and used his subordinates and the powers of the law to gain his ends, and contrived so to blind the eyes of Government, that even their petitions to the highest authority were of no avail. the Government, who has now come to know all this, will readily understand that Mr. Crole was the last person to whom the ryots would whisper their sorrows at jammabundy. They succumbed, and having yielded, of course they had to make their submission complete by signing conveyances, and registering.

File XXV, No. 18, para. 4.

83. But Ahmed Moideen was not one of the common herd. I had a personal opportunity of observing that he was a man capable of great pertinacity. Finding him immovable in this way, they even offered the exorbitant price of Rs. 10,000 through the Honorable S. Subramani Aiyar. But he had been harassed too much, and he declined to let them have his land at any price. And yet after all this, Mr. Crole in reporting on his petition to Government wrote with his own hand: "The present petitioner, so far from believing himself to have any real grievance

File XXVI, No. 15.

File XXVI, No. 10, para. 7.

was recently in treaty for the sale of the lands to the Park Committee," and again in a second report he wrote: "The petitioner's complaint is simply vexatious * * * merely the outcome of the exertions of certain local agitators."

File XXVI, No. 12.

84. In the earlier of these two reports to Government, dated 13th November 1884, No. 86, paragraph 5, Mr. Crole wrote: "The Sirunáyakanpálayam tank is a Government minor irrigation work." Whereas, we have seen that, *per contra*, he, on the 20th March previous, had written "yes" against his Deputy Collector's proposal "to buy the tank," and at the head of the letter had written as an office order: "Sheristadar see to this," so that on the 20th March he had made up his mind to "buy the tank" as private property, and yet without any further inquiry intervening on which he might be led to change his mind, he, relying on, and quoting from the selfsame report on which he had concluded it to be the private property of Ahmed Moideen, deliberately told Government the opposite.

File XXVI, No. 7, last para.

85. By such mendacity has Government been led by its own officer again and again to become a party to, and confirm with its authority, the grossest injustice in the Madura district, and great disrepute has thereby been brought on the British administration in this district. It is painful to hear it commonly in men's mouths that truth has fled the land, and falsehood reigns. Knowing, as we now know, what the real circumstances were, and viewing it from the standpoint of the governed, the Government Order is pitiful reading: "The Government having considered a report upon the subject by the Collector, see no reason to interfere." That was the pitiful outcome of the petitioner's appeal to the highest authority. But with such mendacity, how could it be otherwise.

File XXVI, No. 13.

86. The waterspread that has been taken away from Ahmed Moideen and given to the Park Committee should be restored to him, any injury to his tank embankment and water-supply should be rectified, and his punitary assessment and tree-tax returned to him. He seems also to have had some fish-rent imposed on him; if so, it should be returned him, for the tank is private property.

87. Before leaving this subject, it is due to Mr. Crole that we should examine the "local agitation" on which he charges the origin of the petitions to Government. Reporting on the Mànagiri petition, he says: "The real cause of the complaint is this. After the jummabandy was over came the cattle fair, during which, for the first time, the black-mail hitherto levied by the cattle-lifting class was peremptorily forbidden. I have already brought this to the notice of Government (*vide* my report printed with Government Order, dated 15th July 1884, No. 1581, Public)." This would seem to refer us to the resolution of the Municipal Commission, dated 3rd May 1884, when, according to its Vice-President, the Hon'ble S. Subramani Aiyar, in his letter to Mr. Crole, "the right of collecting these fees was sold to one Chockalingam Pillai for Rs. 495. At the time of this sale, the aforesaid Vellayan appeared before the Commissioners, and objected to the Commissioners levying any fees, urging that he had a prescriptive right to levy kával fees on all cattle and carts coming to the cattle fair whenever the same was held. The Commissioners, of course, refused to entertain his objection, and I am satisfied it is this Vellayan that has got up the petition under report," *i.e.*, the Mànagiri petition.

File XXV, No. 18, para. 5.

File XXV, No. 16, para. 6.

„ L „ 6.

88. This Vellayan then was the agitator, and the date of the first existence of any cause for agitation was the 3rd May 1884.

89. It must here be recalled that there were three distinct sets of petitions to Government, from the Mànagiri villagers, from the Tellakulam villagers, and from Ahmed Moideen, all complaining separately of distinct acts of pressure by which the waterspread of their several tanks had been encroached on for the Park and Farm, and

their lands wrested from them under color of purchase. Mr. Crole, as we have seen, assured Government that there was no truth in any of these complaints, but some explanation of their origin was necessary, so he assigns it in Mànagiri to the local agitation of Vellayan and the cattle-lifting class, and in reporting on the Tellakulam petition, he wrote: "Of course it would be idle to suppose that under such a cloud of smoke, there is no fire. The present petition is merely a pendant to that from the neighbouring village of Mànagiri reported on in my letter to Government, Revenue Department, dated 14th August 1884, No. 61. The irritation caused by the suppression of the levy of black-mail at the late annual cattle fair, in the continuance of which the Tellakulam villagers were profitably interested, has been taken advantage of by a certain knot of agitators, ever watchful of an opportunity to discredit anything good, bad, or indifferent, done in Madura."

File XXIV, No. 22, para. 11.

90. But unfortunately for this explanation of Mr. Crole's we find that the registered petition of the Tellakulam ryots was addressed to him on the 17th March 1884, or a month and-a-half prior to the 3rd May 1884, the date of the first existence of the cause for local agitation to which Mr. Crole refers, and their reminder dated 17th April 1884, and transferred by Mr. Crole to the Deputy Collector for report on 28th April, was still prior to the said 3rd May 1884; and the Deputy Collector, reporting so late as 18th September 1884, even then says: "Rámasawmy Aiyar is probably actuated by selfish motives which have not seen the light yet," so that even at that late date the Deputy Collector did not trace any connection between the local agitation of the cattle-lifters of the Mànagiri and Tellakulam ryots. But even if that is imputed to his lack of perception, still it remains impossible that the Tellakulam petition could have been connected with a thing then non-existent.

File XXIV, No. 15, enclosure A.

File XXIV, No. 10.

File XXIV, No. 21, para. 8.

91. Again, on Ahmed Moideen's petition, Mr. Crole reports to Government: "The petition under report is the outcome of the exertions of the same local agitators who prompted the Mànagiri and Tellakulam petitions lately reported on;" and, again, "but as I have already reported, the petitioner's complaint is merely the outcome of the exertions of certain local agitators." But here again Ahmed Moideen's notice, under section 424 of the Civil Procedure Code, warning Mr. Crole of an action on account of the very acts of oppression about which Mr. Crole is reporting to Government, is, unfortunately for Mr. Crole's veracity, dated 21st February 1884, and is receipted by Mr. Crole on 23rd February 1884, again long anterior to the aforesaid 3rd May 1884, so that Mr. Crole's report that the three petitions had common cause of agitation, is shown by date to be simple impossibility. In short, they were *bonâ fide* true petitions of grievous wrongs suffered at Mr. Crole's hands.

File XXVI, No. 10, para. 7.

File XXVI, No. 12, para. 3.

File XXVI, No. 5.

The Working of the Farm.

92. If the Madura Model Farm had been the spontaneous popular movement Mr. Crole endeavoured to persuade the Board and Government it was, we should have expected, in the first instance, that the subscriptions would have been voluntary. We have seen that they were enforced. But when once the practical difficulties had been overcome, and funds and lands had been acquired, we should at least have expected, in the second place, that the interesting work of conducting the Farm would be voluntarily carried on by those whom Mr. Crole represented to be so keenly interested in its establishment. Here, again, we shall see that the only spring of movement in it was Mr. Crole himself, and that everything else was enforced.

93. The Madura Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, deposes: "I was in charge of the Madura Model Farm from February or March 1885. I will tell the exact date afterwards. The Collector, Mr. C. S. Crole, gave me verbal orders to take charge of the Farm. I did not volunteer. My duty was to go there every morning and take Mr. Crole's orders, and to see that they were carried out."

File XXXVII, No. 1.

* * * *

"Some wells being left incomplete by the Deputy Collector, and Local Fund Overseer Mánikam Mudaliar was not doing the work to the satisfaction of the Collector, therefore, the Collector gave me an advance of Rs. 600 (six hundred) by means of a cheque drawn by him on Arbuthnot & Co., and said that if any further sums were needed he would pay on the completion of the works. The Secretary, Ràmasubaiyar, subsequently paid me Rs. 400 (four hundred) after the Collector left the district, and I have now submitted to the new Collector, Mr. Turner, bills for work done to the extent of Rs. 2,090 and odd, which leaves a balance due to me of 1,090 odd rupees, which I paid out of my own pocket, at the rate of Rs. 50, Rs. 70, or Rs. 80 a-month, according to requirements. I have left nothing unpaid. I paid so much out of my own pocket because the Collector told me he would hold me responsible, and I was sometimes so hard pushed that I had to borrow money to do it. There were works on the Farm and things purchased for the Farm. I never had to pay for work out of my own pocket before, except for enlarging a well in the Tamakam, and repairing the bungalow to the extent of Rs. 630 odd, for which an advance of Rs. 100 (one hundred) was given me by Mr. Crole."

* * * * *

Kotasamy Tévar wrote him that Mr. Crole would hold him personally responsible for any loss if the walls of a well were not finished before the rains.

File II, No. 36.

94. The Acting Deputy Thàsildàr of Kodaikánal, R. Muthusamy Aiyar, deposes: "I was Acting Town Sub-Magistrate of Madura from April to November 1885. During the whole of that period, except the last two months, I was required by Mr. Crole himself to attend the Farm every day, not even Sundays excepted, from 5 A.M. to 11 A.M. I had to rise at 3-30 A.M. to do it. The six cows had to be fed and milked in my presence, and the milk sent out for sale before 6 A.M. Mr. Crole told me himself I must do it, and he told the Thàsildàr of Madura, Krishna Row, that I should assist him, and Mr. Crole told me I must give satisfaction, and my confirmation would depend on it. He used to come riding round from 5-30 to 6-30, when at 6-30 he came to the Farm, and the Thàsildàr and I had to accompany him round the Farm, note-book in hand, to take down his orders then and there. I will produce my note-book to-morrow from Kodaikánal. According to these orders, I have executed works on the Farm out of my own money to the aggregate value of about Rs. 200, I believe, for none of which I have ever been paid. I have not been paid a pie for any work I have done on the Farm. I did not like to ask for payment, because Mánikam Mudali, an Overseer who was employed on the Farm, said that he had executed works to the value of Rs 900 out of his own money, pledging his jewels to obtain it, and that whenever he mentioned the matter to Mr. Crole, he was angry. Mánikam Mudali has since been promoted to Supervisor. I was also afraid not to do the works, because Mr. Crole would give me an order one day, and the next day would come round and say, 'What have you done in that work,' and if I had kept quiet, he would say 'Oh! you won't do, you disobey orders.' I had to borrow to do the work. I since redeemed the debt by a fresh loan, and have the bond, and will produce it to-morrow from Kodaikánal. I have already sent in to the Treasury Deputy Collector, as ordered, all vouchers that I have for works done on the Farm by me, except *A* now put in. They may be totalled up. *A* is for Rs. 79-7-9."

File XXXVII, No. 6.

"In addition to these works, I was ordered by Mr. Crole to cut a channel from No. 4 well to the lands to be watered by it, and to build it in brick and chunam.

This I evaded doing. He also ordered me several times to thatch two sheds with hill-grass, which I should have had to get from a distance of ten miles, but I did not do it; so, Deputy Collector Nárayanasámi Aiyar, about two months before the end of my tenure of the Acting Town Sub-Magistracy of Madura, told me he was ordered by the Collector to communicate to me that I should not attend the Farm any more. I asked if the Collector was displeased with me. He said he did not know. Two months later I was transferred, without any reason assigned in the order, from Acting Town Sub-Magistrate of Madura on Rs. 100 to the Acting Deputy Thàsildàr of Kodaikánal on the same pay, but the former was a sub. *pro tem.* post, and practically a confirmed one, while the latter was liable to terminate with the leave of the absentee. The hill appointment was always considered a punishment."

"I was also ordered by Mr. Crole to build a wall round the newly-erected sheep shed. It was to be in brick and chunam, and would have cost me Rs. 300. He also told me to cart 4,000 cartloads of municipal manure to the Farm. I carted about Rs. 5 or 6 worth of carting at 1 anna a cart as my vouchers will show. I was also ordered to do many more things which I could not do at my own expense."

* * * *

"Mr. Crole told me several times that I disobeyed orders, and I think that it was in connection with my work on the Farm, and not with any reference to my other duties, that I was transferred to Kodaikánal. There is no doubt about it. I know that it was because I disobeyed orders to execute works on the Farm that I was transferred."

* * * *

"Thus the Collector, Mr. Crole, treated me a Brahmin like a butcher, and on the Farm, he treated us like slaves. He asked me to stand in the sun and see the land ploughed, which would be done by a servant of a servant. He told me on one occasion to run and cut grass myself. He told the Madura Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, in my presence, to bring night-soil to the Farm, and when he objected, ordered him to run and see for himself that it was really human ordure."

Para. 32, *infra*.

* * * *

"I put in *B* as proof that I had to borrow Rs. 400 on 6th July 1885, on emergency, from L. Narasamachárriár, a District Court Vakeel, which I redeemed on 20th August 1886, by contracting a new loan from A. Annathorai Aiyar. See his draft bond *C*."

"I put in books *D*. and *E* which are the notes taken then and there of the orders about the Farm given by Mr. Crole. *D* is from 6th May 1885 to 3rd June 1885. *E* is from 4th June 1885, because Mr. Crole advised the Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, and me to have such books in our pockets."

"I have also sent in to the Treasury Deputy Collector, as ordered, papers from the Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, directing me to attend to such and such works, and saying that not a pie of Farm money was to be spent without the President's orders."

"The Revenue Inspector, Rungasámi Aiyar, who was utilised as Superintendent of the Farm, and employed on that work continuously, complained in a chit to Krishnasàmi Aiyar, the 'Private Secretary,' that, I had not found food for the cows that was paid for by the Farm. The Collector, Mr. Crole, sent for me that night and sent me to the Huzur Sheristadar, K. Krishna Row, who gave me the chit addressed to Krishnasàmi Aiyar, and said the Collector was displeased with me, and took me the next morning to the Collector, Mr. Crole, who said, 'Are you mad,' and addressing the Sheristadar said, 'This Sub-Magistrate is a failure.' That chit, I have already sent in to the Treasury Deputy Collector."

* * * *

95. The sub. *pro tem.* Town Sub-Magistrate of Madura, Tirukamu Aiyar states: "* * * * * Mr. Crole desired that I should inspect the Madura Farm every morning and render such help as

File XXXVII, No. 25.

may be necessary for the successful result of the Farm. I have also been asked to get some roads and other works executed under my superintendence in the Madura People's Park. All the above works I had been doing in the mornings. I usually attended the Farm at 6 o'clock every morning, and remained there till 9 or 10 A.M. Sometimes, I used to go very early, about 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning, according to the exigencies of the works required to be done by me. I used to take notes of the works required to be done in the Farm and Park under instructions from Mr. Crole, and get the works executed by the Superintendent of the Farm, and other persons concerned. Such notes are entered in pages 18 to 28 of the memorandum appended to my Pocket Almanac of 1885, which is herewith submitted. The Park and Farm works I was doing in addition to the heavy routine works of my division."

* * * *

96. The following are extracts from a draft (in his own handwriting) of an appeal by deceased Huzur Sheristadar K. Krishna Row to Mr. Crole:—

* * * *

"Nor is it necessary for me to say how serviceable I have been to the Park and Farm. In fact, I was the man who purchased the first plot of land for the Park, a portion of which was afterwards transferred to the Farm, and who had to complete the Park work, and you are fully aware of the various difficulties I had experienced during the progress of the work."

File XX, No. 39.

* * * *

"Consistently with this, there was then a rumour that I was not to go to circuit, as your honor was displeased with me, and that I was to be detained at headquarters to look after the Park, &c., works; but I was not told to stop at Madura until I had actually sent off my things and my department office boxes, &c., to Bodynayákanur. It was only in the afternoon of the day just a few hours before you left Madura you were pleased to tell me that, although you might feel it somewhat inconvenient to leave me here while you go on circuit, yet as you wished that the Park and Farm works should not be allowed to hang fire, but should be completed soon, and that as the non-officials would take no interest whatever, I should remain at Madura and attend to these works."

97. The deceased Huzur Sheristadar K. Krishna Row's letter to Mr. Crole, dated 26th October 1885 runs as follows:

File XXI, No. 17.

"I beg to send, herewith, a statement showing the expenditure incurred on account of Park works carried on under my supervision. The expenditure under each head is fully supported by vouchers.

"The following were the works specially entrusted to me in the beginning of August 1885:—

(1) Park gates;
(2) Mr. Tévar's triangular plot works;
(3) South and North Park roads;
(4) Manuring portions of the Park with sifted manure;
(5) Turfing the emeralds;
(6) Construction of masonry drain from No. 1 well and of tubs in the woodland;
(7) Inscription stone;
(8) Water tower;
(9) Completion of plantation, &c.

"All, except No. 1, were completed, while in No. 1 there is only work for a week or two. Works done have been fully paid for, except certain small items in the road and Park gate works, regarding the adjustments of which necessary arrangements will soon be made.

"These works were entrusted to me in August last, but as advances had been made from June 1885, the above statement exhibits transactions from June to 20th October 1885. The total expenditure as per above statement amounts to Rs. 3,558-8-8. Of this, Rs. 434-3-10 was advanced by me for Mr. Tévar's triangular plot work. He has paid Rs. 250 on account of this work, and I have asked him to pay the remainder, Rs. 184-3-10, to Mànikam Mudaliar for disbursement of wages, &c., still due for the gate work.

"Thus of the total expenditure incurred, Rs. 1,726-8-0 were paid as per margin, and the remainder, Rs. 1,832-0-8 was paid by me."

	Rs.	A.	P.
By Mr. P. Kottasamy Téver	250	0	0
„ R. Ramasubaiyar	800	0	0
„ Chettiar	200	0	0
„ Periyakulam Thàsildàr	400	0	0
By cheque	75	0	0
Miscellaneous receipts	1	8	0
Total ..	1,726	8	0

98. The late Huzur Sheristadar is fully supported in these statements by the deposition of the Thàsildàr and the Town Sub-Magistrate of Madura, and Mr. Crole makes no remark on his letters challenging in any way their veracity.

File XXXVII, No. 1, para. 5.
" " " 6 " 6.

99. It will be seen also in the above letters that Mr. Crole himself was fully alive to the fact that the non-officials took no interest whatever in the Farm, though he had so strongly reported his belief in its being their spontaneous movement, and that in consequence he made a head maistry or ganger of his Huzur Sheristadar, leaving him behind to look after the Farm instead of taking him on circuit. It will also be seen that the Deputy Collector was employed as Secretary and a Revenue Inspector employed as Superintendent for $5\frac{1}{2}$ months. He had had an agricultural training at Saidápet, so he was set for months to look after the cows, &c. Local Fund Overseer Mànikam Mudali was also withdrawn for months from his proper duties to look after the Park and Farm.

File XX, No. 27.

100. Not only were the neighbouring officials who could be worked on the Farm utilized, but far and near they were made to do for the Farm any work that might be needed, and whether they were all paid for it cannot be said without prolonging this inquiry. Certain it is that some of them were not paid. But enough have surely been cited without the necessity for prolonging this report. Rafters, bullocks, goats to be grazed, whatever is wanted, some Thàsildàr is sent to for them, and it is made very clear to him that it is part of his official duty which he will neglect at his peril, witness the Collector's Tamil order, of which the following is a translation:— "Have you bought the bullocks? If so, you will not only send them to the Farm Secretary, but will also write your explanation for the delay;" and the Thàsildàr's apology is abject. And things have to be done sharp, too, all other duties giving way seemingly. "I beg to remind you (*i.e.*, the Thàsildàr of Madura) of the flock of Farm goats which the gentlemen ordered to be removed before to-morrow morning, and when too low a price is offered for Farm produce, again official aid is called in, it is, "Sheristadar! I will not stand this sort of nonsense any longer. Rs. 100 at least must be realized at once," initialled C. S. C. 25-9; and so the Huzur Sheristadar has to write to the Thàsildàr of the distant taluk of Dindigul to "please try and send somebody soon" to buy the Farm tobacco, as if nobody in all the big town of Madura would offer a price without pressing a Huzur Sheristadar to press a Thàsildàr to press "anybody in his division" to give the price appraised by the Collector. And 250 margosa plants are "very urgently needed." And the correspondence to and fro between numerous officials about ewes for tupping must have absorbed a great deal of public time. It is too frequent to quote. Then about selling the milk of a newly-calved cow, Mr. Crole's remark in the Farm order book is "Thàsildàr's orders should have been taken for all this, disallowed." When an advance is wanted for a new well, "Yes, Sheristadar, see to this." In answer to some suggestions of the Farm Superintendent, Mr. Crole writes: "He will do as the Thàsildàr orders him. Thàsildàr try it and report in seven days;" and so on, whether it is shoeing bullocks, shearing rams, manuring fields, weeding cotton, mending leather-buckets, hiring out Farm bullocks, superintending feeding, milking, ploughing, it is Government officials that have to give their time to it, the Collector, the Huzur Sheristadar, the Deputy Collector, the Thàsildàr, and Deputy Thàsildàr giving orders, passing them on, and seeing them

File II, No. 23.

File V, No. 42.
" XX, " 19, page 8.

File V, No. 2.
File V *passim* and other files.

Farm order book, No. 2, page 8.

Farm book 1, page 30.

Farm book No. 1, page 50.

carried out by a Revenue Inspector. Only in a few places do we see the initials of any but officials, to wit, the young aspirant for office, Kottasamy Tévar. And then to what minutiæ do they have to attend, these Government officials who should be watching the Government interests, collecting its revenues, holding the scales of justice, witness the following about Mohideen Bee's appetite. The Revenue Inspector writes: "Only one of the Aden cows, named Mohideen Bee, did not eat the whole of the food given, but ate only half of it. The usual quantity of salt hitherto been given was very much reduced, that is, to $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and given mixed with food, and yesterday evening still the cow did not eat the whole food. About $\frac{1}{3}$ was left with being eaten which was given to another Aden cow who ate the whole besides her usual quantity. I suspect that the cause may be because the cows were confined in one place except when they are taken out for washing. The salt is being used exactly as much quantity as prescribed by Krishnasami Aiyar Avergul. They are first dissolved in water and then mixed with food and given." On this the Madura Thàsildàr writes: "Salt should be mixed with the chaffed grass given to the sheep every day. If the sheep do not eat the food sprinkled with salt, they must be gradually made to eat."

File LVI, part I, pages 14 to 17.

File LVI, part II, pages 31 to 33.

"Aden cows seem to have not taken the whole of the food given to them, and the real cause is not known. The Revenue Inspector will carefully attend to the feeding of the cows personally and discover the cause. The practice of throwing salt in the food approximately should be discontinued and a tin measure or weight should be used in future."

"Sheep should be penned during nights outside in the fields. Temporary enclosures will be provided soon for the purpose. Milk cows must be taken out at 7 o'clock in the morning and allowed to graze in the Park. They must be brought back at 8-30 A.M. The fields wherein the manure is spread should be ploughed in immediately." And on this, again, Mr. Crole writes, in his own hand, "Not done unfortunately in spite of dozens of orders." So that the Thàsildàr saw that the Collector Mr. Crole saw and knew how much Government time a man in his position was giving to Moideen Bee's appetite and such like details, and meant as shown by repeated orders that he should continue to do so. The Thàsildàr being told by Mr. Crole that the Deputy Thàsildàr was to help him in the Farm passes on his responsibilities in the following order which is instructively descriptive of what he understood those responsibilities to be:— "The Deputy Thàsildàr will, in fact, be good enough to look to everything and attend to the wants of the Farm every day. The Revenue Inspector, duffadar, and two taluk peons, Rengasami and Servaigar, are left in his charge."

File II, No. 62, para. 17.

101. Before parting company with all these high officials engaged in model farming, we will make just one more quotation from the Farm order book. The Revenue Inspector calling himself Farm Superintendent "solicits orders to dispose of the Farm goats retaining only two select ones of them for breeding purposes, being too expensive to be kept up." Whereon Mr. Crole orders Madura Thàsildàr "to arrange *at once* for this flock of goats being grazed in some village of the taluk along with the village herd *where the animals will probably be taken care of.*"

Farm order book, No. 1, page 4.

Italics Mr. Croles'.

Italics mine.

So, it came to this, that all this high-paid Government paid official talent put together could not make goat breeding pay, and it had to be admitted that the common Indian cultivator practically knew a great deal more about it than the instructive Model Farm.

102. Now, it is to be considered of these officials who were compelled by Mr. Crole to execute expensive works, what was the position in which Mr. Crole put them. To the Asiatic mind and to those who know the Asiatic train of thought and habit, it is matter of every day occurrence and readily intelligible. It is a sort of trade transaction recognized on all hands as natural, that the superior should

"squeeze" the wealthy, and that they, in their turn, should make it good to themselves by doing the like to those next within their powers. It is so un-English that it is not likely of credence in England, or by those who but partially know the people, and especially their languages, through which alone the people can be known. But to those who have made these matters their study, it is well known to be the spirit of the country. When, then, a native Magistrate is told to do out of his own purse works that shall leave him many hundreds of rupees out of pocket, and on his hesitating is told by his superior, "You disobey orders," he understands thoroughly well that what is expected of him is that he should find the money in the first instance, and reimburse himself by like means of exercising his magisterial powers on others, and how that is easily done has been seen in paragraphs 24, 26, 27, 36, 39, and 40, *supra*. When on his still hesitating to do so, he is again called up and told "Are you mad," "This Sub-Magistrate is a failure," it is perfectly intelligible to the native mind that his implied "madness" is in disobeying the superior that thus drives, and his failure is in courage to take the course indicated. And when he is in consequence flung aside as an unsuitable tool and degraded, while others who have gone through with what was required of them have been promoted, the plan of action begins to dawn even on the unwillingly accepting honorably prejudiced European mind, still probably to be repelled with righteous indignation. But we are not in England, we are in India, and have to do with the train of thought of this country, and that Mr. Crole was thoroughly master of it, is implied in the expression that he preferred a full leech. So it is not surprising that the majority quietly fell in with the "Carnatic" customs reimposed on them, while some, in accordance with more modern Anglicised ideas, sent in their bills and even complained to Mr. Crole, and some again honorably preferred debt to such ways; and others also *said* they did so, and one poor old man burst into uncontrollable tears saying all the hard-earned presents of a life time had been drained from him, and he was a ruined man. With all, however, the tendency of Mr. Croles administration in this respect was to compel a return to the corrupt customs of the country and to place at a grievous discount those who desired to rise honorably superior thereto.

103. The site selected for the People's Park, the Farm, and the Club was evidently chosen for no other reason than that it was convenient for Mr. Crole to be the centre. For Farm purposes, the site is the most unfavorable that could be found anywhere in the neighbourhood of the Madura Town. Mr. Crole himself inadvertently admits this when wishing to make out that the Park Committee paid "extravagant prices which the ryots were only too glad to accept." "The land," he continues, "referred to is of the most sterile description." It had to be heavily manured with impressed carts of night-soil. For both the Park and Club purposes also, the locality is unnecessarily far removed from the town to be convenient to the townspeople. But placed where it is, it has made the Collector's house to stand in the midst of a Park with handsome ornamental iron entrance gates and a drive up to the house much improved in appearance, and a home farm adjoining in the rear, in which Mr. Crole could and did daily interest himself. The Hindu Union Club, which is also quite out of the way of native places of resort, is close to Mr. Crole's gate, so that he could, and did, visit it almost daily. To this was to be added a driving road round the Mánagiri tank.

File XXV, No. 18, para. 4.
Paras. 31 and 33, *supra*.

104. If the Farm were the popular movement Mr. Crole represents, we should have expected to see the promoters of it daily frequenting it; but though I went and lived in the Collector's house, which completely overlooks the Farm, and though I went several times to the Farm, I never once saw a single soul in it taking any interest in it, except the paid Superintendent. The place was wholly deserted of all but its paid servants. Thus, I found verified, in practice, Mr. Crole's own words to his Huzur Sheristadar that "non-officials would take no interest whatever"—words so exactly opposite to what he reported to the Board.

105. The cattle, too, were exceedingly poor, in fact half-starved. I pointed it out to the paid Superintendent. He said he knew it; he had frequently represented it; but on Mr. Crole's going, his orders from the Committee were that no money was to be

spent on the Farm beyond what could be made out of the sale of milk. The calves, too, were stinted of milk; they had staring coats, uncovered ribs, distended stomachs, all the signs of starved calves struggling to exist on food that at their age they had not capacity for digesting, grass instead of milk. Such calves could never be made into fine cattle by any amount of after-feeding. It is one of the first axioms of the breeder that nothing that you can put into a calf in after-life will ever make up for want of liberal fare in its first six months of existence. And yet the Model Farm was supposed to be improving the breed of cattle by Aden cows and bulls got from the Government Farm at Saidapet.

106. Again they were supposed to be improving the breed of sheep, and they had Saidapet rams, and ryots' ewes were got in from long distances to be tupped, as we have seen. I saw the flock in miserable condition, and I heard that they had been dying off freely. Where are your improved lambs, I said. With the greatest difficulty, the Farm Superintendent found two or three with signs of an English cross in them; all the rest were common country lambs. What else could you expect, I said, as you have your Saidapet rams all tied up, and a common country ram running with the ewes. But he has been cut, he said. No, he has not, I said, look at him. That is only swelling, he said, from the operation. No, it is not, I said, look at the shape of it. He has only one testicle, he said. Model breeders you, I said, not to know that, in a double organ like the testicle, one can generate, just as one eye and one ear and one nostril can still see, hear, and smell without its pair.

Paras. 32 and 33, *supra*.

107. The New Orleans cotton was ripe on the bushes and fallen about on the ground, all unpicked and wasted. The Superintendent said it was picked once a week for the sake of economy. The ryot would have picked it every day, but this was instructive model farming. The New Orleans cotton bushes were also very stunted and poor, and so were the Bourbon. No ryot in his senses would have attempted to grow them on such soil. Cotton requires a deep friable soil; this was gritty and ill-drained. The wire-fence round the Farm was quite unnecessary, and an expense that no ryot would copy. The Guinea grass was over-grown with weeds. The pulsometer was idle and out of repair. The whole place bore a neglected appearance, and that so soon (30th March 1886) after Mr. Crole's leaving it (1st January 1886) and though the air was diligently filled with rumours of his speedy return. It was clear that no one but Mr. Crole took a particle of interest in it. It was clear also that the Model Farm was far from being instructive. It was doing harm rather than good. It was calculated to discredit English agriculture in the eyes of the ryot, rather than to commend it to his adoption.

108. And this was the Model Farm that Mr. Crole took credit for fostering, the Madura district being "the premier district in the Madras Presidency, singular in the enlistment of non-officials in the cause of public spirit * * in the establishment of an Experimental Farm, of a People's Park, and of Public Gardens from private subscriptions." And this was the Farm of which he wrote: "The movement was entirely "voluntary"* I believe the whole thing to be the result of a fair and honest effort for improvement."

Para. 7 of Mr. Crole's Memorial to the Viceroy.

Margin of para. 11, *supra*.

109. I do not think that instructive model farming can be conducted to any useful purpose by those not really competent to instruct; by any Collector taking a fancy to it as a plaything, and possessed of just enough cursory knowledge to effectually ruin himself if he were a gentleman farmer, farming on his own means. I admit I thought differently when I was a young Sub-Collector; but having bought a little experience out of my own pocket, I do not now think that over-worked Collectors are exactly the men to teach ryots how to make a living by farming. The Farm Superintendent, too, though an ex-student of the Saidapet Agricultural College, was rather at fault about sheep-breeding, and was seemingly so hampered in other respects that the Farm was, as far as I could see, a decided failure, answering no useful purpose, but, as I have said, decidedly the reverse. I recommend that it be abandoned, the

fields being gratuitously restored to the owners from whom they were wrested, and the funds, about a quarter of a lac, made over to the Local Fund Board for the repair of the roads which have been so grievously neglected. The Board suggested to Government that the funds, if improperly collected, would have to be refunded; but that is practically impossible, for, having been collected in petty sums of four annas and upwards, it is not to be expected in a district so thoroughly corrupted as Madura now is, that much of it would ever get beyond official hands. Only through the Local Funds would it indirectly reach the villagers in village roads, &c. But though there has been unlimited irregularity in the collecting, it will perhaps be better in the disbursing that the funds and lands should be legally voted by the Park Committee, who, now that it has lost its leading spirits for plunder, will probably be open to reason and justice.

Para. 167, *infra*.

Board's Proceedings, No. 4419, dated 23rd May 1884, file XXXVI, No. 10.

Supplies exacted at Nominal Prices for Mr. Crole's Household Use.

110. In connection with remarks that have been made above, we turn now to the evidences of Mr Crole having, like his Thàsildàrs, availed himself of the opportunities afforded by the contributions being made for the Farm. The Thàsildàr of Mélúr was verbally required to send 2,000 measures of gram for the Farm, and was then reminded in writing by the Huzur Sheristadar to send at least a cart-load at once. He advanced Rs. 100 to a grain merchant in his taluk, and arranged with him that he should send in 350 measures at once and 1,300 measures afterwards. This was to be at 25 measures for the rupee, though the selling price had risen since the harvest to 13 or 13½ measures for the rupee. The first instalment of 350 measures was sent in by cart from Mélúr to Madura, through the Mélúr merchant's local agent in Madura, for delivery to the Madura Thàsildàr; and the Madura Thàsildàr transferred it to a retail shop-keeper, by whom it was kept in store to be delivered in detail as required from day to day. But to whom was it delivered? Not to the Farm, for which it was ostensibly procured, but to Mr. Crole's grooms, on private notes from Mr. Crole, and in small quantities, just such as his horses would require. For this gram Mr. Crole made no payments at all while he was in the district, but after his removal, and about the time of the appointment of a Commission becoming known, these private notes of Mr. Crole's were given up seemingly to the Madura Thàsildàr, T. Krishna Row, so that they cannot be produced now, for, the account was settled by that Thàsildàr in Mr. Crole's name, but not at the market-rate of 13 or 13½ measures for a rupee, but at the rate of 25 measures for a rupee, the loss between 13 and 25 measures being borne by the first merchant who had contracted thus to supply the Thàsildàr of Mélúr, and the loss of the advance of Rs. 100 being borne by the Mélúr Thàsildàr himself. The 1,300 measures followed the same course as the first 350, so that Mr. Crole had about five months' supply of gram for his horses, for which he paid nothing himself, and which the Madura Thàsildàr paid half-price for, after Mr. Crole had left the district and his administration was likely to become subject for inquiry, which half-price, however, had not reached the Melúr Thàsildàr or the Mélúr merchant at the time of our inquiry.

File XXXVIII, No. 1, para. 25.
" " " 17, paras. 1, 2.
" " " 18 " 2, 6.
" " " 20 " 1, 7.
" " " 21.
" XXVII, " 2, exhibit B B.

111. While Mr. Crole was being thus careful to get his own supply of gram for his horses for about five months for nothing, he wrote at about the same time in the following terms to the Board of Revenue concerning the very locality from which he was drawing his own supplies, so that he was well aware that he was grinding the faces of the poor:—

File XLVII, No. 12. See date of Mr. Crole's letter, 27th April 1885, and in file XXXVII, No. 2, para. 25. See date of written reminder of promise to send gram, 10th June 1885. File XXXVII, No. 2, exhibit D D.

"I have the honor to bring to the notice of the Board the very bad state of the group of villages noted in the margin, belonging to the Mélúr taluk, which I am now settling.

"The sanction of Government for dry remission, communicated in Board's Proceedings, dated 26th March 1885, No. 2924, does not apply to this taluk, but from the following circumstances, the Board will, I trust, agree with me in thinking that the above villages are entitled to special concession.

"The above villages are situated in the north-western corner of Mélúr taluk, more or less surrounded on all sides by the Mudimalai and Karanthamalai hills. They have not had one good year since the famine. They are dry villages, and the extent of wet lands is very small, as will be observed from the marginal abstract. The ryots have, therefore, to subsist principally on the produce of their dry lands.

"The early dry crops failed entirely; nor did the subsequent dry cultivation yield any crop. Horse-gram which was sown in December, perished in January for want of rain. *The yield was absolutely nothing.* Generally, in good seasons, it is from these villages that the Mélúr market is *largely* supplied with dry grains, *and a large tract of country draws its supply of horse-gram from them.* But I observed, the last market day, that the ryots of these villages had come to purchase dry grains, *and there is no horse-gram to be had except from the Trichinopoly District.* The ryots have no lands or other property in other villages. They are very poor, and have now to depend upon the mercy of the money-lenders to keep body and soul together. The Thàsildàr and divisional officer personally inspected these villages at the time of harvest, and have classed them as in the worst *condition of any in the taluk.*

"The revenue demand, inclusive of April kist, amounted to Rs. 15,957, of which Rs. 12,227 has been collected. The Thàsildàr reports that it is impossible to collect the balance as well as the kist for May. The ryots have no movable property of any value. Nor can anything tangible be realised by the sale of their lands, because the people are not in a position to compete with one another to purchase them, while the insalubrious nature of the climate of these villages, surrounded as they are by hills, renders the lands unattractive to out-siders.

"*Things have therefore come to a deadlock.* If the collection of the entire demand of this year be insisted on, every acre of land will have to be brought to sale and bought in by Government for want of bidders, *and the ryots of this large tract will have been ruined.* The postponement of the collection of this year's revenue till next year will not be of any real assistance to the ryots. *They have reaped nothing, and postponement would simply be putting a mill-stone round their necks to cripple their efforts at recovery, should the next season be fortunately more favorable than the disastrous year which has passed.* In these circumstances, there is no alternative but to relinquish *the remainder of the revenue.* I have remitted, subject to the sanction of the Board, 50 per cent. of the assessment on dry holdings, which amounts to Rs. 9,859, and is slightly more than the outstanding balance. I have not, however, given the puttahs pending orders, and I request the favor of an early disposal of the matter."

112. All the stronger parts of this letter are amendments in Mr. Crole's own handwriting, written after personal observation. They are italicised by me that they may be recognised. From the dates, it would seem probable, though not proved, that it was, while he was at Mélúr seeing the sights of which he writes, that it at once struck him to provide against his being himself a sufferer by the price of gram.

113. While gram for his horses was thus arranged for, paddy, or unhusked rice, was simultaneously coming in of its own accord to the same retail shop-keeper, for supply, from day to day, to Mr. Crole's grooms, along with the gram for the horses, the paddy being for Mr. Crole's fowls. This paddy came to the shop from the Madura Thàsildàr, and was probably that collected by him at Sholavandán, and paid for at half-price. As with the gram, Mr. Crole did not pay the shop-keeper.

File XXXVIII, No. 18, paras. 3, 4, 6.
" " " 20, para. 6.

File XXXVIII, No. 22, para. 3.
" " " 24 " 1, 5.
" " " 25 " 1.

114. Seeing that gram and paddy called for as for the Farm was really Mr. Crole's household consumption, the presumption gathers strength that the Thàsildàr of Madura told truth, when he said the cow also was for Mr. Crole, and it is further strengthened when we see, as we shall hereafter, that Mr. Crole frequently received cows.

Paras. 106 & 109.
File XXXVIII, No. 16.
" " " 22.
" " " 24, paras. 3 & 4.

Para. 28, *supra*.

115. Two cows were accepted by Mr. Crole from his own daláyat, not only without question, but with evident approval, so much so that the daláyat in question was openly twitted by his brother daláyats, "You will get promoted;" and made a taluk duffadar he was accordingly. Then he sent five more cows and twenty

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para 2.
" " " 4, paras. 2 & 3.

wethers and a hundred fowls, and was again promoted to the Huzur duffadarship, the then Huzur duffadar being, without cause assigned, degraded simultaneously, and presumedly for the purpose of creating the vacancy, just as the former taluk duffadar of Tirumangalam had been transferred to a less favored, because feverish, taluk to make place for the cow-giver. The cow-giver's son also got a peon's belt. Here, it may be well to explain that the post of daláyat answers the English office of messenger; those in attendance on a Collector being styled daláyats, those in attendance on a Thàsildàr peons or taluk peons, and the head of them in either office is the duffadar, the Huzur (or presence) duffadar being the Collector's duffadar, and paid more than a taluk duffadar.

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 4.

116. From a subordinate of such menial office, then, did Mr. Crole stoop to receive cows; and though the ex-daláyat denies it, we have it in evidence that the first cow at least was his own. The ex-daláyat's version is that the cows were got from the Thàsildàr of Tirumangalam and Sub-Magistrate of Usilampath, he being only the channel through which they were sent. Anyway, it is agreed that they were presented to Mr. Crole and not paid for or even billed for, no payment being ever expected. To what an unenviable notoriety must Mr. Crole have sunk from his high office of Proconsul of a province before a menial would have dared to approach him with such an insulting offer as the present of a cow, and the other menials made it the subject of common badinage that promotion would be the result.

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 2.
" " " 26.

117. "Fire-wood, charcoal, sheep, fowls, eggs, ghee, bran, and all other household supplies," "also ducks, ropes, buckets, &c.," and cuscus tatties, sugar-canes, flower-pots, grass-cutters' wages and other servants' arrears of pay were drawn from the Thàsildàrs, and that, not now and then when Mr. Crole was on circuit and could not help it, but when he was stationed for months together in his head-quarters at the large town of Madura with its markets and shops from which all other gentlemen supplied themselves. The taluks drawn on were naturally the immediately surrounding ones of Madura, Mélúr, and Tirumangalum, or the carriage would have become a consideration. Mr. Crole did not write himself, but he made his duffadar write at dictation, and bade a daláyat take the letter to the Thàsildàr, and the supplies came accordingly. They were accompanied by bills, for form's sake, and, in these, chickens worth 2 and 3 annas each were charged for at 3 pies each, whereas an egg even cannot be bought fairly for less than 3 or 4 pies; a cartload of charcoal worth from Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 was charged 12 annas; fowls worth 5 and 6 annas each were priced at one anna each; firewood worth Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ was billed at 8 annas; 36 chickens worth 4 annas each were priced at 1 anna each; sheep worth Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 came in for Re. 1; ghee or melted butter worth from Rs. 3-12-0 to Rs. 4-8-0 was priced at Rs. 2-4-0. These nominal prices were so charged because it had become customary, and even these reduced prices were never paid. The supplies and bills were delivered to Mr. Crole in person by the duffadar and daláyat together, and he himself gave orders for their dispoal in his fowlery and store-room. Supplies were made to Mr. Crole at like low prices and for nothing when he was on circuit also.

File XXXVIII, No. 2.
" " " 4, para. 9.
" " " 11 " 1, 5.
" " " 12.

File XXXVIII, No. 5.
" " " 11, para. 2.
" " " 19 " 2.

118. The English mind may wonder how these supplies were obtained at such cheap rates, and doubt whether it was possible. But the Asiatic process is simplicity itself, as briefly explained in paragraphs 102 and 125, or it is slightly varied by halving the liabilities with ryots, if the Thàsildàr wishes to abstain from oppression, and such a compromise is readily acquiesced in by the ryot.

119. Then the washermen were never paid, were always absenting themselves in consequence, and Mr. Crole's had to be washed at the duffadar's cost, being even taken 100 miles by rail to Trichinopoly, again at the duffadar's expense, because no washermen in Madura would serve Mr. Crole any more. And after this duffadar was degraded, again a daláyat was sent to Dindigul by rail to get a washerman, the daláyat not being paid his rail charge though promised, and the Thàsildàr having to pay the washerman's rail charge. Why servants did not stay with Mr. Crole, I was not bound to pry into, and came to know only so far as it was thrust on me in connection with public servants. My duty ended, it seemed to me, with the fact that public servants were used all over his household as if they were his own.

File XXXVIII, No. 2, para. 4 & its enclosure.
" " " 4, para. 8.
" " " 2, paras. 3 and 4.
" " " 4, para. 7.

120. His accounts were kept by A. Krishnasami Aiyar, Acting Translator in the Collector's office, and commonly known as the Private Secretary, Mr. Crole himself putting P.S. on matters sent to him for disposal. The young man has had very rapid promotion.

File XXXVIII, No. 9.
" XXXVII, No. 1, para. 4.

121. Mr. Crole's teal were fed and looked after by the office attender (*Anglice* messenger inside the office). The teal died and so Mr. Crole told him he was not fit to be an attender, and dismissed him from public office for the death of private teal.

File XXXVIII, No. 10.

122. The butler was first a process-server and then a taluk peon on Rs. 6, who was the son of a daláyat, and was given leave for the purpose. Thus doubly tied officially such a man dare not resign his butlership, and served Mr. Crole as butler for two years, never getting more than Rs. 4 or 5 a month, though his Government pay in the taluk was Rs. 6.

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 6.

123. A daláyat was over the garden and stables, and the duffadar had the supervision of the rest of the household and was Rs. 200 out of pocket by it.

File XXXVIII, No. 2, para. 3.

124. When one of the presented sheep was killed, a half or a quarter of it, as might be required for the table, was taken and the "rest and the skin and feet and liver and entrails" were handed, in Mr. Crole's presence, to duffadar Badshamiah, who was told how much he was expected to get for it, "and if the sum demanded was cheap, we twelve daláyats used to make up part of the value at 1 and 2 annas each, and the duffadar had to make up the balance and give it, * Mr. Crole standing by. The duffadar also sold the unrequired mutton, to a Dresser, a Thàsildàr, &c. If the duffadar ever complained of difficulty in making up the sum fixed, Mr. Crole used to tell him not to see his face, and so on, so, in fear, the duffadar made up the amount."

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 4.

125. When this Huzur duffadar Badshamiah's limited means with mortgage of his jewelry could stand the drain no longer, he was, for no other reason assigned, degraded, as we have seen, in favor of the cow-giver, who better understood the place and how to work it in Carnatic fashion without personal inconvenience.

Para. 115, above.

126. One of Mr. Crole's daláyats was a breeder of pigeons, which he used to sell to profit, but in Mr. Crole's establishment his prices were cut down, and his son, who was a peon on leave, employed as Mr. Crole's butler, was left unpaid. So, the daláyat complained to Mr. Crole, and, like the

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 5.

duffadar and the attender, was ordered to be officially degraded. But the daláyat was a Rajput and a man of spirit, and told Mr. Crole to his face that he would not accept the degradation, but would go to Madras and appeal to the Board of Revenue in person. And so, his fault of wishing to be paid for his pigeons and for his son's services as butler, was overlooked, and he was allowed to continue to hold his Government post of daláyat.

127. Mr. Crole had a lot of old packing cases and a door-frame, so he sent for the Government cash-keeper and arranged that he should be told, he himself going away at the critical moment, that he must sell them for him and produce Rs. 100. So much was not to be got for them, but the Government cash-keeper had to make it good out of his own purse, and he paid it accordingly to Mr. Crole's "Private Secretary."

File XXXVIII, Nos. 6, 8, 9.

128. Mr. Crole purchased coarse cumblies (*i.e.*, country-made blankets) for his servants to use on the Palni Hills. On his return he sold these second-hand soiled cumblies to his own treasury, one of his daláyats giving a receipt for Rs. 7 for them and bringing the money to his "Private Secretary." Only just before this, the cash-keeper had indented for cumblies to spread on the floor where the money is counted, but the Treasury Deputy Collector's order passed was that he could not have them in the present year, because of the financial deficit. But when Mr. Crole's cumblies were for sale, the public deficit was no longer an objection.

File XXXVIII, Nos. 6, 7, 9.

File XXXVIII, No. 6, exhibit B.

129. As the duffadar was degraded in connection with supplies, and a daláyat threatened with the same, and an attender dismissed in connection with teal, so S. Súnthiram Aiyar, Acting Thàsildàr of Periyakulam was compelled to put in an application for leave, which he did not want, at great pecuniary loss, as well as loss of appointment, because he had charged full prices, and he, moreover, had the full-priced bills given back to him, and he submitted others in their place at the customary nominal prices, the revised bills having been made out for him by the Huzur Sheristadar, and his signature required to them. This Thàsildàr's case will come up again in connection with the misrepresentations made about him.

115 121 126

Paras. ~~111~~, ~~117~~, 122, *supra*.

File XXXVIII, No. 11, para. 5.

130. V Parthasarathy Aiyangar, Thàsildàr of Madura, ascribes his degradation to the same cause—failure to satisfy Mr. Crole in the matter of supplies. His deposition runs as follows:—"When Mr. Crole joined the district on 26th March 1882, I was Thàsildàr of Madura taluk. Soon after that I got [exhibit (1)] a letter from duffadar Badshamiah requiring me to pay Mr. Crole's five grass-cutters for 4 days at 8 annas each, Rs. 2-8-0. The peon that brought it said it was the Deputy Collector's order. So, I paid and asked the Deputy Collector, Dorasami Aiyar, who said I should not mind such sums."

File XXXVIII, No. 12.

* * * *

"When I was conducting these works, Mr. Crole said that if I would make all the requisite supplies to the bungalow, the money should be paid on the spot, and, accordingly, I supplied sheep, fowls, ducks, firewood, cuscus-tatties, sugarcanes for the horses, 2 or 3 iron chains, flower-pots about 300 or 350, tent netted-windows, rice, and so forth, on verbal orders to me through the Sheristadar and duffadars and peons, and I did so for six or seven months, at a cost of about Rs. 500, for which I received from Mr. Crole a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 in all. It came about in this wise. I began by preparing true bills for the sums I had actually paid, and I send them through the duffadar Badashamiah, who presented them to the Collector and then returned them to me, and told me that Mr. Crole did not want bills made out in my name, but in the names of the actual sellers, and that the prices charged

must be purely nominal. Doubting this, I sent my own peons with my bills to see if the duffadar was misleading me, and one day when the duffadar Badshamiah came to me to say Mr. Crole wanted 100 flower-pots, and could not tell me of what size, I went with the duffadar the next morning, and directly I mentioned the matter to Mr. Crole, he got angry and said, do you want to verify my order, and turned and went away angry, so that I could not even ascertain how large the pots were to be; so, I used my own discretion about the size of the pots."

"One morning when he was walking about, he said, referring to the pots, well did they cost you 2 pies or quarter anna each. I was thunderstruck and made no mention of it and sent in no bill. I spent about Rs. 150 or thereabouts for the pots and bringing them from Kosapálayam to Tamakam bungalow. My memory is Rs. 150, but the potter tells me it was Rs. 120, the difference may be the carriage. I have by me one memorandum (4) of pots bought at the varying rates of Rs. 6 a-dozen, Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$, Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$, Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$, and Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ a dozen."

"The Huzur Sheristadar found fault with me about my purchases of supplies for the Collector being made in too public a manner, for, while I was engaged on public business, I told my wife to look after these matters, and put peons to wait on her for it, and she gave them the money, but she could not keep accounts, and the peons announced publicly who they were buying for, and we were not concerned about accounts; we had only the consolation of passing our time without being found fault with."

"Another reason why Mr. Crole was displeased with me was because in trying to satisfy myself that the orders came from his own mouth, and not from those about him who were all trying to please him, I once sent a peon to ask for a written order, and he came back with the message that Mr. Crole said tell that scoundrel that it is my order."

"The Huzur Sheristadar, K. Krishna Row, suddenly asked me one day if the Collector asks you why you charge so low, what will you say. I said I shall say I have charged as I was told by duffadar Badshamiah. He said, you must say that is all that it is worth."

"By degrees, the Collector Mr. Crole found out in these ways that I was not a fit man to make supplies, and the Thàsildàr of Mélúr, T. Krishna Row, competed with me, and outbid me, and I fell more and more into displeasure, and these were the 'private circumstances of a delicate nature,' which I referred to in my memorial to Government, dated 18th June 1883."

File XXXVIII, No. 12, enclosure 7.

"I find also a memo (5) of Rs. 14-14-0 paid by me for Mr. Crole for cuscus tatties, on which I spent altogether Rs. 30 or Rs. 35 and do not remember having been paid; but I have no accounts."

"Mr. Crole got me suspended for a year and degraded from Thàsildàr of Madura on Rs. 225 to Deputy Thàsildàr on Rs. 70 at Vellatakulam in the Tinnevelly district, giving as a reason that I was unfit to be Thàsildàr, being unable to make collections whereas he had prevented my collecting by cancelling my punishments of village officials, and the real reason was in connection with his private supplies."

"I put in abstract (6) showing that the Collector, Mr. Crole, unfairly charged me with failure to collect sums which had already been recommended for remission and other sums which he himself afterwards classed as 'irrecoverable.' His report and the original records may be referred to."

"The Collector would not allow me to be present at the jamabundy of my own taluk."

"I had been nearly twelve years a Thàsildàr when I was degraded."

131. C. Krishna Row, Thàsildàr of Mélúr, was also compelled by Mr. Crole to take leave at his own loss for no public reason assigned, but obviously in connection with supplies. He states * * * * "In August 1883, I returned from the furlough which I had been compelled by Mr. Crole to take, to the Mélúr Thàsil."

File XXXVII, No. 2, para. 28.

Para. 94, *supra.*

File XXXVIII, No. 13.
" " " 14.
" " " 15.

132. A Brahmin Sub-Magistrate, R. Muthusámi Aiyar, complained briefly above that he had been made a butcher of. The following extract from his deposition will explain it:—

* * * *

"One day when I was inquiring into a magisterial case in the Madura Town Sub-Magistrate's office, * * Vakeels being present, a Mussulman daláyat of the Collector's office, came and said out loud to me the Collector complains of the mutton brought by the butchers, and had ordered him to tell me to buy a young sheep with two teeth, have it killed in my presence, and send the head to the Collector, Mr. Crole, and the next day send the portion of mutton he might require. The mutton had to be kept all night. I checked the daláyat for thus speaking to me in open Court * *. I also told the daláyat I could not believe him unless he brought a chit from the Collector. He said he did not care; those were his orders and if I liked he would tell the Collector that I would not do it without his chit. I was afraid and sent my peon to get a sheep. He brought one two hours later to me at the Bench Magistrate's office and one of the Magistrates being a Mussulman, I, a Brahmin, asked him if Rs. 7, the price asked, was the proper price. I had to pay Rs. 7. As a Brahmin, I could not see the sheep killed in my presence, so, I sent the Collector's daláyat and my peon to see it done, and paid a butcher 4 annas for it and for keeping the meat with him all night, and I ordered my peon to sleep there to see it was not changed. The same evening the daláyat came and told me the head was approved, and early the next morning I sent my peon to see that a leg and some other portion was duly delivered at the Collector's house, because, I distrusted the daláyat. He came back with a portion which he said had been rejected by the Collector. It was worth 4 or 5 annas. I told him to sell it to the same man, the butcher. So, I got back from the butcher Rs. 2 for the rest of the sheep for which I paid Rs. 7 for the Collector; but the Collector never paid me an anna for it. Whether he paid his daláyat or not, I do not know."

* * * * *

Thus, his story is briefly the same as that of all others; he was not paid, and was eventually punished officially, or, in other words, flung away like a sucked orange.

133. Gurupátha Mudaliar, Deputy Thàsildàr of Tirupatur, had to make a carved door-frame for Mr. Crole, which left him Rs. 142 *plus* cart-hire the poorer, for Mr. Crole never paid. It stands in the Collector's house, the Tamakam, now. No one dare touch it, for no one knows whose it is. The Deputy Thàsildàr also does not want it back. The order for it was given verbally through the Huzur Sheristadar since deceased and the payment guaranteed by Shankara Aiyar, the Government Manager of the Shivagunga Zemindary.

File XXXVIII, No. 3, paras. 7 and 10.

134. Mr. Crole wanted a travelling coach, and arranged for its being built at Dindigul by a certain carpenter under the superintendence of the Thàsildàr of Dindigul. First-class timber was purchasable there in the market, but Mr. Crole's timber worth Rs. 50 came from the Bodynáyakanúr Zemindar, a distance of 54 miles, and still lies in the Dindigul taluk cutcherry.

File XXXVIII, No. 19, para. 1.
" " " 23.
" XXXVII, " 34, " 26.

135. I suppose that the usual notice should be issued to Mr. Crole, and the senders, Visvanátha Row and the Bodynáyakanur Zemindar, that if not removed within a given time, it will be sold for the benefit of Government as unclaimed property. The same course might perhaps be followed with the carved-door spoken of in paragraph 133, *supra.*

136. Thus, there is great body of evidence that whatever supplies Mr. Crole needed for his household consumption he, on the plea of their being cheaper, so drew from the Thàsildàrs, that they were perforce cheapened down to merely nominal prices, and that even those prices were ordinarily not paid; and that this line of conduct was normal, and his own personal doing, and not by any accident the work of any servant or other go-between, Mr. Crole's personality in the matter having been well ascertained,

before those who were the poorer by it, yielded to it; that he was the while markedly cautious about leaving proofs thereof in others hands, never committing himself to writing, but always directing some one else to write, and seldom even giving a verbal order direct, except to a menial of no account, but employing some one else to be his mouth-piece and resenting direct question; that to the sufferers, however, he took means to make it very clear that it was most dangerous to disobey. Four Thàsildàrs and Deputy Thàsildàrs, one duffadar and an attender were officially punished, a daláyat also escaping only by his own courage, while those who lent themselves to the régime were promoted in the Government service, some reason other than the true one being assigned for the public punishments.

Paras. 139, 182, *infra.*

137. One witness testifies also to having seen valuable pieces of jewelry presented; and we have information of large sums of money having been paid to Mr. Crole, but they have not been proved.

138. In connection with this head of the inquiry, it recurs forcibly that in the papers referred to me with my instructions, Mr. Crole has somewhat prominently proclaimed himself the apostle of purity: "I have never failed to use the influence of my service and position for the purpose of reprobating what appear to me to be flagrant breaches of the Civil Service Covenant, which have, of late years, been becoming more and more an open scandal. I believe it to be destroying the just influence and usefulness of its members, and to be a source of political danger by encouraging agitation for organic changes in the constitution of the service, which would, in the present state of the country, be premature and possibly disastrous."

Mr. Crole's Memorandum for His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor, dated 25th September 1885, para. 1.

The Periyakulam Fire.

139. It has been stated above that S. Sunthiram Aiyar, Thàsildàr of Periyakulam, was punished for not making supplies. Mr. Crole says it was in connection with the fire that broke out in Periyakulam. Mr. Crole had reported this Thàsildàr for listless inexertion in combating the fire, and for never reporting it to him, and with reference to his explanation had said, "I do not believe a word of what he says" and "finding that I was extremely displeased with him, he applied for five months' leave on private affairs." The Thàsildàr's version, however, is that the fire was within 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Mr. Crole's camp, which I have seen to be within the truth, and Mr. Crole himself says he was within one mile of it, so that Mr. Crole must have seen it himself without any reporting, that all that the praised police did to put it out, they did under his, the Thàsildàr's immediate eye and orders, that directly he had got it under, he repaired to Mr. Crole's camp to report it, that Mr. Crole was so angry with him in connection with supplies, that he declined to see him, and so he could not report the fire, and Mr. Crole admits in his letter to the Board that the Thàsildàr came to him, that the Huzur Sheristadar told him that Mr. Crole was angry with him on account of the supplies, and that it would be worse for him if he did not immediately apply for leave; so, though he did not want leave, he applied for all the privilege leave that was due to him, and it was granted, but as his appointment was a sub. *pro tem.* one, he would retain his lien on it while on privilege leave, so he was told by the Huzur Sheristadar that he must apply for leave of a sort that would forfeit his

Para. 129, *supra.*

File XXVII, No. 11, para. 7.

File XXXVIII, No. 11, para. 4,

File XXXVIII, No. 11, para. 5.

File XXXVIII, No. 11, para. 5.

lien, so he applied for private affairs leave, and it was granted and his privilege leave cancelled. Mr. Crole's orders cancelling the former and granting the latter leave, as well as the confirmatory admissions above referred to, are on record, and support the Thàsildàr's version.

File XXXVIII, No. 11, para. 9, and exhibits 26 and 27.

140. The Huzur Sheristadar is dead, and the whole thing hangs on whose word we are to believe, Mr. Crole's or the Thàsildàrs. After what we have seen of Mr. Crole's veracity, it seems a very unreliable basis on which to reduce the Thàsildàr from Rs. 150 to Rs. 70 a-month, and I think he should be reinstated. The Government order on his case was: "The Government consider that the Acting Thàsildàr did his best under the circumstances, and are disposed to overlook any shortcomings."

G.O., No. 9529, dated 5th December 1882, in File XXVII, No. 15.

141. Nevertheless, they were not overlooked. Mr. Crole recorded on the Government order remarks to the effect that he had never meant to report the case to Government, it being within his own competency to deal with, and his own orders, which placed the Thàsildàr under pecuniary disadvantage, while on enforced leave, and eventually reduced him from Rs. 150 to Rs. 70, were carried out, the Government order notwithstanding. So that here again we have Mr. Crole deliberately over-riding Government orders.

Para. 13, *supra*.

142. This fire in Periyakulam was shortly followed by another, and Mr. Crole desired to take advantage of the clearance made for opening certain new streets and widening others. This was no doubt a move in the right direction, if it could have been done with consideration. But it was done with a high hand; not back-yards only, but also walls of houses being taken and knocked down without compensation, and more in places unaffected by the fire than in "the destroyed portion," which latter alone were to be within the scope of operations. It was done under the name of a committee, but practically by the Thàsildàr under Mr. Crole's personal orders, and by his Huzur Sheristadar twice specially deputed to see Mr. Crole's wishes given effect to, and the committee was evidently a sham, for the people resented the high-handedness, and employed one Rájam Aiyar as Vakeel to petition the Collector and the Board, and the opposition was too much for the new Thàsildàr Irulappa Pillai. So another Thàsildàr, Visvanatha Row, was sent there on the ground that, being a Brahmin, he could better deal with the Brahmins. He went to work at once to crush the leader, the Vakeel Ràjam Aiyar, getting up against him an obviously false case of breach of trust. Mr. Crole took it on his own file, issued a warrant and transferred the case under heavy bail bonds to the Taluk Sheristadar for trial. The Taluk Sheristadar knew it was a trumped up case, and said in open office that he did not like having to try it. Seven days later, it was taken from him and transferred to the Nelakotai Sub-Magistrate, who was ordered to leave his own division and go to Periyakulam, out of his jurisdiction, to try it there. To this, the accused objected on the ground that the Thàsildàr of Periyakulam was really the instigator of the case, and would have opportunities for influencing the trial if it was conducted at Periyakulam. This petition was, however, rejected by Mr. Crole; and we have surprised papers in the hand-writing of the new Thàsildàr, Visvanàtha Row, strangely verifying these anticipations of the accused. They are instructions from Visvanàtha Row to the

File XXXIV, No. 2, endorsement on enclosure.
" " " para. 6.

File XXXVII, No. 34, paras. 23 to 25, and exhibits A to N.

File XLI, No. 3.
" XXXI, No. 1, paras. 8, 9.
" " " 2.

File XXXI, Nos. 4, 5.

Nellakotai Sub-Magistrate about the conduct of the case, dictating a long string of questions to be put to the witnesses. The case, however, could not stand.

143. The falsely-prosecuted Vakeel Rájam Aiyar deposes, though we may not place too much reliance on his lone word, that Mr. Crole had told him that the difficulties in Periyakulam were all of his (the Vakeel's) making, and we find that the Thàsildàr officially reported to Mr. Crole that the opposition was all of Rájam Aiyar's making, and it is a curious coincidence that just at this time the Sub-Magistrate, Pitchu Aiyar, who was the father of this Vakeel, was ordered to send in his papers for retirement.

File XXXIV, No. 2, enclosure, paras. 5, 8.

File XLI, No. 1, page 7.
" " 1, enclosure.

144. But though we put from us as unproven the doubts which arise as to Mr. Crole's knowledge of the nature of the case trumped up against the leader of the opposition, the case in which Mr. Crole took the exceptional steps of demanding unusually high bail, of transfer and retransfer for trial out of the jurisdiction of the trying Magistrate, and within the reach of the Thàsildàr complained to him to be the instigator, though we put the doubt from us, it does not reflect the credit of exceptional administration which Mr. Crole claims generally that such things should be dared and done, when he was himself on the spot at Periyakulam.

145. As regards the Thàsildàr and Taluk Magistrate Visvanatha Row, there is no room for doubt that he trumped up this false case to crush the leader of the opposition, who had also as Vakeel conducted for his clients two successful civil suits against the Thàsildàr in connection with seizure of premises for widening roads, and conducted for another client a criminal complaint against the Thàsildàr, for ordering a peon to assault a man who declined to sell him his bullocks; there is no doubt that the Thàsildàr Visvanatha Row instigated this trumped up case and pressed it before the trying Magistrate, the surprised papers in his own hand-writing are too condemnatory, and I submit that such a man is not fit to be entrusted with magisterial powers, and should be relegated to a clerkship. He was formerly twice fined by Mr. Collector Stokes.

File XLI, No. 1, page 7.

146. It is worthy of note that in this case as everywhere else, Mr. Crole is unable to refrain from his habitual unveracity. Never is the state of a case truthfully reported to the Board and Government, so as to make government from those centres possible. We have seen that the people resented the seizure under color of a mock committee of their lands and houses without compensation, that they employed a Vakeel, petitioned the Collector, telegraphed the Board, and filed and prosecnted civil suits, and yet Mr. Crole reports that it was "simply a piece of maladroitness on the part of the Thàsildàr which led to the temporary antagonism of Brahmins and Sudras in the town." So that the Board was led to think the whole thing was smoothed over, and passed proceedings: "The Board approve the steps taken by the Collector to remove cause for complaint, which appear to have been effectual. He will inform the petitioners that there is now no ground for the Board's interference," and later on Mr. Crole reported: "The improvements were very easily effected, the people of the town having given up portions of their house-grounds, &c., for the purpose, without even asking for any compensation. These very people, who then created a disturbance in order to annoy the late Thàsildàr, have all given up portions of their back-yards without any murmur, except the abovementioned three individuals;" and as to three individuals being the only objectors, I may mention that all the town was hot about it when I was there, and that I have received 84 petitions on the subject.

File XXXIV, No. 8.

File XXXIV, No. 10.

File XXXVI, No. 14, para. 4.
" " " 20.

147. I went all over the places connected with the fire and the street widening, and though impressed with the high-handedness with which back-yards, walls and

houses were taken possession of generally without compensation, and in places wholly unapproached by fire, I was also of opinion that the work was a very desirable one if it could be done equitably. Periyakulam is to the Pulney hills what Mettupolliam is to the Nílgiris. It has grown from a village to a town in connection with the European visitors to the Hills, who draw their carriage and their supplies from Periyakulam, and necessarily pour their money into it in return. In consequence, Periyakulam is over-crowded. For that reason, and because it is the entrepôt to a sanitarium, it should be kept in a sanitary condition. I suggest therefore that the present Collector be directed to see that the Nattam or village-site is sufficiently enlarged from grant of Government waste land, or from acquisition in regular manner under the Land Acquisition Act X of 1870, which had already been authorized, and that the lands and houses already taken arbitrarily be adequately paid for, and the plans for widening old, and opening new streets, be carried out. The funds for this purpose can very properly be voted by the Local Fund Board in consideration of the thousands of rupees indirectly poured month by month for years into the taluk of Periaykulam by the European visitors to the hills, who all come never to get, but ever to spend their money in the locality. Indeed, a small sum has already been thus voted in Mr. Crole's time, but it is quite inadequate. The further request of the petitioners that their town may be freed from being a Municipality seems to be beyond the scope of my duty, and I have accordingly advised the petitioners to address the present Collector and Government for themselves.

File XXXIV, No. 15, *i.e.*, G.O., No. 2259 Mis., of 28th November 1883.

File XXVII, No. 11, para. 3-C.

Conciliated Public Opinion.

148. Mr. Crole claims to have conciliated public opinion. This claim seems hardly separable from the similar vague claim to "the social improvement of the Hindus and the amelioration of Native society" with reference to which my instructions are "Information regarding the nature and tendency of the efforts made towards the social improvement, and amelioration of Native society should also be given, and the effect on the administration of Mr. Crole's relations with, and attitude towards Native and European society should be set forth." On this point, I cannot do better than make the following extract from a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Sub-Collector Gabriel Stokes at my request. Mr. G. Stokes was, as Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, the Senior European officer serving with Mr. Crole in the district, and his experience dating from 7th May 1885 to the time of Mr. Crole's suspension is therefore the most reliable we can have, and it is in writing. It is fully concurred in, I may add, by other European officers in the district with whom I have spoken on the subject :—

File XXXV, No. 2.

"At the time of his suspension, Mr. Crole had not conciliated public opinion. He was widely feared and as widely disliked. He had established a small and noisy following of interested persons, whom he had impressed with the idea that he was supreme, and who acted with him in the hope of the 'crumbs that fall from the richman's table;' and Mr. Crole took care that crumbs fell to them. How little he and his party had conciliated public opinion is proved by the fact that both in the Madura and Dindigul Municipal elections, every candidate hostile to them was elected. This, Mr. Crole maintained, was due to undue influence (he told me so himself) but though he came to Dindigul and held an inquiry, he failed to establish anything of the kind. As a matter of fact, there was nothing of the kind in Dindigul. At the former election, the result was very different. It was represented to me that on that occasion, the ballot-box was taken by a peon into Madura and counted by Mr. Crole in private at the Tamakam. How far this was true, I was unable to say, but I convened a meeting of the Municipal Council, and with the aid of some 13 or 14 persons, ascertained the result in the most public manner."

As to the assertion that Mr. Crole had conciliated public opinion.

Instance Ethupathi Row's appointment to the Municipal Council.

Ex. See his report and the papers connected with the petition against the return by the beaten candidates.

And lower down he writes :

"In this matter, I can give my own experience. I was in the district with him as Sub-Collector from the 7th May 1885, to the date of his suspension. During that time I saw him but twice, once at his office in Madura, and once as a visitor between 12 and 2 o'clock at the Tamakam."

Mr. Crole's relations with and attitude towards European society. File XXXV, No. 2, para. 13.

149. The present Collector Mr. Turner also writes, in a confidential letter to Government : "It is notorious that for the last 4 years, *i.e.*, during the whole time of Mr. Crole's administration, the state of affairs in Madura from a social point of view, have been most unsatisfactory, not to say, scandalous. There has arisen an antagonism of the gravest kind between Europeans and Natives, and between different sections among the Natives themselves. The harmony and quiet intercourse that existed in old times between Europeans and Natives, and between the Collector, Judge, and the other Europeans of the station amongst themselves, has been for some years conspicuously absent. Briefly, the whole social fabric became disorganised. Mr. Crole himself was undoubtedly the cause of this. He seldom or never entertained his fellow-Europeans, nor did he ever join in their amusements, or, in fact, take any part with them socially at all. During the whole time I was in Madura with Mr. Crole, I only dined with him once. I met him out at dinner once. He always refused to dine with us, or to join our tennis parties. I never met him at a tennis party or social gathering of any sort in my life. Of course, Mr. Crole may have something to say on his side in explanation of his exclusiveness, but the fact remains nevertheless. Mr. Crole belonged to our Club, but he never came there except at meetings when he did his best to stir up factions amongst us, and make himself as disagreeable as possible. Now, as to Mr. Crole's intercourse with Natives. The Collector's house is on the opposite side of the river from the other Europeans' houses. Mr. Crole founded a Native Club, and induced the members to build a very pretty building at the entrance to his bungalow. He had a sort of shed built near his doorway ; this building he dignified by the name of Durbar Hall. In the morning and evening, he and Mrs. Crole sat in durbar with the Natives of the Club, and talked freely to them. All sorts of rumours are prevalent as to the nature of the conversations held at these durbars. No doubt there is much exaggeration, but one thing is certain that the demeanour of the Natives frequenting the Club has entirely altered within the last few years. I knew them before, and know them now. To me they are much the same, but to other Europeans I have seen myself, their manner is almost contemptuous. The members of the Native Club are mostly Vakeels, Zemindars, &c., quite an exclusive set. Naturally other sections of Natives and all Eurasians, who are not allowed within the precincts of this Club, are very angry, and there is jealously and feud between them."

150. It almost passes credence that while Mr. Crole takes credit for having ameliorated Native Society what he was really doing was the exact opposite. Indeed, it would not be possible to credit such effrontery of falsehood, if we had not been acclimatised to such a well-nigh incredible atmosphere, by finding it at every stage of Mr. Crole's career. I must here refer Government to the independent testimony of Mr. Collector Turner on this point in a letter which he has just despatched to Government, and favored me with a sight of. It will be seen therein that Mr. Crole, not ignorantly, but without doubt intentionally, surrounded himself with bad characters. Kottasamy Tévar, of whom he could know nothing, but that he was a perjuror, a harbourer of dacoits, and a law-breaker generally, he raised to the position of Vice-President of the Local Fund Board, allowed him to exercise the powers of President, and recommended him for the Statutory Civil Service. This is the man whom Mr. Crole delighted to honor, whom he ordered the Thàsildàr to meet and bring in to him in triumphal procession on an elephant with forty dancing girls and music, the procession afterwards passing through the Palni town, and ending in an entertainment. This is the man that was his frequent guest. This man and the Bodynáyakanúr Zemindar were on such terms of familarity with him and his, that they commonly spoke of them as "mama" and "papa." In connection with this man

No. A, dated 14th July 1886.

File XLIX, No. 23.

Kottasámy Tevar, Mr. Collector Turner reports in the same letter that there were great irregularities in accounting for the public funds placed too laxly at his disposal; and I must add to this that Mr. Crole must have known that he was unworthy of the trust, else why should Mr. Crole have this man Kottasamy Tévar down to Madras with the Local Fund accounts, and the Local Fund clerks and his own so-called "Private Secretary" all for about a fortnight working at Local Fund accounts together in the Imperial Hotel at Madras. It was during the Christmas holidays of 1885-86 when he knew that the cloud was impending over him that broke in his suspension on 1st January, that Local Funds accounts were, at that distance from the Madura district, being dressed up no one will ever know how.

File XXXVIII, No. 4, para. 18.

151. The notorious Bodynáyakanúr Zemindar was another of Mr. Crole's selections to a place of honor and power on the Local Fund Board, made, as Mr. Collector Turner has shown, in the face of the report of his Sub-Collector, Mr. Kough, that he was convicted of an offence under section 176, Indian Penal Code, was a harbourer of dacoits, a rescuer of criminal servants from the Police. To Mr. Collector Turner's proofs of Mr. Crole's knowledge of the Bodynáyakanúr Zemindar's character, I may add that the Police Superintendent, Colonel Kilgour, brought this Zemindar's character to Mr. Crole's knowledge with the only result that Mr. Crole desired him to leave him alone, as Mr. Crole would himself take him in hand. And how did Mr. Crole take him in hand? He made him Local Fund Board Commissioner, he designated him for the next Vice-President; he stated his intention of having him made Honorary Magistrate; he had him as frequent honored guest in his Madura Durbar Hall and on the Palni Hills, he accepted demonstrative entertainments of him at Bodynáyakanúr, the seat of his oppressions, he accepted timber of him for carriage building.

152. Ramasubaiyar, the man who introduced to Mr. Crole this well known character Kottasámy Tévar, was honored with the post of Local Fund Board Commissioner and Municipal Vice-President, and his cousin S. Subramani Aiyar rose, seemingly on his recommendation, to be an Honorable Member of the Madras Legislative Council. These were the clique with which Mr. Crole surrounded himself, these his ameliorated Native Society.

Para. 148, *supra*.

153. It might be shown, but it would be long, that the same line of conduct was pursued with officials. He preferred the full leech. The corrupt were advanced, the unutilisable degraded. In brief, Mr. Crole, far from ameliorating, grievously corrupted the district, and laid the blame of the prevailing corruption lavishly on his predecessors. It is unblushing how he again and again admits the prevailing corruption, but always to charge it to his predecessors, and to claim for himself ameliorating labors.

Revived Municipal Life and advanced Local Self-Government.

154. On the question of having revived municipal life, I may again advantageously quote Mr. G. Stokes from whom, it would seem, that Mr. Crole rather stirred up faction so as to play one party off against another, and thereby retain the mastery in his own hands:—

"He certainly did not revive municipal life in Dindigul. It has always been vigorous. He has introduced by his action into the Council that 'factious spirit' which he refers to in his letter on the nomination of Councillors. Many Councillors have stated to me that before dissension was stirred up over the water-works, no such spirit prevailed. I know that the Sheristadar now dead came frequently to Dindigul, and I was informed that his object was to get up mahazars to Government in regard to the water-supply and Dr. Chester's nomination, and that such mahazars I was told were worked up by the Thàsildàr Saravanamuthu Pillai often by false pretences. Though during Mr. Crole's time, as above said, mahazars have been flying, for years the interest of the Municipal Councillors in the progress, &c., of the town has been just as great as it is now. A little conversation with the Councillors themselves will show this."

As to his having revived municipal life.

Exhibit F. Nos. 5 and 6 (*vide* the wording of letter, circular No. 1, dated 22nd September and my reply thereto.)

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 3.

Mr. Turner, too, the present Collector of Madura, has, in a confidential letter to Government, lifted the mask in the following few trenchant words. "He worked behind the screen of Local Boards. He is the personification of despotism clothed in a Local Self-Government skin. He is a man who will brook no opposition, and that is the reason why you see so few Europeans on the Board list. He cannot work with Europeans."

The Friction between Mr. Crole and the Rev. Dr. Chester.

155. On this subject, which is subsidiary to that of municipal life, there is a mass of papers which it seems unnecessary to analyse in any detail, for it is so patent to every one who knows the district that the cause of quarrel was that stated in paragraphs 161 and 162 *infra* that the Rev. Dr. Chester, as Vice-President of the Dindigul Municipality, strove unostentatiously to do his duty by the town of his life's labours, and was very highly respected therein by the people; that far from getting up petitions to Government against Mr. Crole, it was Mr. Crole's Thàsildàr Saravanamuthu Pillai that was inducing people to sign them against Dr. Chester, that while Mr. Crole wrote the marginally strong remarks on Dr. Chester, they more truthfully described himself, the Rev. Dr. Chester having, during his whole career of a quarter of a century as medical missionary in Dindigul, always enjoyed the high esteem of every Government officer, who has come in contact with him in the district, *excepting only Mr. Crole.*

File L.

"It is my duty to warn Government that the rev. gentleman in question is unfortunately not at all particular as to what he does."
File XXXV, No. 103, para. 5 *et passim* in Mr. Crole's letter to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 29th September 1885, No. 12.

156. Mr. Crole having, for the reason stated below, imbibed an animosity to the Rev. Dr. Chester, he manifested it in acts quite unworthy of an administrator. He transferred Dr. Chester's trained Hospital Assistant to another place, and gave him an inferior one, thus materially hampering him in his hospital work, which is a wholly unremunerated charitable work on Dr. Chester's part. Then he cut down the dispensary grant so as to further effectually paralyse the power of the institution for good. Specious reasons were of course assigned, as we have seen elsewhere in the case of Thàsildàrs, &c., punished on pretexts quite different from the real cause, the not giving of supplies. The reasons in this case have been sufficiently traversed by the Sub-Collector Mr. G. Stokes.

File L, No. 29.

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 9.

157. "Under this head, Mr. Crole's administration calls especially, I think, for remark in two cases. First, the withdrawal of the grant from Kodaikánal; second, the withdrawal of the grant from Dindigul dispensary."

File XXXV, No. 2, paras. 9, 10.
As to Local Funds.

"These two proposals he made or had made, as I have heard him say, in carrying out the principle that the rate-payers' money should be expended for the benefit of those paying it. He argued there are no rate payers in Kodaikánal, so no Local Fund money should be spent there. It is of course easy to see the absurdity of this principle as laid down and applied by Mr. Crole. But its power to catch a body like the Local Fund Board is obvious. In regard to the Dindigul question, however, I showed that even assuming the principle, there were in Dindigul, Pulney and Periyakulam as large a percentage of rate-payers as in the taluks (*vide* census occupation return), and I showed also that taking the figures as given by Mr. Crole himself, then the whole population of Dindigul must be treated once and a half times over in the year. He is widely credited with having taken away these small grants purely to annoy and show himself independent of the

Ex. *Vide* his letter convening the special meeting about the grant to the Dindigul dispensary.

European community and Dr. Chester. He, however, was prepared to spend Rs. 27,000 and over Rs. 200,000 on an office and the Vaigay bridge, which cannot obviously benefit the rate-payers of Pulney and Dindigul. The two taluks contribute about Rs. 51,924 to the Local Fund Board revenue."

158. In carrying the vote of withdrawal of the Local Fund grant to the Dindigul dispensary, we have an instructive incidence shedding light on Mr. Crole's claims to having revived municipal life, and enlisted non-officials in the cause of public spirit and in the management of local affairs. The Local Fund Board having voted the continuance of the grant to the Dindigul dispensary, Mr. Crole wrote a paper to the Vice-President in which he explained the grounds on which he wished the matter reconsidered and the grant stopped. But the meeting that was to have discussed it had to be adjourned for want of a quorum. Four times were these adjournments for want of a quorum on this subject, though it was a matter specially laid before them by the President. Could anything be more suggestive, in Asiatic procedure, of the disinclination of the members of the Commissions to reconsider the matter in the light of President's remarks. But a special "whip" was sent round to them all, and a quorum having been got together, Mr. Crole personally pressed the matter on the meeting and the Commissioners all rescinded their own previous vote, one of them apologising for ever having had an opinion of his own contrary to the President's! The Sub-Collector alone maintained the claims of the dispensary, but as he had to leave to catch the train before the vote was taken, it was stated to be "carried unanimously," and the Sub-Collector Mr. G. Stokes's name stands printed among the names by whom the matter was "carried unanimously," so that the distant Government and all the rate-payers, for whose information the record of the proceedings is by law required to be published in the Gazette, were left to conclude that the Sub-Collector was amongst those who concurred in the practical breaking up of the Dindigul dispensary, though he had come a rail journey on purpose to be a strong dissentient, and with reference to Dindigul, his own head-quarters, the Sub-Collector's vote was the most important of the whole meeting. That the Sub-Collector's dissent was not captious, but founded on a rational basis and on intimate knowledge of the facts is shown by his remarks quoted above (paragraph 157). Furthermore, the present Collector, Mr. E. Turner, has reported to Government that the dispensary figures were impugned by Mr. Crole as untrustworthy, though they could easily have been explained if Dr. Chester had ever been given an opportunity.

File XXXV, No. 107 enclosure.
" " " 109.
File XXXV, Nos. 77, 78, 80, 81.
File XXXV, No. 111.
File XXXV, No. 115, para. 6.
" " " 117.
File XXXV, No. 110, page 7.
File XXXV, No. 115, para. 6.

159. In connection with Local Self-Government, we must notice the Sub-Collector's repeated complaint to Mr. Crole that the Local Fund Board meetings were not called at fixed stated intervals, as is usual, so as to facilitate pre-arrangement of the Commissioners to be present, but unexpectedly, so that it was easy to pack meetings, and so that an officer like the Sub-Collector was surprised with a notice of meeting when it was impossible for him to attend; because by reason of other pre-arranged duties, he was many miles away in connection with long-posted cases or appointed inspections, whereas had he known that the Local Fund meeting would be held with regularity on a fixed day in the first week of every month, his other duties could be so arranged as to admit of his being present. Mr. Crole's persistence in surprise meetings in spite of such representations from his chief lieutenant certainly does not argue a desire to promote full attendance or interest at Local Self-Government Boards.

File XXXV, Nos. 70, 76.

The Pulney Hill Roads Maintenance.

160. If the popular view is to be accepted, the annual grant for the maintenance of the roads of the hill station of Kodaikánal was withdrawn in much the same spirit as the Dindigul dispensary grant. There was a difference of opinion between Mr. Crole and the gentry of the station about the Sir V. H. Levinge Memorial and the public tennis courts, and because Mr. Crole could not carry his views against the majority of the subscribers, he retaliated on the station and made them feel his power by withdrawing the grant for the maintenance of their roads. That, at least, is the popular view of the spring of his action. Mr. Crole has assigned other reasons. In a letter to the Vice-President, he impressed on the Commissioners the injustice of spending rate-payers' money for the benefit of others than the rate-payers themselves. The argument was sufficiently specious to catch the native vote, and that view was carried though it was clear that such an argument, equally applied in all cases, would mean the withdrawal of rate-payers' money from distant main lines which brought the rate-payers of out-side taluks no direct advantage, and at the same time as he advocated this policy against the Pulney Hills, Mr. Crole was emphasizing the opposite policy in the strongest possible form by allotting the large sum of Rs. 2,46,600 to the Vaigay bridge—essentially a work of very local and that too very limited advantage. It is not exactly mine to argue further that the advancement of the Hill station of Kodaikánal is a very distinct advantage to the plains of the Periyakulam taluk into which it monthly pours thousands of rupees in return for supplies and carriage, through which it maintains two transit companies, which go to enrich the cultivators by the purchase of their draught cattle and fodder, through which also runs the line of Post which at Kodaikánal shows, I hear, a handsome annual surplus; it is not mine to argue thus, so much as to show that all these things passed through the minds of the Kodaikánal gentry, when they saw their grant, which had been annually made for many years, suddenly stopped, and were, among the reasons, coupled with other experiences, why they attributed that stoppage to Mr. Crole's conflict of opinion with themselves; and whether they were right or wrong in their conclusions, it is significant that these were the conclusions of those by whom Mr. Crole was locally known; and as such, this popular European gauge of his motives of action seems to find proper place in this report in connection with the 7th paragraph of my instructions, to wit, "the effect on the administration of Mr. Crole's relations with and attitude towards Native and European society."

File XXXV, No. 109.

The Introduction of Water-supply for the large Towns.

161. On the question of the Dindigul water-works, the Sub-Collector, whose head-quarters is Dindigul, is the most competent to speak, so I again quote his memorandum.

"*The* question which gave rise to all this dissension in the matter was as to suitability of the Suppanúth well as a source of water-supply. Analysis conclusively proved it bad. Mr. Crole, notwithstanding, determined to have this water, and, with that view, he asserted it the only 'possible waters.' It is clear that the Kudavanár water is a source of supply which is quite unobjectionable and which can be made available at some cost. This water was never mentioned by Mr. Crole though its existence was brought to his notice. It is quite true that over 10 latrines were closed in Dindigul under pressure to find the money for the water-works. The question of re-opening them is before the Council.

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 4.
As to the Dindigul water-works.

Exhibit F. 7. *Vide* his letter in the Government review and the Government Order referred to in this exhibit.

162. These water-works formed the real back-bone of contention between Mr. Crole and the Rev. Dr. Chester. Mr. Crole had made choice of the Suppanúth water, had declared there was none other possible, and *more suo*, had determined to carry it at the point of the bayonet. He was, therefore, most impatient of the Rev. Dr. Chester's difference of opinion, looking upon it as factious opposition, and quite unable to appreciate that the Missionary who had spent his whole life in Dindigul might have grown to have an earnestly devoted interest in its best welfare, and that, as a medical

man, his objections were based on purely sanitary grounds, objections which have been fully upheld by the opinions of the Government Chemical Examiner and the Government Sanitary Commissioner. While objecting to the Suppanúth source of water-supply as unsanitary, as he for years had noticed in his dispensary that, on account of the excess of lime contained in it, it so affected the kidneys as to produce strangury, skin eruptions, and dropsy, still the Rev. Dr. Chester was not objecting to the water project as a whole, and was only indicating the Kudavanár as preferable, and in this the Sub-Collector, Mr. G. Stokes, agrees with him, and the Sanitary Commissioner says: "With reference to paragraph 3 of the order under reply, a recent analysis of the Kudavanár river water is subjoined, and there seems no doubt that, with the usual precautions of subsidence and filtration, a good wholesome water can be got from the source."

File XXXV, No. 119.

163. In connection with the Dindigul water-works, we have another instance of Mr. Crole's habitual unveracity. To Government he wrote: "Next as to quality, the following table shows the result of the examination made by the Chemical Examiner to Government of all the possible waters available for drinking purposes in Dindigul * *. For my own part, I believe, it is the best and the only water to be got." "All the possible waters" he wrote, thereby concealing the existence of the Kudavanár stream, the water in dispute, though it is on record in his own hand that Dr. Chester had brought it to his knowledge, and he himself had visited it. By such habitual withholding of the truth and reporting only what suited his own purposes, Government was not placed in a fair position to judge rightly of the merits of the case, and was led into passing self-stultifying orders, Mr. Crole's Government being practically substituted for that of Her Majesty.

File XXXV, Nos. 120, 121.

164. The enforced collections made for the Dindigul water-works are, as far as we know them, of a piece with the collections for the Farm; but we have not yet had time to go to Dindigul. Mr. G. Stokes wrote "that the public or even the members of the water project committee are quite unable to get any accounts out of the Secretary, that the Secretary has lately built a very fine house in Dindigul. I know that there is a considerable balance due to Mr. Crighton which he cannot get paid."

File VII, Nos. 11, 16, 22, 24.

File XXX, No. 2, para. 5.

165. Colonel Crighton did not advance this money to Mr. Crole as a private individual, nor did he do it as a personal speculation; for he did it gratuitously and in faith of Mr. Crole's position as head of the district, the correspondence seeking Colonel Crighton's assistance having been commenced formally and officially. It seems to me scarcely desirable that, because of Mr. Crole's maladministration, Colonel Crighton should be left unpaid the advances which he made for a public object, and the credit of Collectors generally should fall. I submit that Colonel Crighton's claim should be debited to the Dindigul Municipality, and that, if it be necessary to take any legal proceedings to this end, the expense of them should be borne by Government.

166. It is a relief to turn to the Madura water-works. There is a volume of correspondence which I must confess to not yet having had the leisure to wade through. I may thereby do scant justice to some of Mr. Crole's predecessors who seem all in turn to have contributed the toil of their brain to supplying the large town of Madura with water; but I think I shall not be far wrong in saying that Mr. Crole, whose ability is beyond question, carries the palm in this matter, and that it is to his indomitable pertinacity that Madura owes its present excellent water-supply. The Vaigay river is for months in the year a broad expanse of sandy bed that can be crossed dry shod. Nevertheless, there is an ever present subterranean flow of water percolating through the sand many feet under the sun-heated surface, and over an impermeable under-bed of conglomerate. In this sand, Mr. Crole has sunk opensided wells down to, but carefully not into or beyond, the impermeable bed. These wells are

made of many creviced open unplaistered brick-work, so that they admit the water without the sand and become reservoirs. They are covered over, so that no surface impurities can enter them, and as the water entering them has had to filter through miles of sand-bed, it cannot be improved on. Several of these well-reservoirs are connected with each other and more can be added if the town requires it. A steam-engine with pipe entering one of them, raises the water to a height which commands the town, to which it is laid on by closed pipes. The credit of the idea seems to be Mr. Crole's entirely, the mechanical engineering was the liberally gratuitous work of Colonel C. E. Crighton of the South Indian Railway. The system is so admirable that it should be extended to other parts of the Madura Town, under certain contemplated improvements of detail; and there are probably many other Indian towns which could be supplied on the same system, notably, Tanjore and Kumbakonam, so that I am led to suggest that it would be a public advantage if Colonel Crighton's services could be spared for a time to examine if the system followed in Madura, and likely to be adopted on the Kudavanár at Dindigul, can be utilised in other Indian towns situated within reach of sandy streams.

The Roads of the District.

167. Referring to paragraph 5 of my instructions, I have got together a body of information ample enough to furnish forth a report in itself on the roads of the district. I think it will suffice, however, if I put forward a few typical illustrations, first a letter from the present Collector, with copy of his inspection notes, then an extract from the late Sub-Collector Mr. G. Stokes's memorandum, and, lastly, the complaint of a Commanding Officer marching troops through the district:—

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 11.

Copy of letter from the present Collector of Madura.

"Adverting to your letter, No. 45, dated 13th ultimo, I have the honor to submit, herewith, reports, in original, received from the divisional officers, the Deputy Collector and Manager Ramnad, and the Thàsildàr of Periyakulam describing the condition of the roads and bridges within their respective divisions.

File XXXII, No. 52.

"I also enclose, for your information, complaints received now and then regarding the bad condition of the roads from official and non-official gentlemen of position, and the reports of the Local Fund Engineer thereon as per margin.

"My own opinion is that the roads and bridges are not in as good a condition as they ought to be."

Notes of Tour by the present Collector of Madura, Mr. E. Turner.

"27th—From Periyakulam to Andipatti viâ Alinagaram, 19 miles.—Road in good order except little repairs wanted here and there. The last 3 miles into Andipatti are bad and should be taken into hand at once.

File XXXII, No. 53, para. 2.

"28th—From Andipatti to Usalampatti, 13 miles.—Road in shameful order, wants repairing from end to end. The road is almost impassable. No money could have been spent on it for years, ruts in places nearly thigh deep, hardly a bridge capable of carrying traffic, at most the road passes around and underneath. It would appear that this road has not been touched since the famine. It was under my charge then (1876-77), and I find the heaps of stone broken and collected at that time by famine coolies lining the road, neglected and unused. It is a very important road and much used. The destruction and injury to wheeled vehicles must be very great. I had to walk my horse the last 6 miles into Usalampatti. I used to be able to gallop from end to end. There is a toll * on the ghaut; it is a swindle to take money from travellers and not to keep the road in some sort of order. Arrangements must be made to repair this road. I found a maistry, but he seems to have no coolies employed under him. I must have a report on the subject."

		Rs.
* For 1883 produced	..	3,228
,, 1884 ,,	..	2,712
,, 1885 ,,	..	2,400
,, 1886 ,,	..	4,045
For 4 years	..	12,375

In his confidential report to Government, Mr. Turner wrote, "I have out-cries

from all sides regarding the deplorable state of the roads. Ramnad road is nearly impassable. The same is the case with the Usalampatti road."

Extract from a Memorandum by the late Sub-Collector Mr. G. Stokes.

"He also stinted the roads to such an extent that those of the subdivision are simply in a disgraceful state. I travelled last December from Pulney to Dindigul, and could hardly get my dog-cart through, while one of my sámán bandies was upset in a rut and one of my servants injured. Even cartmen complained to me of the state of the road. * * I also came back from Karúr in Coimbatore in January, and it was possible to tell the boundary of the district by the state of the road. The Local Fund Engineer only once since I joined the district has visited this division for a few days so far as I am aware. I was informed that all the rest of the time he was detained in Madura looking after the water-works."

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 11.

Complaint of Colonel H. St. Maur Wynch, Commanding 22nd Regiment, M.I.

"I beg to be allowed to bring to your notice that the road, or strictly speaking the cart-track from Tirumangalum to this place is in a most awful state of disrepair; it would in the rains be simply impassable."

File XXXII, No. 44.

168. That such should be the state of the district communications under the administration of an officer of Mr. Crole's undeniable ability calls necessarily for some explanation. Obviously it cannot be attributed to incapacity. Nor can it be assigned to ignorance, for he moved about his district as his travelling bills show, and must therefore have seen for himself the state into which the roads were falling. Also he had received complaints about their disrepair. Furthermore, he had promised special attention to them. In his report enclosed in Government Order, 24th July 1885, No. 513 L.F., Financial, he had written: "The short outlay was due to laxity of supervision on the part of the late Local Fund Engineers. As a fact, the state of the communications has steadily deteriorated during the last three years owing mainly to this cause. An enormous sum is spent on permanent mileage establishments which have not been supervised. There has been great demoralisation in the department; steps are about to be taken in concert with the new Engineer to thoroughly reform it." Some part of the disrepair may perhaps be chargeable to exceptional floods in certain localities, but those are forces of nature always to be reckoned with. Not a little may possibly be due to the "demoralisation in the department," of which Mr. Crole speaks; but if so, it is nothing more than was naturally to be expected from the character of Mr. Crole's administration. While he himself was making habitually false reports to the Board and Government, was himself receiving supplies and not paying for them, and utilising all his Thàsildàrs to collect money as he did, it would have been, indeed, surprising, if the Local Fund establishment, with only one European officer to supervise the whole district, had not caught somewhat of the general demoralisation. But after making every such allowance, I cannot but think that the roads were intentionally starved, in order that money might be saved from them for the construction of works of a magnitude that should demonstratively reflect credit on Mr. Crole's personal administration; such, for instance, as the Vaigay bridge, for which not less than 2½ lakhs of rupees were required. In the presence of communications known by Mr. Crole to be in such deplorable disrepair,—communications that by his own statement had "steadily deteriorated during the last three years;" in the presence of exceptional demands to repair the results of exceptional floods, how came such a large sum of money to have been withheld from them in favor of a work, the Vaigay bridge, that had been again and again set aside by his predecessors as extravagant; in presence of the necessity for supervision which Mr. Crole himself notices, how came the District Engineer to be prevented from supervising by being detained in Madura in connection with the water-works (Mr. Stokes's remarks in paragraph 167, *supra*), how came Manikam Mudali to be taken off the supervising establishment and retained on the Park and Farm for months together, how came all this in stultification of Mr. Crole's own remarks,

File XXXII, No. 1.

File XXXVII, No. 6, para. 2.

if it was not in pursuance of a policy, the policy of Self. The Government has already alluded to "the painfully-morbid vanity which pervades Mr. Crole's memorandum and letter," and not only is the same egotism traceable in other papers which have come under the perusal of this Commission, but what is to the point here, we find it in the Farm, the Park, the Hindu Union Club, the handsome entrance gates, the Vaigay bridge, all centring, and all but the Vaigay bridge quite unnecessarily centring, around Mr. Crole's dwelling house and person.

G.O., 4th February 1886, No. 240, Public, para. 10, also paras. 12 and 13.

Paras. 47 to 49 and 99, *supra*.

THE VAIGAY BRIDGE.

169. To judge the bearings of the Vaigay bridge proposal, the Government must understand the locality. The Vaigay river running roughly west and east, is crossed by the railway bridge on the outskirts of the town, and by an excellent stone causeway at the centre of the town, the town, lying on the southern and the Tamakam, the Collector's official residence, on the northern side. The river is not perennial, but, being tapped all along its course by irrigation channels, is said to reach the sea only once in seven years, and it may be crossed dryshod for about eleven months of the year, and ankle deep for all but about an exceptional week in every year. At all other times, it is a broad expanse of dry sand, which I have crossed again and again in unsoiled boots. This slight ankle-depth of water is no hindrance to the foot-traffic of Asiatics who do not wear shoes and socks, nor, indeed, of the wheeled-traffic except for the brief period of about a week a year. To construct a bridge therefore at the cost of 2½ lacs of rupees for the purpose of one week's traffic in the year is a project which has always been condemned by every Collector as a waste of public funds. If condemned in the past, it is still less tenable now that there is a railway bridge by which it could doubtless be easily arranged that both goods and passengers should pass, not only by the regular trains, but possibly at intervals in the brief flood time, for a trifling payment, which the Municipality or Local Fund Board could commute for a very trifle in comparison to the cost of a new bridge of their own. The traffic also is very small and quite unworthy of any large outlay. The new bridge, too, when built might well prove a white elephant in maintenance, for if even the fraction of an anna is charged as toll for crossing, no one will think of using it while he can easily evade the toll by going by the free causeway. Beyond being a monument in honor of Mr. Crole, the Vaigay bridge can, for years to come, serve no useful purpose at all commensurate with its great cost. The only new consideration is that the Periyár project may bring more water down the stream; but whether any considerable portion of it will ever get as far down the river as Madura town, without being taken up by the many intermediate works, and whether the project which has been a project now for some quarter of a century and more, will come into such existence as to affect the river at Madura town before the Greek Kalends, is a question on which I have not the necessary information. The Collector tells me that the matter is further complicated by advances having been made to contractors, but I suppose they are compoundable at no great loss.

170. I recommend therefore that the projected Vaigay bridge be postponed till it is actually wanted, and that the funds saved for it by the starving of the road maintenance be expended on the repair of those roads. It is due to the interests of the ratepayers, albeit it will be a much more expensive task to restore neglected roads than it would have been to maintain them. The orders on this subject should be passed soon as expenditure is going on. From the marginal correspondence, the present Collector, Mr. Turner, does not think with me, it seems, but at the same time his letter to Government admits the bad state of the roads all over the district; and in my opinion they have the prior claim on the funds necessary for their repair, and the addition of 24 per cent. to the estimate, which the present Collector proposes for the

My letter to Mr. Turner, No. 105, dated 8th July 1886, and his reply thereto, No. 50, dated 10th July 1886. File XXXII, Nos. 54 55, and its enclosure.

purpose of using the Government Engineer, will bring the whole estimate well over three lacs, which is a large sum out of Local Funds while the roads are in such disrepair and the railway bridge is available.

Village Sanitary Associations.

171. Mr. Crole claims the credit of having made Madura "the premier district of the Presidency," amongst other things, in the efficiency of its village sanitation through the "medium of voluntary associations." And the Board of Revenue of 1883 have endorsed the claim as well founded. "The Collector," they say, referring to Mr. Crole, "has given the matter much consideration, and, in October 1882, suggested to Government a simple form of modified Act for the sanitation of Townships and the more important villages. Of all the opinions which the Board have received on this subject, there is none more valuable than that of Mr. Crole, the Acting Collector of Madura, who has devoted much time and attention to village sanitation, and has succeeded in stimulating a few voluntary village sanitary associations in to existence." It was Mr. Bliss, however, who "stimulated them into existence" in 1874, when Sub-Collector in Madura; and in doing so, he makes allusion to "Ossoor and other places in the Salem district where similar associations have for a long time existed," and his mention of the word Ossoor reminds me that it was in Ossoor that the undersigned was Sub-Collector with Mr. Bliss for Assistant so long ago as 1865, and that it was from Ossoor that similar associations spread over the Salem district some twenty years prior to the present discussion. The point, however, is that with reference to the Madura district the Board was in error in crediting Mr. Crole with having "stimulated them into existence;" it was Mr. Sub-Collector Bliss who had done that in 1874, and Mr. Collector H. J. Stokes in 1881 recovered them from being too dependant on Local Fund Boards, insisting on their returning to Mr. Bliss's arrangement that they should have the vitality of self-support to the extent of half their cost, and it was Mr. Head Asssistant O'Farrell that, following the lines given, exhibited more energy than any one else, starting sixteen out of eighteen associations. What Mr. Crole did was to pen two able letters, which have above the high encomium of the Board of Revenue that there were "none more valuable." But without detracting from their ability, for, none would detract for a moment from Mr. Crole's undoubtedly great abilities, only from the uses to which he unfortunately put such a highly-gifted intellect; without detracting, then, from Mr. Crole's admitted ability, it will be seen in what measure Mr. Crole had in this matter entered into the proposals and labors of his predecessors, and in what measure consequently he, in his memorial, took credit more than was his due.

Memorial to Viceroy, dated 15th January 1886, para. 7.

Board's Proceedings, dated 19th October 1883, No. 3146, in file XXIX, No. 22, para. 2, Madura, and para 9.

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 17th August 1874, No. 2279, in file XXIX, No. 3.

File XXIX, Nos. 10 and 11.

File XXIX, Nos. 14, 16.
„ XXIX, „ 20, 21.

High-handedness.

172. Mr. Crole has prominently put himself forward as the advanced advocate of autonomy, promoting Local Self-Government by the natives themselves, and reviving municipal life; but those who have served in the same district, and known what is behind the scenes, have told us that he used this machinery only as a screen for despotism, and we have seen the same in the manner in which the vote was carried about the Dindigul dispensary. "He is a man," we are told, "who will brook no opposition;" and that this, rather than Local Self-Government, is the true gauge of his character may be gathered, from the high-handed measures taken in Periyakulam, under the same cloak of Local Self-Government (paragraph 142, *supra*). The following

two instances may also be cited as indicative of the same tendency of personal peremptoriness, and it is only because of their indicative character that matters so small are allowed place here.

173. Mr. Crole wanted a tin of salmon for an unexpected guest. He sent to the one shop in Kodaikánal for it. His messenger, a daláyat, returned saying the shop was closed and locked, and the shop-keeper absent. Mr. Crole abused him and sent another daláyat to break open the shop. That second daláyat objecting to break open the shop, Mr. Crole told him to take the Sub-Magistrate's head clerk and break it open. This second daláyat took the head clerk and a constable, and with the help of a road laborer with a crowbar, they prised open the hasp of the door, and searching the shop in vain, put on another hasp and refastened the door with a new lock, and when the shop-keeper returned, he found he could not get into his own shop, and then learnt what had happened.

File XL, No. 3.

174. It is true that, on a petition to the Board of Revenue, Mr. Crole reported "no such thing ever happened." He does not say the thing was done without his knowledge or intention, though the petitioner thus eases it off for him; he says, "no such thing ever happened;" but we know by this time what value to attach to Mr. Crole's word, and the other actors, the daláyat, the shopkeeper, and a constable say it did happen, though in so saying they condemn themselves, and in confirmation of their story, there are the two hasps in the door-frame to this day.

File XL, No. 5, para. 4.

File XL, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

175. The simple moral is that the fear of Mr. Crole was above all other fears in the eyes of the daláyat and head clerk, and rather than cross him they dared housebreaking in the presence of witnesses, and told the shop-keeper all about it, with the plea that it was Mr. Crole's order. We are told by the Sub-Collector that Mr. Crole was "widely feared," and, by the present Collector, "Mr. Crole fully succeeded in inspiring abject terror everywhere amongst all officials, for the slightest offence they were transferred, suspended, and worried to death. Woe betide them if they appealed. Mr. Crole had no mercy, he used every official engine at his disposal to destroy them;" and here we find that the terrors of Mr. Crole were above the terrors of the law; they dared housebreaking rather than cross him about a tin of salmon.

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 2.

His report to Government, dated 8th February 1886.

176. Then there was a girls' school Mr. Crole thought to start in Madura, and without thinking of consulting their wishes in the matter, he simply ordered that one month's pay was to be stopped from every public servant in his office drawing over Rs. 50 a month; and stopped it was till they represented that it was Dipavali festival, and the stoppage was postponed to the next month, and again the pay was held back for some days till, on a representation made, it is a long story, the order was recalled, and they got their pay. It was not that all these officials were even invited to subscribe; it was that their whole pay was *nolens volens* officially stopped at the treasury like so much income-tax. What stronger example do we want of the undisguised use of despotic power.

File XLVI, No. 1.

The Strike in the Bazaar.

177. This is a molehill of which Mr. Crole has made a mountain. He introduces it amongst a string of evidences that the previous administration of the district had been such as to leave him a sorry legacy to deal with, while he had nevertheless been

singularly successful in raising it to the highest state of efficiency and advancement. In this connection paragraphs 6 and 7 of his memorial to the Viceroy are worthy of reperusal. They are given in the margin. In the connection in which we find this "strike in the native bazaar," one is led to conclude that it is in some way connected with the local disaffection, in some way a matter of political importance, but that the disaffection had nevertheless been dissipated by the good administration which followed. The facts are simply these. The road-side drains in the Madura town are covered with cross slabs of stone. The shops are built close up to the side drains. The shop fronts are hung from hinges, so that when let down the shops are closed, when supported the fronts project over the stone slabs and form a shaded verandah in front of the shops. In a tropical land, this shade is grateful to both buyer and seller, for the shop has no interior, it has only a *quasi* counter facing this shade. An overzealous Native Deputy Collector thought the side-drains could be kept more sanitarily clean if they were open, and that the projecting fronts were an encroachment on the public way. So, in his office of Vice-President of the Municipality, he ordered the removal of both stone-slabs and projecting shop fronts. The shop-keepers closed their shops, and to the number of 2,000 went in procession to the then Collector and Magistrate's house to make a demonstrative petition. They were led by one Venkatavaratha Row, who for the nonce became thus a personage in their eyes, and of whom anon. The procession of shop-keepers made no sign of declamation or violence; they sat peaceable under the shade of the trees near the Collector and Magistrate's house, only asking to be allowed to see him. But like a wise man he held the demonstration cheap and discouraged it. He sent them a message by the Police Inspector that that was not the proper way to do things; they should submit a written petition to him at his office on Tuesday, and he would attend to it in the usual way. This was Saturday. His postponing the matter till Tuesday seems to me to indicate that he reserved to himself a non-working day, Monday, for inquiry into the rights of the matter, and looked upon it as in no way of consequence or emergency. Meanwhile, he curbed the folly of his lieutenant, and on Monday evening or Tuesday morning, the shops were all open again without more ado. Was this a matter to lay before a Viceroy? It was a trifle such as an Indian Collector thinks nothing of meeting and dealing with in any day's March of his pro-consulate. Probably Mr. J. Stokes never rose from his chair, or gave the matter more than five minutes' consideration. And now a word for the leader and the secret spring of the procession. This Venkatavaratha Row aspired to the honor of being elected a Municipal Commissioner. By these mock heroics did he obtain the suffrages of the shop-keepers and succeeded. But the ruse being subsequently seen through he is now derisively known as "Madura Parnell." Will the Government now gravely read again Mr. Crole's high-sounding paragraph. His claims are too grotesque.

Extract from Memorial to the Viceroy.

"6. He found the district in anything but a satisfactory state. The records of the Board of Revenue and the Madras Government bear testimony to this. A huge arrear of public revenue remained uncollected, the revenue establishment were demoralised, the local bodies disaffected, several of the influential and respectable members of the Municipal Council of Madura City had resigned in disgust, and a strike had just taken place in the native bazaar.

"7. When the petitioner was removed from the district on the 1st January 1886, the Madura district was the premier district in the Madras Presidency, singular in the successful enlistment of non-officials in the cause of public spirit and the successful management of local affairs, in the introduction of water-supply for its large towns, designed and carried out by petitioner himself, in the efficiency of its village sanitation through the medium of voluntary associations, in the establishment of an Experimental Farm, of a People's Park and of Public Gardens from private subscriptions, in the starting of an annual agricultural show during the grand festival, in large public works of various sorts, and in the efforts made towards the social improvement of the Hindus and the amelioration of Native society."

178. But a word as to dates. Mr. Crole seems singularly incapable of dealing with any subject, however trivial, without introducing the element of fiction. Ever is the subject turned, twisted, colored, to suit his purposes. Never do we find the plain unvarnished truth, such that a distant central authority, like the Board and Government, which has of necessity to govern by reliance on truth, can safely rely where it has a right to rely. It needs but a few touches of fancy to leave *nuda veritas* out in the cold, and at a cruelly wicked disadvantage has she been throughout Mr. Crole's administration: witness the instances recorded above. Even in this little matter he throws in the word "just" to give it a connection. His words are, "and a strike had just taken place in the native bazaar." Read with the context the drift is that

the virus of local disaffection still permeated the district and called ominously for a wise administrator. The fact is that petty as it was the two days' strike was within four days of being 5 months' old when Mr. Crole joined the district, the shop-keepers had been pefectly at their ease ever since, and in no possible way could the petty passing incident have any connection whatever with his administration Still less could it reflect as he suggests on the administration of his predecessor. It was only the passing indiscretion of a lieutenant that was promptly and easily righted by his predecessor Mr. J. Stokes. But in this connection, it will be seen that it was Mr. Crole's role to decry the administration of his predecessor in order the better to belaud his own. Observe the antithesis of Mr. Crole's two paragraphs above quoted marginally.

File XXXIX, No. 1 and its enclosure.

The date of the strike was 29th October 1881; of Mr. Crole's taking charge of Madura, 26th March 1882.

Para. 177, *supra*.

ADMINISTRATION.

179. Concurrently with the abject terrorism indicated in paragraphs 148, 149, 175, and 176, *supra*, the leading feature in Mr. Crole's administration was to paralyse all power but his own, so that the energies and influence for good of even senior officers like Sub-Collectors were lost to Government, and in a country in which the purifying and invigorating European element is so exceedingly sparse, and the provinces ruled so wide, good administration demands that it should be utilized to the utmost, certainly not neutralised. As to the facts the late Sub-Collector Mr. G. Stokes's memorandum may be allowed to speak for itself, premising that Mr. Crole's petty interferences went beyond the attender's post instanced, and went far enough to make it quite clear that he alone was to be looked to, and that the Sub-Collector was to be practically effaced as a power:—

"In regard to my official relations with Mr. Crole, though no breach occurred actually, I was quite paralysed by the fear of it. I confined myself to doing only what I could not avoid. I never volunteered any efforts. Owing to several changes lately introduced, the position of a Sub-Collector is not materially different from, or more independent than that of an Assistant of one or two years' standing, who has passed his examinations. Experience of the public service has taught me that if you cannot pull with your Collector, you must be very careful how you pull at all. As long as Mr. Crole kept within the rules, I could do nothing, but it cannot be supposed, I think, that a man of 14 years' service would be pleased or encouraged in his work when his nomination of an attender on Rs. 8 month was overruled,—a matter, however, within the 'superintendence' of the Collector. The action of Mr. Crole in regard to the appointment made by me will appear from the annexed (exhibit B.) "memorandum."

File XXXV, No. 2, para. 7; "My official relations with Mr. Crole."

180. Mr. Sub-Collector G. Stokes avoided a breach by patiently bearing with the position imposed on him. The former Sub-Collector Mr. Kough remonstrated, and it led eventually to his being turned out of the district. The Police Superintendent, Colonel Kilgour, was similarly transferred for not being sufficiently yielding, and the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Mr. Gadsden, was called on to explain and eventually removed, because he got on the scent of the improper collections of Thàsildàrs, for which he was reported by the brother of the Hon'ble S. Subramani Aiyar, one of the clique above mentioned; though the Inspector-General of Police thought an apology was due to Mr. Gadsden, and any Collector and Magistrate who was, in truth, as opposed to corruption as Mr. Crole so stoutly professed to be, would have promptly thanked him.

File XLIX, No. 2.

File XLIX, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21.

File XLIX, Nos. 10, 14, 15, 16, 18.

181. Mr. Sub-Collector Kough's remonstrance was against being ignored and practically dominated in his own charge by Mr. Crole's native subordinates, the Huzur

Sheristadar and Deputy Collector, and his contention was authorized by Board and Government rules which prohibit any orders being sent into the Sub-Collector's division except through the Sub-Collector, and even in cases of such urgency as to necessitate a direct order, even then, it is laid down that a copy of the order must go by the same post to the Sub-Collector for his information. Mr. Kough's letter represents that these orders of superior authority were not respected under Mr. Crole's administration. "Will you be kind enough to direct the discontinuance of the practice of subordinate officers * of yours addressing mine in communications which do not pass through me, and of which copies are not sent me."

Last clause of para. 5 of Board's Standing Order No. 234.
File XLIX, No. 2.

* *E.g.*, Sheristadar, Deputy Collector.

"I ask you to prevent the necessity of my making official reference on the subject."

Revenue Collections.

182. The revenue collections form another point on which I am required to report if "Mr. Crole's statements are justified by facts." In the margin of paragraph 177, *supra*, it will be seen that Mr. Crole memorialised the Viceroy that "he found the district in anything but a satisfactory state * *. A huge arrear of public revenue remained uncollected;" but when he was removed "the Madura district was the premier district in the Madras Presidency," and Mr. Crole explains to the Board of Revenue how it was that such large arrears had accrued. He commenced by making a scape-goat of a certain Thàsildàr, V. Parthasarthy Aiyangar, whom he reported as quite incapable of making the collections, and in consequence "I determined," he said, * * "to place the revenue-work of the taluk under the personal and immediate charge of the present Deputy Collector M. Tillanáyagam Pillai, and relieve the Thàsildàr of all further connection with that portion of his duties," and so the Thàsildàr was degraded, and the Deputy Collector, who was to have done what the Thàsildàr failed to do, did not collect the arrears, but recommended that they should be written off. In fairness to the Thàsildàr, this should have been made known to the Board and Government, who, on Mr. Crole's report, degraded the Thàsildàr.

File LV, No. 3 and 10 its enclosure.

183. But Mr. Crole did not throw the onus of past maladministration on the Thàsildàr only, but, as elsewhere, on previous administrations generally, with which his own was to shine by contrast. It is worthy of close reading in antithesis to the sequel: "There was also some reason to suspect that a great evil had arisen owing to the faulty and superficial manner of making the annual settlement, which prevailed in the Madura district, under which the whole of the details were left to subordinates, and the part taken by the officer making it consisted simply in standing by for a few minutes, while the puttahs for the year were distributed to the ryots, or rather to such of them as chose to be parties to the farce. The consequence had been that the great powers conferred on the Collector under the admirable Madras ryotwari system had been in abeyance, and subordinates, wanting in guidance and nervous of responsibility, had imposed an annual beriz which the ryots found it impossible to pay."

File LV, Nos. 3 and 4, being para. 6 of Mr. Crole's letter in G.O., 16th July 1883, No. 864, and para. 3 of Mr. Crole's letter in Board's Proceedings, 27th July 1883, No. 2158.

"The root of the evil lay in defects in the annual settlement itself in former years, as reported by me in detail in paragraph 6 of my letter, No. 239, dated 23rd May 1883, and the annual demand not having been fixed with sufficient regard to the state of the season. Nor were the arrear lists scrutinised properly at the time of settlement and the irrecoverable portion annually examined and remitted. On the contrary, I found that the system of examination of C. Registers at the settlement was

never in practice before I took charge, and was viewed by the Thàsildàrs as an entire novelty. Want of attention to this, and the absence of a proper and systematic settlement of the taluks, have been the chief causes of the large arrear."

184. After this, how did Mr. Crole himself conduct the annual settlement of 1884-85? The Madura and Mélúr taluks wers disposed of by him in three days each. But after his final figures were settled in the former taluk, they were found to be wrong by thousands of rupees, and were corrected by the Thàsildàr and his clerks on their own authority without any sanction or permission of the Collector that can be traced, and after a protracted rescrutiny a resettlement of Mr. Crole's annual settlement was made in the taluk. There were also many minor evidences of carelessness, which it would take too long to recount. They will be found in No. 14 and other papers in File LV.

File LV, No. 1, columns 17 to 20.

185. Also it may be noted, in passing, that the very arrears of which Mr. Crole makes so much parade were themselves bunglingly reported in very ill-keeping with his professions, and the Board had to set Mr. Crole right about them, for Mr. Crole had confused recoverable and irrecoverable arrears. With this and such like confusions Mr. Crole's subordinates would have been more directly chargeable than Mr. Crole himself, were it not that Mr. Crole takes special credit for personal control.

File LV, No. 7, page 4.

186. In connection with Mr. Crole's incorrect settlement of the Madura taluk in three days, we may refer again to his marginally-quoted remarks as showing how widely his performance belied his professions.

File XLVII, No. 5, para. 11.

"I believe, therefore, that there never has been a district in the Madras Presidency, the condition of which was known in such accurate detail as was that of Madura on the date of the letter now disposed of by the Board on the assumption apparently that the recommendation for the relinquishment of revenue contained in it was made in a caseless spirit or on superficial grounds instead of under the sense of duty and with the regret which were actully present to my mind I when signed it."

187. In connection with public revenues, it should not be left unmentioned that Mr. Crole authorised the diversion of water in favor of enlarged and new private reservoirs under which fresh lands were in consequence irrigated, while older Government irrigation works suffered and previously irrigated areas had to have their wet converted into dry lands, so that there was a permanent loss of Government revenue, and there were increased remissions of assessment on other Government lands. Rumour says that Mr. Crole did not do this for nothing; indeed, rumour has imputed bribe-taking freely to Mr. Crole, but the imputations are not set down in this report, because they are not proved; and we have had our hands quite full in dealing with unimpeachable records, mostly in Mr. Crole's own hand, and as little as could be helped with oral evidence; and time did not allow of my going to the Sub-division where these irrigation works are.

File LII, Nos. 43, 55, and two enclosures.

188. But it is a matter of great importance that Government revenues should not be permanently sacrificed, and whether the benefited private individuals have or have not paid any considerations either to Mr. Crole or to his corrupt Thàsildàrs for the undue advantages they have obtained, a close inquiry should be instituted into the state of all irrigation in the district, and all Government works should be replaced in the positions held previous to Mr. Crole's advent. This inquiry should not be confined to the one valley indicated in file LII, because my inquiries were only entering on the threshold of this wide subject at the time when I found myself compelled to postpone them to the submission of this preliminary report.

189. Similarly, we find some public servants advanced under Mr. Crole with extraordinary rapidity, worthier and senior men being superseded. Here, in the Madura district, it is held unquestionable that those who paid money to Mr. Crole were promoted, and that those who did not, were passed over. Such things are not capable of proof, for who can prove them except in each case the man who will suffer by proving. We may credit the imputation, because we have seen something of Mr. Crole's moral character generally, and because we have seen above intances of men punished in various ways on false pretexts. This much, I think, is fairly deducible

that from an administrative point of view, the present Collector, surrounded as he is by Mr. Crole's creatures, cannot be expected to bring order out of years of evil administration, unless he be given very exceptional support. I think he should be at liberty to reconsider all Mr. Crole's promotions, and to cancel such as he thinks proper, relegating the individuals to their former positions, and promoting in their places such as he thinks proper, and for such re-arrangement of officials, he should not be required to render exact reasons, for, in the circumstances, it is not possible. It is required that he should get a corrupted district into reliable working order, and he should be trusted and helped to do it. The present Collector, Mr. Turner, is, in my opinion, an officer eminently qualified to be entrusted with such large powers, both because he is cautious to a *fault* and because he has been so long connected with the district in varied capacities that he has had exceptional opportunities of observing the characters of the different subordinate officers of the district, and I gauge him to be a more than ordinarily observant man. He has also no mean knowledge of the vernacular, and that lies at the very bottom of all true knowledge of an Indian district.

Summary.

190. As premised in the opening paragraph, this preliminary report is necessarily not exhaustive, and is only submitted as it is for the reasons there assigned. With reference to Mr. Crole the contents prefixed to this report will, I trust, form sufficient summary to facilitate the judgment of Government, but the many subsidiary sufferers and wrong-doers may well be lost sight of, if not picked out and marshalled by themselves. I shall therefore endeavour very briefly to facilitate reference to them.

The Tellakulam Tank.

I. The water-spread of it should be restored and the foreshore made peramboke, paragraphs 49 to 64.

II. The ditch draining off the water from it should be filled in as before, paragraph 64.

III. The fines imposed for blocking the ditch should be refunded, paragraph 55.

IV. Solamalai Pusàri should be paid his compensation, and the grave should be fenced, paragraph 60.

The Mànagiri Tank.

V. Its waterspread should be restored, paragraph 65.

VI. And the foreshore made peramboke, paragraph 72.

VII. And the lands restored, paragraph 109.

VIII. The chattram and adjoining land should be restored to Vellaya Ambalakaran, paragraph 68.

IX. The new calingula in the supply channel should be heightened, paragraphs 71, 72.

The Siranàyakanpàlayam tank.

X. The waterspread should be formally restored to Ahmed Mohideen, paragraph 86.

XI. The punitary assessment should be refunded to him, paragraphs 79, 86.

XII. All other injuries to his lands and tank should be repaired, paragraphs 81, 86.

XIII. He should not be dispossessed as proposed under the Land Acquisition Act, paragraph 81. officials to be righted or punished

XIV. S. Sunthiram Aiyar, late Acting Thàsildàr of Periyakulam should be righted, paragraph 129. and 139 to 141.

XV. And R. Muthusami Aiyar, now Kodaikánal Sub-Magistrate, paragraph 94.

xvi. And ex-Thasildar V. Parthasarthi aiyangar, as particularized in a separate communication. para 130

xvii

~~XVI~~. The Attender G. Venkatasamy Nayudu should be reinstated, para. 121.

xxii ~~XVII~~. The Periyakulam householders should be compensated and Periyakulam improved, paragraph 147.

xxiii ~~XVIII~~. The Vaigay bridge may be postponed, paragraph 170.

xxiv ~~XIX~~. The present Collector should be allowed to revise appointments, para. 189.

xviii ~~XX~~. Chuttram Manager, Nìlankanta Shàstri, should be dismissed, paragraphs 24, 26, 28, 37.

xix ~~XXI~~. Thàsilàdr, T. Krishna Row should be degraded and transferred, para. 58.

~~XXII~~. Thàsildàr Visvanatha Row should be degraded, paragraph 145.

~~XXIII~~. The Tirumangalam Taluk Duffadar Rámalingam should be degraded to a taluk peon, paragraph 115.

Miscellaneous

xxv. Colonel Brighton should be reimbursed. para

xxvi. And further utilized. para 166.

xxvii. The Model Farm may be abandoned. pa

xxviii. The enforced collections may be voted to the Local Fund Board. para 109.

I have the honor to be
Sir
your most obedient servant
H. S. Thomas.
Senior Member of the Board of
on special duty