PIONEER OF ASIAN ORNITHOLOGY

Allan Octavian Hume

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Introduction

A hundred years ago this northern summer, the extraordinary life of Allan Octavian Hume was drawing to a close. In failing health for some six years and following a severe heart attack in November 1911, he died at the age of 83 at his home in south London on 31 July 1912, and the mourning was deep and wide. Yet for ornithology, in which he was one of the greatest influences of the nineteenth century, he had effectively died many years earlier, in the spring of 1883, when he was not yet 54 and still had 29 years to live. Contemplating what he accomplished in the mere 15 years prior to the catastrophic event that ended his work with birds, it is all the more depressing to think how much more he would have achieved for ornithology if fortune had not been so desperately cruel to him.

Although an interest in natural history apparently took hold of him early in life, so prolific did he become as an author that it is difficult not to think of his emergence into ornithology as coincident with the time of his first publication under his own name, in 1868. In fact the overwhelming bulk of his ornithological publications seems to have been completed by 1882, with just the odd note containing information dating from as late as 1887. If this is correct, then most of Hume's ornithological writing fits into a period of just 15 years and essentially all into 20 years; yet during this time he wrote about 200 published papers, letters and notes in journals along with four books (two of the papers were as big as books) (Appendices A & D), described at least 148 taxa that are still accepted today (37 species, 111 subspecies: Appendices B & E), edited 5,495 pages of *Stray Feathers*, the journal he founded and funded, created a network of over 50 corresponding field naturalists (his 'coadjutors', who were largely responsible for naming as many as 13 taxa in his honour: Appendix C), assembled and beautifully housed a collection of over 100,000 bird and egg specimens, and led four expeditions to the remoter parts of the Indian subcontinent. Setting aside a book completed for him in 1889–1890, his last bird publication was in 1888, but even this was an afterthought involving a huge paper he had written in 1881 and never revised. 'I much regret any… shortcomings,' he wrote then, 'but have no time to rectify them now, and have given up ornithology' (*SF* 11: i) (for Hume quotations from *Ibis* and *Stray Feathers* [*SF*] we merely give year or volume, respectively, and page; see References below).

What makes this achievement all the more astounding is that throughout this time he was a high-ranking official of the British Raj with a series of hugely demanding remits; *birds were just a hobby*. Colonial administration was his day job, and not at some humble pen-pushing level: Hume was actively serving the British government as a senior civil servant in a variety of increasingly high-profile roles, in which he championed enlightened egalitarian behaviour as the guarantor of imperial stability and progress. Indeed, he achieved many things that have earned him a central place in the history of India and which have nothing whatever to do with birds. He established free primary schools across Etawah district, North-Western Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), where he was officiating magistrate and collector for over ten years, and raised the funds for a high school in Etawah town (picture in Mehrotra & Moulton 2004: 708). He designed and caused to be built a model commercial suburb of Etawah that others in his honour named (and still call) Humeganj. He organised the lengthy customs barrier that became known as 'the Great Hedge of India' (Moxham 2001). He founded the Indian National Congress, the party of Mahatma Gandhi that was the driving force behind Indian independence and which still in the 21st century is a major player in Indian politics. When he died, the shops in Etawah closed in a mark of respect, fully 45 years after his departure from the district, and much of India went into mourning. Ornithology was a consuming love of his, but in 1883 he turned his back on it with no visible sign of regret, and resolutely never looked back.

Except for the ornithological literature, the account that follows is based very largely on secondary sources and we acknowledge an enormous debt to the long-term research by the historian Edward Moulton into all aspects of Hume's life. The almost complete lack of surviving Hume family correspondence—all his father's papers were destroyed by fire, and Hume himself seems deliberately to have suppressed personal material—means there are still, and probably will always be, considerable gaps in our understanding of A. O. Hume, but Moulton and his colleague S. R. Mehrotra have long devoted themselves to uncovering and assembling the available

documentation. Only the first of four projected volumes has appeared so far (Mehrotra & Moulton 2004), but on its completion their *Selected writings of Allan Octavian Hume* will one day provide not only a remarkable research resource but a powerful testimony to a man of awesome talent and character.

A brief history of Hume

Hume's father was the distinguished radical Member of Parliament Joseph Hume (1777–1855), a dour and dogged Scotsman who early in life made his very considerable fortune in India while serving as a surgeon, and who in his middle and later years became a scourge of the Exchequer for its extravagance and a powerful 'liberal' voice against such things as flogging and the suppression of trades union. He was described by Samuel Smiles, author of *Self-help* (1859), as 'the most active and useful member, perhaps, who ever sat in Parliament' (Harris 2007: 7). He co-founded University College London (UCL), numbered the eminent philosopher John Stuart Mill among his closest friends, and married above his station, naming the large country house he acquired in 1824 in East Somerton, Norfolk, 'Burnley Hall' in honour of his wife Maria Burnley, whose father was reputedly a director of the East India Company (Harris 2007: 12, 16). They had many children, of whom Allan Octavian is variously positioned by different authors; the most authoritative account, by Mehrotra & Moulton (2004: 1), who had access to the family tree of a direct descendant of Joseph and Maria, gives him as 'the eighth and youngest surviving'; the seventh child had died in infancy, as did a subsequent ninth.

Allan was born at St Mary Cray, Kent, on 4 June 1829, and grew up at the family's town house at 6 Bryanston Square, London, and at their country estate in Norfolk, being educated privately until he was 11 years old. He attended the junior school of UCL from 1840–1844 (with a spell in 1842 as a junior midshipman on a naval frigate in the Mediterranean), UCL itself, 1844–1846, and then spent two years at the East India Company College, Haileybury, 1847–1848, followed by a brief spell back at University College Hospital studying medicine and surgery. Thus groomed for a career in the colonies, and deeply imbued with his father's radical opinions in social and political matters, he was posted to the Bengal Civil Service and in March 1849, still not 20, arrived in Calcutta and began studying Hindustani and administration. His vocation as a judge was in the family tradition: in Calcutta he stayed with a cousin who was himself a magistrate (and a radical reformist), and his first job, which involved minor official work in remote villages and towns, living 'entirely amongst the people', was as an assistant to another magistrate who was married to his eldest sister, Maria Burnley Hume. From early 1850 until 1855 he was a district officer in the North-Western Provinces, initially holding junior posts in Meerut, Saharanpur, Aligarh, Dehra Dun and Mainpuri. In Mainpuri he was promoted to officiating magistrate and collector, and transferred in February 1856 to the same position in adjacent Etawah, where he remained until 1867. The professional side of his life here is documented in great detail in Mehrotra & Moulton (2004), but he was recognised and commended for the way in which he promoted

Plate 1. Burnley Hall, East Somerton, Norfolk, UK, in 1882.

NORFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

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Plate 2. Allan Hume as a young man.

arbitration by local Indian officials rather than recourse to the courts as the best means of resolving disputes, so that his later years in the district were distinguished by 'the virtual absence of civil court cases' (Moulton 2002: xvii).

Soon after his arrival in Etawah he was embroiled in the Indian Mutiny, in which he behaved with such courage and effect that he was awarded the Companion of the Bath (CB) in 1859. Although he served his country with distinction, he was contemptuous of the colonial mindset that he held responsible for the uprising, namely: 'British administrative ineptitude and an increasing tendency to ride roughshod over the wishes of the people instead of consulting and working with Indian leaders' (Moulton 2002: xliv). Unsurprisingly, then, in its aftermath he displayed qualities rather less likely to earn him unqualified establishment approval.

> Mr Hume of Etawah who was blamed by many for excess of leniency, but who so bore himself that no one could blame him for want of courage, distinguished himself by keeping down the number of executions in his district to seven, and by granting the culprits a fair trial. These he treated with fatherly tenderness, for he invented a patent drop for their benefit; so that men prayed—first, that they might be tried by Hume, and next, if found guilty, they might be hanged by him. [Trevelyan 1895, in Moxham 2001: 200]

At the heart of his political vision was a deep trust in the goodness of people and their ability to improve themselves given sufficient support, so after the Mutiny he elected to stay in Etawah and help rebuild the town, its community and its relationship with the colonial administration, continuing work he had started before the rebellion began. He promoted local education, started new schools, spoke out against flogging, pressed for (and eventually got) juvenile reformatories, established a local press and newspaper, provided libraries, constructed new roads and bridges, set up medical dispensaries, planted parks and gardens, and created a municipal government. However, the two intensive years of post-Mutiny endeavour so compromised his health that he was forced to take a similar number of years' medical leave in Britain. He wrote of the need for such respite in a letter in July 1860 (Wedderburn 1913 [2002]: 118, Mehrotra & Moulton 2004: 402), but only left India for the U.K. in late April 1861. By November 1861 he reported that 'My health is still so indifferent that there seems little possibility of my ever returning to India' (Hume letter in Mehrotra & Moulton 2004: 449), but by February 1863 he was back in his post in Etawah and he remained there for another four years.

In 1867 he was appointed a judge at Bareilly (Uttar Pradesh) for a few months and then, aged 38, Commissioner of Inland Customs in Upper India, a position of great importance which required him to travel extensively throughout the land held by the British. This was the time he oversaw the completion of the notorious 'customs hedge', the purpose of which was to levy a tax on salt (Moxham 2001). In this work he was uncharacteristically reticent on the iniquities that the barrier produced, but he became the leading authority in all India on salt production and, by studying the effects of the salt tax on consumption patterns and public health, and by a series of enlightened negotiations with salt-producing regimes outside British control, he manoeuvred the colonial administration into a socially fairer and politically safer arrangement.

In November 1870 he was appointed Acting Secretary of the Home Department, and in June 1871 he achieved his most prestigious official position in the Indian Civil Service (ICS) as Secretary of the new Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce. It was around this time that, presumably for the needs of the job and facilitated by the salary that came with it, he moved his summer home to Simla and acquired a large building called 'Rothney Castle', where he

Plate 3. Allan Hume in middle age.

COURTESY OF R. & B. MEARNS

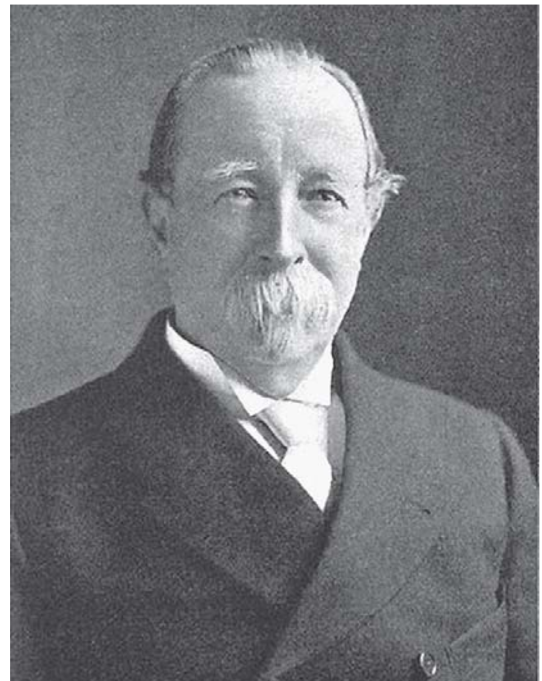
established his ornithological museum. The word 'Revenue' had been put first in his new department's name by his political masters in London, but Hume was more interested in agriculture, which he knew to be the key to a healthier and happier human population. Furious with the colonial complacency and ignorance that allowed 'millions of our people… within a morning's ride of Government House' to be 'half-starving', he did all he could in his eight years in charge of the department to improve the nutritional and economic productivity of the land. He encouraged the cultivation of sorghum, groundnuts, cinchona (for quinine), mulberry (for silk), carob and eucalyptus, agitated for the establishment of model farms across British India, extended the area of forest under protection and replanted eroded land, and brought stronger regulation to fisheries. His department supervised India's first national census in 1871, promoted the compilation of an Indian gazetteer, established a system for national weather data collection and collation, and conducted topographical, geological and marine surveys. He experienced occasional failures: plans for a veterinary college came to nothing, and the conservationist in him was thwarted when he could not engender action to protect wild elephants or get game laws passed 'to prevent the killing of birds in the Himalayas during the breeding season' (Moulton 2002: lxvii).

The 1870s were thus the period of his highest professional powers and his greatest ornithological productivity (see below), both of which came to abrupt ends within four years of each other either side of 1880. Under the liberal Indian Viceroys Lords Mayo and Northbrook he flourished, but under the conservative Lord Lytton, who took office in April 1876 (and under whom he concluded agreements with the states of Rajputana and Central India for British control of salt between September 1876 and April 1878, thereby rendering 'his' hedge obsolete), he became stymied and frustrated. Widely revered as he was for his organisational genius and relentless industry, he was equally known for his sharp tongue and pen to the point where he himself admitted in 1878 that among European officials he probably had 'more ill-wishers than any man in India' and even confessed to Lytton that he was 'too impulsive' and ventured his mind 'on the spur of the moment'.

Sadly, his self-knowledge did not translate into self-discipline. His outspoken criticism of Lytton's administration was so relentless, denouncing British land revenue policy for keeping the Indian populace in poverty, that in 1879 the government 'utilized ostensible retrenchment measures to abolish Hume's department' (Moulton 2004) and, to a chorus of outrage and dismay from his supporters, Hume was summarily demoted to a junior position on the Board of Revenue in Allahabad. Hume's response was to publish his pamphlet *Agricultural reform in India* (1879), 'an indictment of government neglect of agricultural modernization' (Moulton 2004). Mearns & Mearns (1988: 204) have argued that 'changes of staff at Simla were frequent and part of accepted policy', that Hume had been 'particularly honoured' by being allowed eight years in post, and therefore that he 'was not harshly treated'; but if this was the case why was Hume not moved to another strong position of responsibility? As it was, he nominally served on the revenue board until the end of 1881 but in fact spent most of his time on special leaves, completing the third and last volume of his book with Marshall on gamebirds, and undertaking his expedition to Manipur (Moulton 2002).

Moulton (2004) suggested that Hume endured this two-year humiliation, rather than retire at once, only because he needed the salary to support the publication of the book on gamebirds. Ironically, however, during that time Hume's attitude towards killing animals changed dramatically. Coincident with his demotion he began a four-year involvement with Theosophy (Moulton 1997), a recently developed semi-occult quasi-religious western construct which, like the dominant faiths of India, posited that all life is interrelated, that the harming of life in any form was to be avoided,

Plate 4. Hume in later years. Image from the *Catalogue of the Heads and Horns of Indian Big Game bequeathed by A. O. Hume, C. B., to the British Museum*.



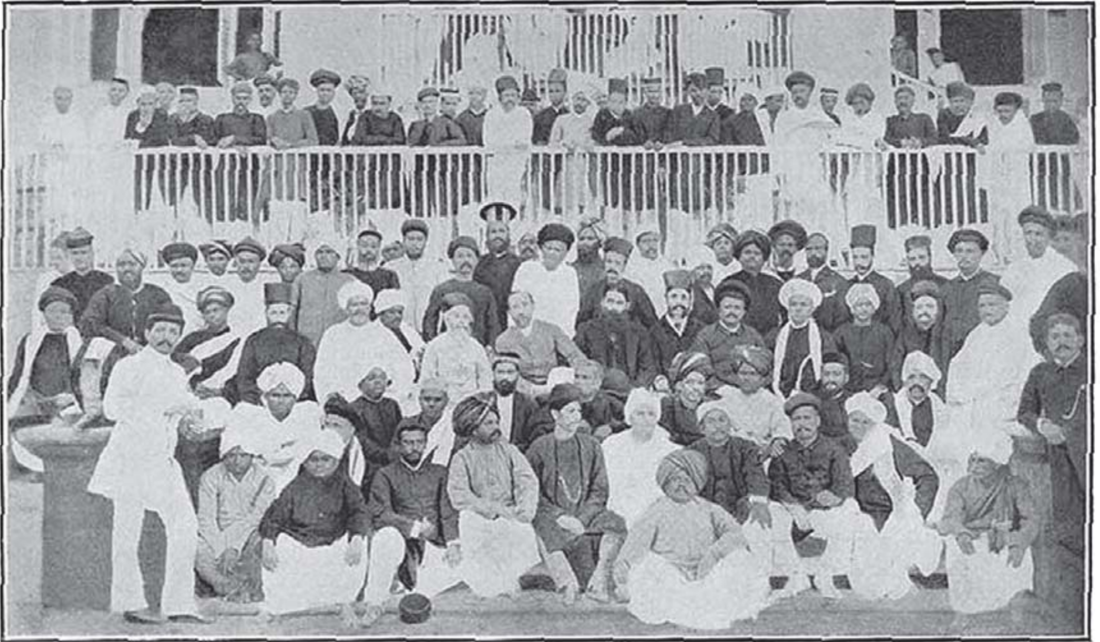


Plate 5. Some of the 72 delegates at the first Indian National Congress in Mumbai, December 1885; Hume is in the centre, leaning to his right, and on his left is W. C. Bannerjee, the movement's first president.

and that transcendental communication with gurus in the Himalayas was possible. Perhaps it was these echoes of Indian culture that particularly appealed to him; at any rate, in due course Hume gave up alcohol (excess of which he had long condemned), converted to vegetarianism (a discipline he observed for the rest of his life) and, more significantly, shortly after his last and greatest ornithological expedition in the first half of 1881, abandoned hunting and collecting. In this context it is worth noting that, besides his ornithological interest, he appears in his early years to have been an ardent hunter and collector of big game trophies. He eventually donated his collection of heads and horns to the British Museum (Natural History) (BMNH) in two tranches in 1891 and, after his death, in 1912. The importance of this 'unrivalled series of specimens' was noted in a substantial article in *The Times* of 1 November 1912 (Wedderburn 1913 [2002]: 38).

The final volume of *Game birds* appeared at the end of 1881, and on 1 January 1882 Hume took early retirement from the ICS at the age of 52. During that year he 'assembled voluminous notes' for a planned major work on the birds of British India, and at the end of it, increasingly disillusioned with Theosophy (although then falling under the influence of a Vedantist leader and retaining an interest in spiritualism until 1888), he began to be actively involved in political reform, under the influence of the local self-government initiative launched by Lord Ripon, the new, liberal Viceroy. In early 1883 racist reactions to a judicial reform bill (the Ilbert Bill)—seeking to allow Indian judges to try criminal cases involving British defendants—drew him deeper into Indian nationalist affairs, and on 1 March he addressed his historic circular to the graduates of Calcutta University, urging them 'to band together politically to work for the regeneration of the people of India', and thereby planting the seed from which India was to grow to independence (Moulton 1985).

Almost simultaneously, the ornithological catastrophe struck. Having returned to Rothney Castle in spring 1883 from a long winter break, Hume discovered the theft and destruction of the great majority of his material relating the birds of India. He at once opened what proved to be protracted negotiations with the BMNH for the donation of his entire collection of specimens, which eventually took place two years later.

In late 1885, soon after the arrival of his bird collection, Hume himself visited England on only his second trip home since 1849. His purpose was to enlist Liberal Party support for a conference that would 'form the germ of a Native Parliament' in India—one of his strongest supporters was Florence Nightingale—but he also found time to become a vice-president of the British Vegetarian Society. By December 1885 he was back in India for the first meeting, in Bombay, of the 'Indian National Congress', where he was confirmed as its general

secretary, thereby becoming 'the executive arm of the Congress and its only full-time officer' (Moulton 2002: xxxii), a position he held by annual re-election until 1894. Throughout this period he devoted himself unswervingly to politics; and like his father his radicalism increased with age. He railed against the poverty that British maladministration imposed on the Indian people, mobilised grass roots support among peasant proprietors via pamphlets and public meetings, and spearheaded the nationalist movement with such messianic zeal that the British establishment considered his behaviour nearly seditious, and even the Congress sometimes distanced itself from his pronouncements (most notably his private circular to the party in February 1892, soon made public, that India stood on the brink of violent revolution). Earlier, in 1886, perhaps at the time he wrote his bizarre article on 'æthrobacy' (see below), Hume seemed to be claiming to have seen secret documents assembled by gurus that warned of a growing discontent of the type that had almost engulfed the British in 1857. Without elaborating, Moulton (2002: lxxxi) speculates that Hume might then have been temporarily deranged.

His wife Mary (*née* Grindall), five or six years his senior, whom he had married in India in 1853 but about whom we know next to nothing, was 'ailing' at the time of that first meeting of the Congress and died in 1890 (they had one daughter, Maria Jane, born in 1854, about whom we know similarly little, other than that she married Ross Scott, an ICS official, and had one child, a son born in 1885, who died seemingly without issue). In 1894, aged 65 and frustrated with what he evidently saw as the lack of progress in Indian politics, Hume retired permanently to England, settling, like Thomas Jerdon before him, in Upper Norwood in south-east London. There he became involved in Liberal politics, his devotion to India undiminished (in his last public speech, in 1909, he expressed his desire to 'see India, dear India, and its lovable, amiable, law-abiding people once more happy and smiling, and at least as free as either Canada or Australia'). However, also now begain a serious re-engagement with the natural world through the study of British plants, hiring W. H. Griffin as his botanical assistant in 1901 and each summer spending several months collecting specimens in different parts of the country. This was less a fresh departure than a more penetrating focus on an interest that had outlived his love of birds. In 1910 he bought 323 Norwood Road and in November that year he used a considerable proportion of his remaining funds to endow the building as the 'South London Botanical Institute' which, a century later, is still going strong. The meticulousness and

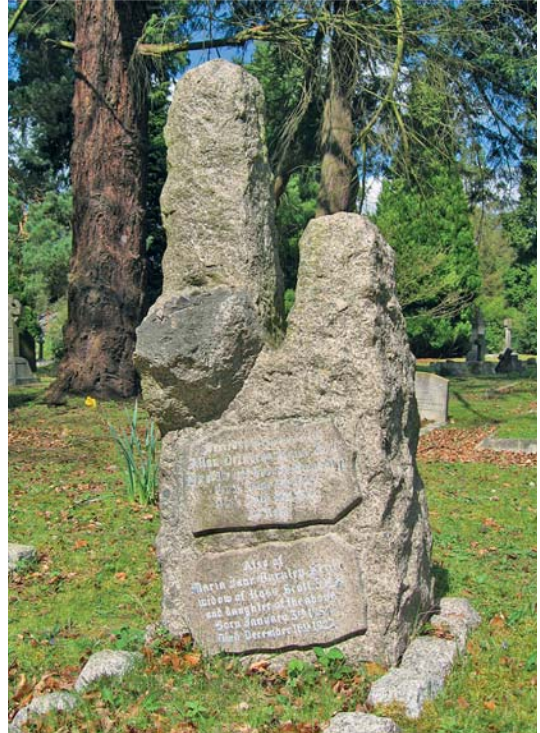


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Plate 6. Hume's headstone, shared with his daughter Maria Jane, in Brookwood Cemetery, London. Officials at the cemetery have no explanation for its curious design.

industry of his distant ornithological career was reborn in the care and ingenuity that he devoted to the collections he amassed and acquired from others (such that his material was immediately regarded as superior in quality to anything held by the BMNH); but before two more years were out he was dead. His ashes were interred in Brookwood Cemetery, the largest in Britain and once the largest on earth, reached by its own railway line running from beside London's Waterloo station, and commonly known as the London Necropolis (Clarke 2004).

The rise of an ornithological empire

Although he only began publishing on birds at the age of 39 in 1868, we know from a remark in a letter to *Ibis* (1869: 456) that Hume had a youthful interest in birds'-nesting: opening a package sent from Attock (today in Pakistan) 'what should appear but our old familiar friend the Hawfinch (*Coccothraustes vulgaris*, Steph.), whose nest and eggs formed the especial treasure of my boyhood's collection!' We know, too, that he took an interest in natural history from his early days in India, writing in 1864 that 'botany has always been one of my favourite pursuits' (Mehrotra & Moulton 2004: 557) and referring in an official letter urging

the creation of a museum (Hume 1867) to his 'nearly twenty years of practical work as a field naturalist', which enabled him to offer 'every possible assistance… in classifying and arranging the specimens, not merely of birds… but in every branch of Natural History'. Moreover, in his first ornithological publication, a strikingly well-informed piece on the very rare and little known Siberian Crane *Grus leucogeranus*, he mentions that it was 16 years earlier, i.e. in October 1851, that he had seen and shot his first specimen in Ladakh, although at the time—aged 22—he was 'too much of a mere sportsman and too little of a naturalist' (*Ibis* 1868: 29), as the fact that he failed to preserve the specimen tends to confirm. This self-estimation is complemented by a little remark he made in a letter in *Ibis* (1869: 122), where he hinted at an interest in falconry:

> If any one says that *F[alco]. peregrinator* is not worthy of specific separation, I reply, wait till you fly the bird. Work one against the best *F. peregrinus*, and mark how much greater the rapidity of the flight, and above all the swoop of the 'Shaheen,' emphatically the 'Royal' Falcon of the East.

According to Moulton (1992: 296), within eight years of his arrival in India Hume had created a personal collection of bird specimens while 'exploring the areas to which his various health leaves in the Himalayas or his employment took him'; this was important enough for someone to offer him £1,000 for it early in 1857, months before it was destroyed in the Indian Mutiny, but all we otherwise know is that it was 'inferior' to the new collection of 2,500 skins he had subsequently assembled by 1867 (Hume 1867, and below). He had employed a 'thoroughly-trained native taxidermist' since at least 1855 (Hume 1867), but an array of other evidence suggests that he only began to take a serious *scientific* interest in ornithology in the early 1860s. He dedicated his first substantial scientific publication, *My scrap book* (Hume 1869–1870), which ran to 422 pages with details of 81 species of bird, to the great Indian ornithologists Blyth and Jerdon, who were clearly major influences on him. Indeed, it was Jerdon, 'my friend and master', whom he specially credited, 'for it was from him that I first imbibed a taste for ornithology when eyes over-taxed with desk work, could no longer bear the extra strain of the microscope' (*SF* 2: 6)—this presumably being a reference to his other studies in natural history.

It could well have been the publication of the first volume of Jerdon's great work on Indian birds in 1862, 13 years after Hume's arrival in the subcontinent, that opened his eyes to the scientific importance of the natural history observations he was already making. In a letter among his private papers quoted by Wedderburn (1913 [2002]: 35), Hume himself wrote in 1879 that 'I have, during the last fifteen years, spent about £20,000 in accumulating an ornithological museum and library, now the largest in the world, where Asiatic birds are concerned'. Richard Bowdler Sharpe (1906: 393), the bird curator at the BMNH, approximated the years of Hume's collection to between 1862 and 1885. Likewise, Marshall (1912), a close colleague of Hume's, noted that 'he began to take an interest in bird life in the early "sixties"'. Marshall further thought that Hume 'succeeded Dr Jerdon', and this is clearly and literally true: Jerdon left India in 1870, just after Hume published *My scrap book*, and died in 1872, six months before Hume launched *Stray Feathers* and a year before he produced the first volume of his huge *Nest and eggs of Indian birds*.

Even so, five years passed after the appearance of Jerdon's book before Hume's ornithological focus was sharp enough for him to venture into print. Moreover, a rapid scan of the BMNH registers of the Hume collection reveals many specimens dated from 1867 onwards, but very few from before 1865. Just prior to leaving Etawah in 1867 his collection of bird skins numbered 2,500 Indian birds of 600 species, small by his later standards but nevertheless already including six Siberian Crane and about 20 Imperial Eagle '*Aquila imperialis*' (= *heliaca*); at least some of this collection came from 'friends collecting for me in various parts of the country' (Hume 1867). Interestingly, at this point he was striving to get the North-Western Provinces Government to take his material *gratis* as the foundation of a new scientific museum, probably in Agra, because he felt that 'with the prospect of soon leaving Etawah, my collection is too large for a private naturalist to carry about and look after' (Hume 1867). Despite initial official interest, this offer evidently fell through, perhaps owing to his appointment to the important post of Commissioner of Inland Customs later in 1867.

Only three years afterwards, in a paper discussing Variable Wheatear '*Oenanthe picata*' and '*O. capistrata*', his collection had clearly increased greatly, and with it his confidence in venturing more frequently into print:

> My museum contains, besides numerous typical examples of both forms, more than fifty specimens in the transition state, entirely connecting by almost imperceptibly small links the apparently wide gulf that lies between the opposite ends of the chain. (*Ibis* 1870: 283)

By November 1872, his museum comprised 12,000 skins and 10,000 eggs plus 'several thousand specimens in excess of what are required for the fullest illustration of the species' (*SF* 1: 50). For his collection to have expanded so rapidly since 1867 he must have been both collecting extensively himself and simultaneously receiving large numbers of specimens from his 'coadjutors', people like Bingham, Brooks, Butler, Chill, Cripps, Davidson and Oates (Mearns & Mearns 1988).

Whether there is a connection between the start of his publishing life and the end of his time as a district magistrate is not clear, but being Commissioner of Inland Customs placed Hume in control of the extraordinary customs line that stretched for 4,000 km from Peshawar into southern India and back up to Cuttack on the Bay of Bengal, and allowed him to travel extensively along and around it, observing and collecting birds wherever he went. It was shortly after this that he suddenly started joining scientific societies, being elected a member of both the British Ornithologists' Union (publishers of *Ibis*) and the Zoological Society of London in 1869 (not 1859, as Harris [2007–8] gives for the latter, nor after 1901, as Mehrotra & Moulton [2004] state) and of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the start of 1870 (but he did not become a member of the Linnean Society of London until 1901, when back in Britain and studying botany). If he had already developed a real scientific interest in birds by the start of the 1860s, he might perhaps have been expected to join the recently formed British Ornithologists' Union when in Britain during 1861–1862.

Publishing proved to be a powerful medium for advertising his general interests and his particular needs, and for building up an invaluable network of contacts across the Indian empire, where dozens of men with interests like his could be tapped for their support. *My scrap book* was subtitled *Rough notes on Indian oology and ornithology*, and this modest title reveals how he had conceived the work, a compendium not so much of his knowledge as of his ignorance: right from the start he was setting out to enlist his readers' help in solving problems, furnishing evidence and supplying specimens, all in the cause of what he once called 'the inexorable logic of facts' (*Ibis* 1870: 283). In the preface to the first issue of *Stray Feathers* he wrote:

> There are hundreds of sportsmen in India, who could tell us facts about the nidification, habits, migrations, distribution, &c., of species of which we know little, and what I would urge upon all my kind coadjutors is, each in his own circle of friends, to endeavour to stir observant Sportsmen up, to add, each, their quota of knowledge to the general stock.

He continued:

> A man has only to collect *steadily*, in almost *any* locality for a year or eighteen months, one or two specimens of *every* species he can come across in his neighbourhood, to note… whether they are rare or common… permanent residents or seasonal visitors… whether they breed in his neighbourhood, and if so, when; what their nests are like, where they are situated, how they are composed, how many eggs they lay, and what these are like, and what their dimensions are; what the nestlings and what the young birds are like; what localities and what food the birds affect, and, even if he does all this very, *very* imperfectly in regard to a vast number of species, he will still… possess materials for a most *useful* and *instructive* local avifauna…

And towards the end of his ornithological career he was still making the same point about methodical application in pursuit of truth, discussing the Calcutta market and the 'rarities' it used to yield (*SF* 7: 480–481):

> All we see in it… has been procured within a radius of 25 miles, the great mass of birds within 10 miles from the stalls where they are sold… There is scarcely a less likely looking locality than the 1,500 odd square miles, whence these rarities have been drawn; densely populated, devoid of all special physical attractions; but it is *steadily* and *exhaustively* worked, and hence the results.

He announced to the readers of *Ibis* (1869: 238–9) how to preserve a bird specimen using carbolic acid; and in 1874 he published his *Vade Mecum*, which instructed readers in considerable detail how to preserve specimens more generally, and encouraged them to keep a diary as 'it is so little trouble and so much methodizes a man's habits of observations that he will find, after keeping a diary like this for a single year, that he knows more of the nidification of birds than he has picked up in half a dozen years, when… he kept no such record'. In all these hints and exhortations you can sense his legendary powers of organisation marshalling themselves with an almost inquisitorial determination to get at the truth, and the judge in him itching to pronounce it.

After his final promotion in June 1871, work no doubt held him hard to his desk; even earlier in his career, he records being out collecting eggs on Christmas Day, noting: 'It is not many holidays a really working official gets in India, or at least can afford to give himself; and part of mine are generally

NIRANJAN SANT

Plate 7. Narcondam Hornbill *Rhyticeros narcondami*, Narcondam Island, Andamans, 18 January 2007.

KALYAN VARMA

Plate 8. Andaman Bulbul *Pycnonotus fuscoflavescens*, Andaman, 25 January 2010.

Plate 9. Brown Hawk Owl *Ninox scutulata obscura*, Wendoor, South Andaman, 14 January 2012.

NIRANJAN SANT

spent in the open air, gun in hand' (*Ibis* 1869: 144). Devotion to official duty had no deterrent effect on his ornithological output, however, with three volumes each of *Stray Feathers* and *Nests and eggs of Indian birds* published by mid-decade. Even so, he now had the opportunity to organise periods of leave in which he could mount expeditions—fairly large-scale affairs—into the less explored parts of the subcontinent. The first—which he described as a 'holiday for once' after 'many successive years [of] toiling on the official tread-mill… which wear[s] out alike mind and body' and caused him 'failing energies and health' (*SF* 1: 44)—was to Sind and its surrounding areas, from late November 1871 to the end of February 1872. The second was to the Andamans and Nicobars between March and May 1873, involving the hiring of 'a fine steamer, the *Scotia*…, on very favourable terms' (which were met, as were all these expeditions' costs, out of his own pocket). The party included Ferdinand Stoliczka, a good number of taxidermists, an exploring team and his own curator William Davison (involved from December 1872 to May 1873). The third expedition, a five-week trip to the Laccadives in February–March 1875, was something of a disappointment, the islands proving to be poorly populated by birds and the journey to

Plate 10. William Ruxton Davison. Image from *Nest and eggs of Indian birds*, Vol 3 1890.

and from them fraught with problems. It was compensated for, perhaps, by the fourth and last, to Manipur in the first half of 1881, a major study during which he recorded over 500 'species'.

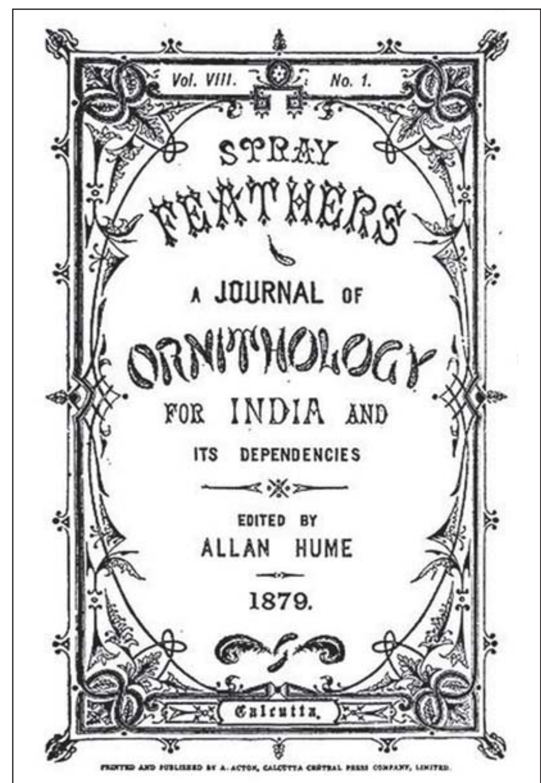
This expedition to Manipur was, like the others, a very grand event by modern standards; but of course Hume, despite his recent demotion, was a very senior figure. He mentioned at one point that his party included 60 'adult males', and when describing his determined pursuit of what we now call the Manipur Bush-quail *Perdicula manipurensis* he reported (*SF* 9: 469) that 'my whole camp, soldiers and sailors (we had a lot of boatmen), camp followers, and all the inhabitants of the village were turned out' and 'fully one hundred men' worked to cut back the vegetation in an area where the mysterious birds had been glimpsed, so that he could get a shot at them.

Stray Feathers (1872–1888)

With the foundation of his own home-grown journal, *Stray Feathers*, Hume almost entirely abandoned publishing in *Ibis*. *Stray Feathers* sits alongside his specimen collection as the monument to his ornithological enterprise. He used it from the start as a vehicle for his own pronouncements and speculations, and for the gathering of information from across the subcontinent. He reviewed, he remonstrated, he demurred, he pondered—even producing a lengthy if inconclusive disquisition on what constitutes a species (*SF* 3: 256–262) and a reflection on the influence of climate on bird distribution (*SF* 7: 501–502)—but above all he saw it—and its modest title, like that of *Rough notes*, reflects this—as a means to the end that was to be the great work, his 'Conspectus of the avifauna of India and its dependencies' (*SF* 1: 45–50). This ambition continued to be glimpsed in various prefaces, written in the third person, to each volume. That for volume 5 reveals him slightly flagging, attributing this to 'other, and primary, duties' and to 'the whole of his time and thoughts [being] absorbed by other and more important matters', but hoping, with almost a premonitory tone, that the journal is at least paving the way 'for that more fortunate individual to whom fate may concede the happy task (which the Editor now despairs of being ever able to accomplish) of writing a complete History of the Birds of our Indian Empire'. In March 1879 (*SF* 7: 472) that hope had still not quite faded, as he contemplated 'whoever writes (as I once hoped to do, and might yet, were I spared long enough…) the History of the Ornithology of our Indian Empire…'

In this same volume his preface suggested that he was buckling under the burden. People sent him poorly made skins with requests to identify and return them, which in the case of single skins was

Plate 11`. Cover of *Stray Feathers* Volume VIII, No.1, 1879.



PETER ERICSSON

Plate 12. Rusty-naped Pitta *Pitta oatesi*, Chong Yen, Mae Wong, Thailand , 11 January 2010.

Plate 13. Gurney's Pitta *Pitta gurneyi*, Khao Noi Chu Chi, Krabi, Thailand. 5 March 2011.

ALEX VARGAS

K. C. LEE

Plate 14. Mongolian (or Henderson's) Ground Jay *Podoces hendersoni*, Qinghai province, China, 6 August 2008.

JIAWEI WU

Plate 15. Mongolian (or Henderson's) Ground Jay, Rubber Mountain, Qinghai province, China, 30 January 2009.

LAO-YE-ZI

Plate 16. Xinjiang (or Biddulph's) Ground Jay *Podoces biddulphi*, Xinjiang, Bayinguoleng, China, 18 June 2011.

JOHN & JEMI HOLMES

Plate 17. Tibetan Ground Tit *Pseudopodoces humilis*, Rubber Mountain, Qumuli ,Qinghai, China, August 2007.

very expensive. He was asked to supply specimens to commercial taxidermists; to value collections, and send them to Europe; to provide a reference collection for someone contemplating taking up ornithology; and to decide bets on the identity of a species based on a few feathers or sketch sent in for examination. 'From our correspondence one might fancy that the whole European population in India were deeply interested in ornithology,' he sighed, 'whereas there are barely fifty who care enough about it to do any *real* work and write usefully about it'.

Real work was at the heart of his ethos. In making William Davison a co-author of the huge single paper on Tenasserim that comprises volume 6 of *Stray Feathers*, Hume paid serious tribute to his friend and employee, who (p. i)

> in the case of more than 1,300 specimens… recorded most industriously the great mass of the measurements in the flesh, and the colours of the soft parts which are so often referred to... Those and those only who have collected personally on a large scale in a warm climate, and in wild, out-of-the-way localities, where none of the commonest necessaries of European life are available, can appreciate the perseverance and endurance that the prompt and punctual record of such particulars involves in the case of a man who has been already fagging through the jungle for 8 or 10 hours, and may have to sit up half the night to get the bodies out of his specimens before they become putrid.

And in reviewing one of the catalogues of birds that Sharpe so laboriously produced at the BMNH, Hume (doubtless mindful of himself) virtually turned scientific endeavour into a Victorian moral crusade (*SF* 4: 220–223):

> But even should he never live to accomplish *all* that he manifestly aims at, to *do* good work, is the noblest object any man can set before him. Whether the world at the time, or indeed ever, rightly recognizes the worker, is a minor consideration, so long as the work, which must bear due fruit in its appointed season, is really done;
>
> 'Worth is the ocean,
> Fame is but the bruit that roars along the shallows.'

Deeply grateful for the framework such catalogues and their synonymies represented, Hume defended Sharpe against any criticism that they might be premature, preferring to have the information now and put it to the test. So impatient was he for such material that the next catalogue Sharpe produced caused him (*SF* 5: 282) to declare:

> We must, like the daughters of the Horse-leech, persistently cry for *more*… At this rate the work will be complete in about 90 years, of which 80 will, so far as Mr Sharpe is concerned, (should he live so long which the Trustees can *hardly* expect) have been devoted to clerical labour, which could have been equally well done by far less-gifted men… With a proper staff of assistants… Mr Sharpe could probably deal with 2,000 species a year, and the whole catalogue might be completed… within 10 years.

He extended his impatience to his contributors, and they in turn extended it to him. Thus Scully (*SF* 4: 42) felt it necessary to make a paragraph-long *apologia* for the incompleteness of a massive (164-page) account of the birds of eastern Turkestan, explaining himself finally with: 'If after this, the reader says, "Then why publish at all?" I can only reply, "All complaints to be levelled at the Editor of 'Stray Feathers', at whose instance I prepared this paper".' Conversely, Hume was pressed into publishing the huge paper that occupies all volume 6 on the grounds that 'Collectors in Tenasserim protested that they *must*, and *would*, have a book on the birds of the province to help them, or they would leave off collecting'. Even so, another contributor, W. T. Blanford (1873: 220), giving notice of the first volume of *Stray Feathers*, clearly thought Hume *too* precipitate in his rush to name things as new, with the dry remark: 'The practice is common enough, it is true; but it is, I think, not followed by the best naturalists.'

Hume's answer to this was to keep the barrage of new species coming, under the title 'Novelties', albeit sometimes now suffixed with a question-mark; and the fact that as many as 148 taxa are still in usage suggests that he was right not to be deflected, and is certainly testimony to his acumen as a museum worker. Some of his insights seem particularly striking, such as his recognition that, based on a single specimen, the Large-billed Reed Warbler *Acrocephalus orinus* (which he called by the unavailable name *magnirostris*) was a good species, something that took 135 years to be confirmed (Bensch & Pearson 2002), or, unlike Ripley (1976), that the Forest Owlet *Heteroglaux blewitti* belonged in its own genus (*SF* 1: 467)…

> At first sight it would certainly be classed as an *Athene*; but the head is much smaller than in any of the *Athene*'s I possess, *viz.*, *brama*, *radiata*, *malabarica*, *cuculoides*, *castaneonota*. The nostrils are not pierced from the front, backwards at the

ROBERT PRYS-JONES

Plate 18. The type specimen of Large-billed Reed Warbler *Acrocephalus orinus*.

Plate 19. Forest Owlet *Heteroglaux* [*Athene*] *blewitti*, Melghat, Maharashtra, India. 10 February 2012.

JAMES EATON

> margin of a swollen cere, but are well inside the margin, and are pierced straight in. The upper surfaces of the toes, too, are not covered with bristles, but thickly feathered.

…or, by contrast, and contrary to Salvadori, that the two species of *Esacus* (thick-knees) do not merit being split into two genera, since they are almost identical in 'habits, attitudes, modes of walking, rising and flying', in their eggs except by their size, and in their 'note' (*SF* 5:121):

> In fact the two birds are own brothers: the one, (*magnirostris*,) the larger, stouter billed, stronger voiced, has settled on sea coasts, where… dealing with stout sea shells and strongly armoured marine crustaceans, it has per force developed into what we find it, while the other (*recurvirostris*,) confining itself strictly to sheltered banks of rivers, and feeding on delicate fresh water shells and crustaceans has remained comparatively feeble. The very difference in the shape of the bills may be directly referred to the different character of the food furnished by the different localities each affects… I must protest against the generic separation of these two species. No two species are more truly 'congeners'.

Of course he sometimes got things wrong. This would occasionally be simply a matter of timing, as when some of his attempted naming of species *stoliczkae* were thwarted owing to the late arrival of crucial books from Europe (*SF* 2: 536):

> Why I had not seen Gould's Birds of Asia is, that up to this time Mr Gould had refused to supply Parts 24, &c., to my booksellers, under the impression that I had purchased Parts 1–23 from some gentleman who had not paid for them, whereas in reality I got my copy from Messrs Wheldon. No one in Europe, I am sure, realizes the numerous disadvantages at which ornithologists in distant colonies are placed.

On other occasions he was simply mistaken, as when he thought that the ground-jays might be timaliine rather than corvine in affinities (Henderson & Hume 1873: 247), and he was certainly too quick and emphatic in his assertions, which often got picked up by Arthur Hay, who published as Viscount Walden and the Marquis of Tweeddale, and which led to some surprisingly spirited exchanges (see below).

By the time Hume's penultimate volume of *Stray Feathers* appeared (a twelfth volume indexing the entire series was produced by C. Chubb in 1899),

ARPIT DEOMURARI

Plate 20. Saunders's Tern *Sterna saundersi*, Jamnagar, Gujarat, India, March 2008.

Plate 21. Collared Babbler *Gampsorhynchus torquatus*, Kaeng Krachen National Park, Phetchabun, Thailand, 22 February 2008.

MIKE GILLAM

he was too distracted to make his customary major contributions, and indeed was virtually absent but for some reviews and new species descriptions, adding an unpublished essay on pelicans to the last part, which appeared as late as 1887 (*SF* 10: 487–502), long after he had parted company with ornithology. However, there is an essay 'On the flight of birds' (*SF* 10: 248–254) which, while beginning promisingly enough, contains an ominous undercurrent pulling him away from the life of science he had so fervently embraced. This was written during the period when Moulton (2002: lxxxi) speculated on his state of mind. Whilst exploring aspects of the flight of various species of birds, he dismissed 'that old exploded fallacy of air-cells filled with heated air', but came up with an explanation of his own that was no less outlandish: '*Æthrobacy*'—'an occult power, occasionally acquired by human beings, of raising themselves for a short distance above the surface of the earth, without any physical support or mechanical aids'. He cited levitating yogis, Catholic saints and 'hidden science' (a Theosophical concept) in support of his idea, and claimed that the sudden drop in flight of vultures he experimentally startled as they glided past him was the result of the interruption of this power. In this essay he was clearly under a novel and entirely unwelcome influence, to which his huge reputation was at risk of being sacrificed.

Decline and fall

Moulton (1992) attributed Hume's loss of interest in ornithology to 'Theosophy and Indian nationalism', but it is apparent from his central work on *Game birds* from 1879 to 1881 (Marshall's role in which was simply to supervise the production in London of the chromo-lithographs), and by the fact that he spent 1882 drawing together papers for his projected 'Birds of the British Indian Empire', that Hume maintained his interest in birds virtually throughout the period of his involvement with Theosophy. Indeed, his personal investment in *Game birds* was startling: Moulton (1992: 306) records that 'In reality, even though the publication was well received, Hume reported that in 1884 he was still out by £2,700, and that even if all the 1,000 copies printed were ultimately sold, his overall loss would be around £17,200'. But Hume had put so much of his money into ornithology over the years that even a figure such as this, astronomically high in today's currency, would not have been cause to pause.

Infinitely more significant was the crime that was perpetrated at Rothney Castle in that winter of 1882–1883 (not 1884 as in Marshall [1912] and Mearns & Mearns [1988]) when he was away in the lowlands. In Hume's own account (letter to Lord Ripon, 4 April 1884, quoted in Moulton 1992: 306), during this absence from Rothney Castle a disgruntled former servant broke into his library and 'gradually abstracted a large number of books, and an enormous mass of ornithological mss, which he tore up and sold, from time to time in the bazaar as waste paper'. All the notes for 'Birds of the British Indian Empire' were lost, as were 6,000 foolscap sheets that made up his museum catalogue.

> It was a truly crushing blow: the colossal work of over a quarter of a century thrown away! The dream of his life had, as it were, vanished. The great book could never be completed. There was nothing left for him to do but give up the task. Few knew how deeply he felt having to come to this decision, for he said but little (Marshall 1912).

With his back turned on further collecting by his vegetarian conversion, and his mind increasingly drawn to the nationalist movement, Hume evidently could not summon the will to reconstruct what had taken all the mature middle years of his life to accumulate. As he wrote to Sharpe in July 1883, when first broaching the concept of his collection coming to the BMNH, 'I have no heart to undertake the re-writing, for ornithology has no longer the interest for me that it once possessed' (NHM Archives, DF 230/30).

Even so, he did not immediately or wholly abandon birds; it took several further disappointments before his grip relaxed forever. Thus when he formally offered his collection to the BMNH in October 1883, his conditions included that Sharpe come to India for fully eight months to re-catalogue it and supervise its packing-up and transport, and that Sharpe's salary and rank be increased to reflect the gravity of this responsibility. The museum had reservations regarding such conditions and put counter-proposals to Hume that he in turn did not wish to accept. Hume therefore approached Lord Ripon (letter of 4 April 1884) to request that Eugene Oates, an emerging talent in imperial ornithology but by profession an engineer in the Public Works Department of British Burma, be assigned on special duty to work with him for 3–5 years not only to prepare the collection for the BMNH but simultaneously to co-author 'a complete avifauna of the Empire'. However, the India Office and the BMNH could not agree how to apportion the salary cost of this arrangement beyond the single year that the BMNH was willing to fund in order to prepare the collection for transport. Hume declined this (Moulton 2002: 308), and nothing more came of the idea of the 'complete avifauna'. (When Hume & Oates later co-authored the second edition of *Nests and eggs* that appeared at the end of the decade,

JONATHAN MARTINEZ

Plate 22. Rusty-capped Fulvetta *Schoeniparus dubius*, Shanli, Guangxi province, China, 7 August 2011.

HANNE & JENS ERIKSEN

Plate 23. Hume's Wheatear *Oenanthe albonigra*, Musandam, Oman, 4 January 2005.

Plate 24. Burmese Yuhina *Yuhina humilis*, Kalaw, Shan State, Myanmar, 21 February 2011.

JAMES EATON

Plate 25. Plain-backed Snowfinch *Pyrgilauda blanfordi*, Golmud, Qinghai, China, 24 September 2010.

YANN MUZIKA

Plate 26. Tibetan Siskin *Carduelis thibethana*, Laifens Park, Tengchong, Yunnan, China, March 2006.

JOHN & JEMI HOLMES

the 'Author's Preface' by Hume, still in India, and 'Editor's Note' by Oates, based in London, make it clear that Oates did all the new work, based on Hume's surviving notes.)

Meanwhile, heavy rains in 1883–1884 caused part of his museum to collapse and damage some of the tin boxes in which the skins were kept. The wet skins became infested by insects, threatening the entire collection. Hume undertook to dry and re-store all material after the end of the rains in the autumn of 1884, but the season proved unusually wet and at some stage he had to dispose of no fewer than 20,000 pest-damaged specimens, a staggering loss. Fortunately, however, as Sharpe (1885: 461) later recorded, 'the principal series, amongst which are the types, appears to be nearly intact, and the losses are nearly confined to the Ceylonese birds and to Mr. Chill's Oudh collection; but a large number of skins of Turdidae and Sylviidae also perished'. In January 1885 Hume, heavily committed to the Indian National Congress, alerted Sharpe to the impending disaster and his own inability to prevent it. Finally spurred into action, the BMNH dispatched Sharpe to India in April 1885; he reached Rothney Castle on 19 May, and reported what he found (Sharpe 1885: 457–458):

> All the specimens were carefully done up in brown-paper cases, each labelled outside with full particulars of the specimen within. Fancy the labour this represents with 60,000 specimens! The tin cabinets were all of materials of the best quality, specially ordered from England, and put together by the best Calcutta workmen… It did not take me many hours to find out that Mr. Hume was a naturalist of no ordinary calibre, and this great collection will remain a monument of the genius and energy of its founder long after he who formed it has passed away.

What Sharpe packed up in the next three months was 63,000 birds, 500 nests and 18,500 eggs. All told, 47 crates, each estimated by Sharpe to weigh half a ton, went to England. Sixteen porters were assigned to each crate to carry them the mile to the Simla bullock-train office, whence they were dispatched by bullock cart down to Kalka, thence Ambala, the nearest railway station, whence to Bombay, whence by P&O steamer to Plymouth in early August 1885. Hume's break with ornithology was now complete.

Hume in person: the boy at heart

Twinkle-eyed, walrus-moustached, confident, benign, well-bred and domineering, Allan Octavian Hume looks out from the two later portrait photographs we have of him with that natural mix of incontrovertible authority and rough but generous humour that characterise so much of his writings on birds. 'Gentle reader,' he finished his preface to *Rough notes* (Hume 1869–1870), 'if these notes chance to be of the slightest use to you, use them; if not, burn them, if it so please you, but do not waste your time in abusing me or them, since no one *can* think more poorly of them than I do myself.' This is not at all the modesty of a naturally modest man: it is much more the teasing challenge of a good-natured man who is better informed than everyone else, and who means exactly what he says.

His humour laces his seriousness, and for the most part it comes over as mischievous rather than dyspeptic, although the line is often fine. When advocating adherence to the Strickland Code (on zoological nomenclature), which he championed to the point of reproducing it for his Indian audience (*SF* 5: 355–379), he patriotically described it (*SF* 5: 276) as 'essentially a British one—it breathes a wise spirit of compromise; it is characteristic of the nation, in harmony with its whole traditions and practice, and ought to be sacred to all English Naturalists', to which he immediately added: 'Of course Continental nations will not accept it.'

A letter he wrote in 1885, a month past his 56th birthday, recommending to the Viceroy of India the man (William Wedderburn) who was to be his first biographer, contains a pleasing flash of self-knowledge. 'He is about 15 years my junior in service, and about as much senior in mind, for though I am an *old* one I still remain a boy at heart' (Moulton 2002: xxvii). Certainly that boy-at-heart kept him company throughout his ornithological career, popping up in rather unexpected forms and places (and eventually, perhaps, through his sheer impetuosity, getting the better of him). His second major paper in *Ibis* (1869: 1) began in the most bizarre fashion, even by mid-Victorian standards:

> 'Exalted highness, if it be pleasing to your noble temperament and there be leisure, several birds have laid eggs in your Honour's compound, and in the morning your Honour might see and take them.'
>
> So spoke my head fowler, or Meer Shikaree, last evening. By caste a Karol, tall, powerful, and handsome, a better sportsman or a greater liar probably does not exist.
>
> In season and out of season, with reason and without reason, he lies, lies, lies.

Later in the piece he furnished comical evidence of this irrepressible mendacity, dryly remarking 'It would not do for one of Her Majesty's judges to be seen kicking one of Her Majesty's subjects about his premises…', but his affection for the man is clear.

SARAWAT SAWKHAMKHET

Plate 27. Mrs Hume's Pheasant *Syrmaticus humiae*, Doi-Pui National Park, Thailand, 19 April 2008.

A similar wry humour sits at the heart of the long and delightful story of Mrs Hume's Pheasant *Syrmaticus humiae*. Hume found many species by himself, but the discovery of the pheasant he named for his wife (*SF* 9: 462–464)—perhaps as a thank-you to a woman who must have seen so little of him for the 27 years of marriage she had by then endured—was arguably the crowning glory of his ornithological career. Like Chapin with the Congo Peafowl *Afropavo congensis*, the first hint of its existence came from some ceremonial feathers, given to an envoy by the Maharaja of Manipur. 'I at once enquired about the bird to which these feathers belonged, and was informed that it [*sic*] belonged to the *Loe-nin-koi* which occurred in the extreme south of the Manipur territory…' This, however, was an area where no-one dared go for fear of murderous local tribes, and efforts to obtain a specimen on his behalf by one influential figure or another all failed. Undeterred, when he came to survey southern Manipur Hume gathered the most important officers of that region and made it clear that this bird 'had to be got', explaining with a characteristic literary twinkle: 'It was not distinctly said that every one would have their heads chopped off if we didn't get it, but a vague gloomy cloud of awful possible eventualities was discreetly left to veil the vista.'

The same tactic had to be tried rather more bluntly on some indigenous refugees who were recruited to infiltrate the no-go area. They demanded rifles, but Hume suspected that they would go on a revenge-killing spree if he agreed; so they ran off. Messengers warned them to return or be exiled from Manipur, which would be their death sentence. They came back, but demanded the weapons again. This time it took a convincing piece of acting by Hume's locally recruited envoy ('the sweetest-tempered and most patient old gentleman'), furiously announcing that he was going to execute them all for disobedience in the name of the Maharaja, caused them again to change their minds and comply, but as they finally set off on their mission they were joking and chuckling about their escape. The envoy explained that it was acting on both sides: the exiles always intended to fulfil the mission but were hoping to wheedle more rewards for their services; while he never intended to execute anyone. 'Sure enough, within the week they returned with one beautiful fresh skin and one perfectly uninjured bird in a cage, both unfortunately males'. The living bird quickly became tame and fed from the hand, but on the last day in camp the tent in which it was housed caught fire and it suffocated in the heat.

Throughout Hume's brief career in writing about birds, the sense of delight in their study, so obvious in the story of *Syrmaticus humiae*, is occasionally thrown into sharp relief by references to his 'day job'. He finished his birds'-nesting article with an extraordinary paragraph, almost Dickensian in tone and imagery (he was clearly a fan at least of *The Pickwick papers*, which he quoted to Lord Dufferin when he was recommending Wedderburn; see above). Ending with a quote from one of Longfellow's *Zeitgeist* poems, it gives us a keyhole glimpse into his life and time both as a judge and as a natural historian—the long day of public ministration, the long evening of private fulfilment:

> How the time flies! The great bankers' cases, double-cross actions, with heaven knows only how many reserve pleas, have come and gone, and the worthy gentlemen have, to the intense disgust of their respective counsel and attorneys, been induced by 'the presence' (your humble servant) to cease fighting about and spending their substance on nothing, and have mutually made all the little concessions necessary, and signed a full and complete quittance and release so thoroughgoing and simple that I will trouble the sharpest of our attorneys to get up any new case out of the old material; and I, after twelve hours on the bench, have sat far into the night, growing less and less tired every hour, scribbling this story of our morning's birds'-nesting, hoping that, perhaps, some desk-tied ornithologist like myself, 'seeing, may take heart again'.

Plate 28. Grey-headed Parakeet *Psittacula finschii*, Nagabwet, Chin State, Myanmar, December 2009.

JAMES EATON

The light-heartedness here is rather touching, in part because his enthusiasm is so innocent, and in part because, with the hindsight of history, the duality of the man worn down by duty and the man revived by nature takes on a sharper poignancy when the former overwhelms the latter after 1883.

The man revived by nature took great pleasure in the living bird, not just the taking of its eggs. There is a charming passage in *Ibis* (1870: 402) on one of the buntings where he describes pairs as they come to drink at a seep on a rockface, ending: 'Presently, one will fly up, making a pretence of swooping at the other; and then off they go, skirmishing up the hill-side, one after the other, like a couple of kittens'. He shot tens of thousands of birds in the course of his life and efficiently cut them up for skins and for data, but he several times hints at his discomfort at killing for science. Over a grebe he relentlessly pursued on the Indian Ocean he reflected on his eventual triumph: 'what I exactly wished was, that I could have got my specimen, and he remained alive and jolly all the same'… (*SF* 1:143); and over the Siberian Cranes that he collected he wrote (*Ibis* 1868: 32–33):

> The worst of ornithology is having to kill birds like these… I do not know how it is; but I have often wished that I could be quite sure that the wholesale murder of these and similar innocent animals merely for scientific purposes, and not for food, was quite right. Intellectually, I have no doubt on the subject; but somehow, when a poor victim is painfully gasping out its harmless life before me, my heart seems to tell me a somewhat different tale.

This empathy carried over into the way he credited those with whom he shared his passion for birds—even those who did more killing than he. Of his friend and employee William Davison he affectionately wrote 'It is a real misfortune that he so much prefers his gun to his pen… I do not pretend to have extracted half the information he possesses. I scarcely ever mention a bird to him without hearing something new about it…'; E. A. Butler was 'one of the most persevering, accurate and enthusiastic field ornithologists that India of the present day can boast' (*SF* 9: 264); and when Hume finally found the nest of a Black-winged Stilt

Himantopus himantopus he reported: 'The merit of this discovery belongs to Baboo Kalee Naraiju, one of my officers…' (*Ibis* 1870: 146).

But it was for those who paid the ultimate price for their good work that he reserved the strongest expressions of his estimation. The opening pages of volume 2 of *Stray Feathers* (1874) reveal the depth of his feelings at the loss of two men who devoted and indeed sacrificed themselves to zoology. Of Edward Blyth, whom he called 'the greatest of Indian naturalists', he wrote:

> Ill-paid, and subjected as he was to ceaseless humiliations, he felt that the position he held gave him opportunities for that work which was his mission, such as no other then could, and he clung to it with a single hearted and unselfish constancy nothing short of heroic. What Blyth did and bore in those days, no man now will ever rightly know.

Of the far younger Ferdinand Stoliczka he lamented still more deeply: 'of all who have lost by or grieved over the untimely eclipse of Stoliczka's genius, none have lost more than *Stray Feathers* or grieved more than its Editor'. At the end of the volume (pp.513–523) this grief sought expression in his establishment of a new genus and species in Stoliczka's memory ('This is the most singular new form that I have ever yet had to characterize, and in naming it I have sought to conserve, in the most prominent manner possible, the name of a dear lost friend'), followed by five further species bearing the name *stoliczkae*. Sadly none survived as full species, and the wonderful creature he called *Stoliczkana stoliczkae* proved to have been described not six months earlier as White-browed Tit Warbler *Leptopoecile sophiae* (Hrubý 2005).

Hume in public: the man at arms

Every reformer needs a good supply of optimism, and a radical one like Hume needed it in abundance. When after 1876 his endeavours were met with the frosty resistance of the conservative Viceroy Lord Lytton, Hume became even more combative and critical than previously, but also perhaps rather more cynical, and at least once this emerges in his ornithological writings, in his notable piece on the Calcutta market (*SF* 7: 479–498). In contrasting the delight of his early morning visits to the 'dear old market' with 'all one's official work' he observed:

> The fundamental principle, as is well known, of all public administration is to get hold of a man for a particular work, who knows something about it, and then to put him under some other man or men, who know nothing about it, but who, conscientiously anxious to earn their pay, 'meddle and muddle' in every case, and loyally take care that *nothing* is done.

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Plate 29. Plain Leaf Warbler *Phylloscopus neglectus*, Musandam, Oman, 4 January 2005.

There followed two further paragraphs repeating this point, suggesting a real sense of barely suppressed contempt for the system he was serving. He went on:

> Luckily, complex as our administration…is, and interfering as it does with most things on earth, and in the heavens above the earth, and the waters under the earth, it still leaves one free to exercise common sense and skilled knowledge in bazaar purchases…

Like his account of a day on the judge's bench, this has a Dickensian feel to it, a distinctive rage against the machine, but it more ominously suggests his waning sense of the tractability of the system he is part of and wishes to transform. Given that within a year of its publication he was out of his top job, one can only speculate what more explicit and blistering commentaries on the governance of India he posted to his superiors at the time.

The obituary Hume received in *Ibis* (1912: 661–663), omitting all mention of his ornithological achievements other than the donation of his collection to the nation and the fact he published many papers on Indian birds, is so measly a tribute that one wonders whether no-one could be found to account for his far-away-and-long-ago achievements, or whether some unforgiving, unspoken hostility towards him lingered in the British ornithological establishment. The phrase

that stands out in it as an explanation of his political downfall is a quoted reference to 'the impress of his vigorous personality'; and it cannot be denied that all his dealings and doings were pursued with such ebullience that they risked misinterpretation. His notable retraction (*SF* 2: 523–4) of a slur on an officer in the Nicobars (*SF* 2: 92–3) is evidence that he knew he could jump too rapidly to conclusions. Might the qualities that placed him at the heart of Indian ornithology, considered from another angle, also be the ones that isolated him there? If he was outspoken, was he also unfair? If he was impatient, was he also intolerant? If he could mock, was he also unkind? If he could joke about kicking his servant around a compound, might he actually have done it? Was there in truth a bully lurking in his ebullience?

The most sustained attack on Hume's character by a fellow ornithologist can be found in a letter of 28 January 1876 that the Darjeeling tea planter Louis Mandelli (1833–1880) wrote to an ornithological colleague, Andrew Anderson (Pinn 1985).

> Yes, Hume is a brute, in fact I call him a swindler as far as birds are concerned. What else would be thought of a man, who promised to help me—*and very grand and magnificent promises they were*—to make my collection of Indian birds as perfect as he possibly could, in order only to get out the best & the rarest things to be found up here, & then leaving me on the lurch now, as he has found out that I am no more his slave, subservient to his sneaking & bland manners & hypocritical ways? I should say that swindler is too mild a term for such a man after having got out from me about 5,000 birds & given only in return about 800, the commonest birds in India, 400 of which went down the khud, as they were not worth the carriage – And the barefacedness of the man, telling Captain C.H.J. [*sic*] Marshall last year in Simla, that he has given me more in return than *mine* were worth? *What* can be said after that? The only consolation I have in this matter is that I am not the only one who has been victimized!!!

It is difficult to know what to make of this bilious account, but it is sufficiently anomalous to suggest that it may tell us more about Mandelli than Hume. The son of an Italian nobleman, Mandelli's early life is something of a mystery, but by 1864 he was a manager of a tea garden in Darjeeling and a little later he married, eventually having five children. Initially successful in business, he was constantly frustrated by how his tea-planter life tied him down. In particular, having apparently become interested in ornithological collecting in 1869, his lack of time meant that he had to conduct this largely through (frequently unreliable) native collectors. Physically isolated in Darjeeling, he conducted a wide and seemingly cordial correspondence and numerous specimen exchanges with other Indian ornithologists although, in Pinn's words (1985: 25), 'Mandelli has a very high opinion of his liberality' in exchanges and clearly had something of a chip on his shoulder in this regard. From 1876 he encountered both business and health problems, which for unclear reasons seemingly led to his suicide in 1880. Whatever Hume in return really thought of Mandelli, at least in his publications he certainly praised him, and in 1874 had named Chestnut-breasted Partridge *Arborophila mandellii* in his honour. Ironically, as Pinn (1985: 29) noted, 'After Mandelli's death in 1880 Hume bought his entire collection which, for all we know, caused its owner the proverbial "turning in the grave". But all was well in the end, for his birds went with the Hume collection into the British Museum where Mandelli would have wished them to be'.

The ruthlessness and chicanery in Hume against which Mandelli railed simply do not ring true from all the other evidence we have (although the means by which Hume accumulated so many specimens so rapidly from his 'coadjutors' in the course of the 1870s is entirely unclear), but the hint at Hume's imperiousness ('I am no more his slave') carries a certain weight. Marshall (1912) wrote that Hume 'endeared himself to all who worked for him' and implied that his contemporary nick-name 'The Pope of Ornithology' was an affectionate one, but so emphatic could his pronouncements be that his readers may sometimes have used it as a jesting commentary on his infallibility. There is no doubt that, unfettered by the advice of an editor, Hume allowed himself in *Stray Feathers* the most astonishingly frank diatribes in all ornithology. These were directed first at Otto Finsch and then, far more personally, at Viscount Walden when the latter sprang to Finsch's defence. Of Finsch's work on *Psittacula* Hume wrote (*SF* 2: 2):

> Hodgson's name *schisticeps*, becomes *Hodgsoni*, 'mihi' and Jerdon's *columboides*, *peristerodes* 'mihi', of Dr Finsch. *Columboides* we are told is a Latin word, with a Greek termination (a wonderful discovery truly) a thing contrary to all the rules of 'word-building' and grammar. Very true, doubtless (most school boys are aware of the fact), but a *name* whether of man, or bird, *is* a name; a thing not to be altogether governed by *rules*, whether of 'word-building *or* grammar'.
>
> Let us treat our author as he treats other people's species. '*Finsch!*' contrary to all rules

> of orthography! What is that '*s*' doing there? '*Finch!*' Dr *Fringilla*, Mihi! Classich gebiltetes wort!!
>
> I asked an unsophisticated field naturalist here, what he thought of these Continental naturalists, with their eternal new names, and the everlasting '*mihi*' tagged on after them.
>
> 'Well,' he said, 'I guess the beggars can't discover any new species of their own, so they have dodged up this classical jim, to legalize their stealing other people's.'

The response by Walden (1874: 270 & 299) was an extended commentary that began with a certain good humour ('the footfall of Mr Hume is not usually deterred by angelic fears') but ended with a stinging reproach:

> The coarse jokes or vulgar personalities, standing alone, might have passed unnoticed; for a coarse and vulgar style is some men's misfortune, and though exciting in supersensitive temperaments sensations of nausea, is submitted to by the philosophic mind with a shrug of the shoulder or a smile of resignation. But the unscrupulous reviewer of the hard conscientious work of a brother naturalist risks incurring that deserved odium which, by the common voice, attaches to the judgments of an unjust judge.

Goaded perhaps by this imputation of his professional status, Hume's reaction (*SF* 2: 533–5) was startlingly, staggeringly candid:

> Viscount Walden… devotes no less than thirty pages to a vehement Philippic against the mildest and most inoffensive of mortals—need I explain—myself.
>
> …If now His Lordship straightway places the cap upon his own illustrious head, and then so loudly vituperates the humble manufacturer as to attract every one's attention to the excessive accuracy of the fit, surely I am not to blame if (despite the curious toadyism which in England so often places a titled dilettante in positions which only really eminent men of science could worthily fill) he finds *at last* his proper position in public estimation.
>
> …This tirade is not very amusing (but then his worst enemies never accused His Lordship of possessing the faintest perception of humour) nor very brilliant (but then his best friends never credited him with any striking capacities, except in matters of finance), but he has doubtless done his best, and it would be unkind to discourage him…
>
> As for Dr Finsch, he is cast in a larger mould; since my paper was published I have received a most friendly note from him, with copies of some of his more recent papers. I have no doubt that when he catches me tripping… he will duly flagellate *me*. So much the better; all we want is the truth… I for one am always quite ready to give and take in all good humour—and in the meantime he is too much of a *man* to allow literary controversies to disturb *his* equanimity.

That 'all we want is the truth' might be the key here: as a judge and senior administrator Hume was temperamentally accustomed to hearing and weighing the arguments for and against, and clearly enjoyed a certain partisanship in their manner of expression. Even so, it is hard from this distance in time to be confident that his seemingly endless sense of fun and teasing did not sometimes struggle to conceal a rather more choleric temperament.

The warfare with Walden, at any rate, continued unabated. The 'Pope of Ornithology' dubbed him the 'Autocrat of the Zoo' (*SF* 5: 238) and on the same page referred to Brehm as 'that multinominal miscreant'. Indeed, Hume's imagery at this point is so cheerfully wild that it looks to have been conceived under the influence of some intoxicating substance.

> It was against the malevolent machinations of these scientific wehr-wolves that I sought by adding a second name to save my poor little ewe lamb of a species. No true Briton could honestly meddle with *nitens*, and even the small and evil intentioned remnant of humanity excluded from that dignified and widely embracing designation could scarcely trample on *ambiguus*… I have furnished him [an imaginary interlocutor; from context Walden] with the fullest and most soul-convincing reasons, but Providence has, it would really seem, created him as incapable of assimilating these, as Trilobites were of digesting Roast Pork.

In a footnote to a dispute whether the frogmouth *Batrachostomus castaneus* is a synonym of *B. affinis* (which evidently eventually was decided in favour of Walden) Hume wrote (*SF* 6: 54)

> His Lordship… seems to think that any one who ventures to dispute his dicta is a public offender. This is very childish; we are all quite willing to give him full credit for all the good work he does and has done; but of course if he *will* mar the effect of this by flagrant self-sufficiency and an affectation of being the supreme authority

> in such matters, he *will* be laughed at, despite all his merits, and when he makes blunders, as he and *all* of us too often do, *of course* he *will* be more sat upon than other less pretentious mortals.

Mortal Walden certainly proved, much sooner than expected—one hopes not precipitated by Hume's repeated goadings—and in the first sentence of the preface to *Stray Feathers* 7 Hume recorded his death, which 'has inflicted a most serious, indeed almost irreparable, loss on Indian ornithology'.

But if Hume regretted his intemperate language towards Walden he did not show it, and soon enough found himself in familiar territory with another ornithological aristocrat.

> There is a wretched species, no.649 *ter* of my list, *viz.*, *Melaniparus semilarvatus*, of Salvadori, of which I have for years tried to obtain a description. At last I wrote to Salvadori himself, but he, though very kindly favouring me with all his more recent publications, will not come to the front about this particular species. I conclude it is a bad species. [*SF* 7: 458]

Salvadori (1879: 301) responded that the word 'wretched' seemed impolite and that he had never received a request from Hume on the particular topic. Hume's rejoinder (*Ibis* 1879: 488–489), treading a fine line between genuine deference and gentle sarcasm, preened itself on having at least flushed out an answer, but again emphasised (or took refuge in the excuse of?) his 'joking manner', ending with a conciliatory or pseudo-conciliatory 'I should be much grieved should you retain any feelings of displeasure in regard to the little joking paragraph to which you seem to have taken such serious objection... I remain, Dear Count Salvadori,...', etc. Yet he must have known he could have achieved his aim and spared himself much trouble if in his original he had simply used more considered language.

One might be tempted to assume that Hume's 'radical' upbringing predisposed him against all privilege and unearned status. His remarks about Blyth and the lesser men who were his 'superiors' suggest that he heartily despised those in the aristocracy whose presumption of authority was the upshot of birth rather than work. His intemperate view of them, indulged in ornithological circles, would surely have translated into something far edgier in the political sphere. Lord Lytton certainly found Hume 'full of crotchets' and with 'no tact' (Moulton 2002: lxxvi), and one can believe him. Ultimately, however, it seems that Hume did not discriminate in any way between people except in terms of their endeavour.

Hume and *hamartia*

Aristotle's definition of a tragic hero specifies a public figure of great virtue and esteem who falls from his position through *hamartia*, an error of judgement or flaw in personality. Given all he achieved, in his lifetime's unswerving, unstinting service to the causes of social justice, human wellbeing, education, development, natural history and India, Allan Hume was plainly and simply a hero, with no hint of the tragic about him. Yet in ornithology at least we need an explanation of the dreadful misfortune that befell him, and by extension ourselves, and we have nowhere else to look but at the man himself. While from his own extensive writings we have a strong sense of his hyperactive mind and cheerfully combative temperament, it is only after his death, in W. H. Griffin's deeply affectionate account of his employer at the South London Botanical Institute, that we get the insight that perhaps provides the best clue about Hume's exile from ornithology:

> Incessant industry was Mr Hume's own practice, and he naturally expected every one about him to follow him in this respect. He was intensely impatient with anything approaching idleness or lack of interest in their work on the part of those whom he employed... (Wedderburn [2002]: 96)

Here for the first time we find evidence that this great egalitarian, 'full of crotchets' as he may have been, sometimes directed his irritation as liberally downwards, to his employees and inferiors, as he did upwards, to his employers and superiors—and for precisely the same reason: not meeting his own high standards of service and care. Is this not the key to the termination not only of his professional career but also of his work with birds? We can do no more than speculate, but is it not likely that that same 'intense impatience' which goaded his superiors in the colonial administration was also visited without reserve on an idling servant in Rothney Castle back in 1882? How else might we explain the malevolence of the single act which, intentionally or not, brought Hume's great ornithological enterprise to an end? The victim of his displeasure must have plotted his revenge with some care, as evidently did his political masters in India. India, however, was fortunate enough to continue to receive his dedicated services for many more years after; ornithology can only lament the loss of a man of such commitment, energy and insight almost three decades before it was due.

Acknowledgements

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Note: For the sake of space we do not in the text give the full citation of Hume quotations from and references in *Ibis* and *Stray Feathers* (*SF*) but merely give year or volume, respectively, and page. For a full listing of these references, see the electronic Appendix.

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Appendix A
Major ornithological papers (>20 pages) and books by A. O. Hume

See Appendix D for a full list of Hume's ornithological publications

Hume, A. O. (1869–1870) *My scrap book; or rough notes on Indian oology and ornithology*. Part 1, no. 1 and no. 2. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press.

Hume, A. O. (1873) Contributions to the ornithology of India – Sindh. *Stray Feathers* 1: 44–50, 91–289.

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Hume, A. O. (1876) A first list of the birds of the Travancore hills. *Stray Feathers* 4: 351–405.

Hume, A. O. (1876) The Laccadives and the west coast. *Stray Feathers* 4: 413–483.

Hume, A. O. (1877) A first list of the birds of north-eastern Cachar. *Stray Feathers* 5: 1–47.

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Hume, A. O. (1877) Remarks on the genus *Iora*. *Stray Feathers* 5: 420–452.

Hume, A. O. (1878) Birds occurring in India, not described in Jerdon or hitherto in 'Stray Feathers'. *Stray Feathers* 7: 320–451.

Hume, A. O. & Davison, W. (1878) A revised list of the birds of Tenasserim. *Stray Feathers* 6: viii + 524 pp.

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Hume, A. O. (1879) A first tentative list of the birds of the western half of the Malay Peninsula. *Stray Feathers* 8: 37–72.

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Hume, A. O. (1888) The birds of Manipur, Assam, Sylhet and Cachar. *Stray Feathers* 11: 1–353.

Hume, A. O. & Oates, E. W. (1889–1890) *Nests and eggs of Indian birds*. 3 vols. Second edition. London: R. H. Porter.

Appendix B
Currently accepted avian species described by A. O. Hume

This list was generated by reference to the 'References of Scientific Descriptions' at the end of each volume of the recently completed *Handbook of the birds of the world* (1992–2011; Barcelona: Lynx Edicions [*HBW*]), plus searches on the Internet Bird Collection. Names as far as possible follow both *HBW* and BirdLife International (2012).

Mrs Hume's (or Hume's) Pheasant *Syrmaticus humiae*
Manipur Bush-quail *Perdicula manipurensis*
Chestnut-breasted Partridge (or Hill-partridge) *Arborophila mandellii*
White-shouldered Ibis *Pseudibis davisoni*
White-bellied Heron *Ardea insignis*
Himalayan Vulture (or Griffon) *Gyps himalayensis*
Saunders's Tern *Sterna saundersi*
Andaman Wood-pigeon *Columba palumboides*
Grey-headed Parakeet *Psittacula finschii*
Andaman Scops-owl *Otus balli*
Pallid Scops-owl *Otus brucei*
Hume's Owl *Strix butleri*
Forest Owlet *Heteroglaux* [*Athene*] *blewitti*
Black-nest Swiftlet *Aerodramus maximus*
Narcondam Hornbill *Rhyticeros narcondami*
Moustached Barbet *Megalaima incognita*
Rusty-naped Pitta *Pitta oatesi*
Gurney's Pitta *Pitta gurneyi*
Mongolian (or Henderson's) Ground-jay *Podoces hendersoni*
Xinjiang (or Biddulph's) Ground-jay *Podoces biddulphi*
Tibetan Ground-tit (or simply Ground-tit) *Pseudopodoces humilis*
Burmese Bushlark *Mirafra microptera*
Hume's Lark *Calandrella acutirostris*
Andaman Bulbul *Pycnonotus fuscoflavescens**†
Spectacled Bulbul *Pycnonotus erythropthalmos*
[Large-billed Reed-warbler *Acrocephalus magnirostris* = *A. orinus* of Oberholser who, in providing a new name, became the describer)]

Plate 30. Hume's Warbler *Phylloscopus humei*, Nandi Hills, India, March 2008.

CLEMENT FRANCIS

Plate 31. Wedge-billed Wren Babbler *Sphenocichla humei*, Eaglenest, Arunachal Pradesh, India, May 2009.

RAMKI SREENIVASAN

Plain Leaf-warbler *Phylloscopus neglectus*
Desert (or Small) Whitethroat *Sylvia minula**
Hume's Whitethroat *Sylvia althaea*
Rufous-fronted Babbler *Stachyridopsis rufifrons*
Collared Babbler *Gampsorhynchus torquatus*
Rusty-capped Fulvetta *Schoeniparus dubius*
Burmese Yuhina *Yuhina humilis**
Manipur Treecreeper *Certhia manipurensis**
Hume's Wheatear *Oenanthe albonigra*
Fulvous-chested Jungle-flycatcher *Rhinomyias olivaceus*
Plain-backed Snowfinch (or Blanford's Ground-sparrow) *Pyrgilauda blanfordi*
Tibetan Siskin (or Serin) *Carduelis thibetana*
Yellow (or Finn's) Weaver *Ploceus megarhynchus*
* = not accepted as species by Dickinson (2003); † = not accepted as species by BirdLife International (2012).

Appendix C
Currently accepted avian taxa named for A. O. Hume

This list was generated by reference to the index and text of Dickinson (2003).
Todiramphus chloris humii
Celeus brachyurus humei
Picus mentalis humii
Artamus leucorynchus humei
Aegithina tiphia humei
Pycnonotus leucogenys humii
Hypsipetes leucocephalus humii
Phylloscopus humei
Sphenocichla humei
Paradoxornis nipalensis humii
Sturnus vulgaris humii
Carpodacus puniceus humii
Coccothraustes coccothraustes humii

Appendix D
Complete list of ornithological publications by A. O. Hume
(available on OBC web-site, links at http://www.orientalbirdclub.org/publications/birdingasia/17.html)

Appendix E
Currently accepted genera and subspecies described by A. O. Hume
(available on OBC web-site, links at http://www.orientalbirdclub.org/publications/birdingasia/17.html)

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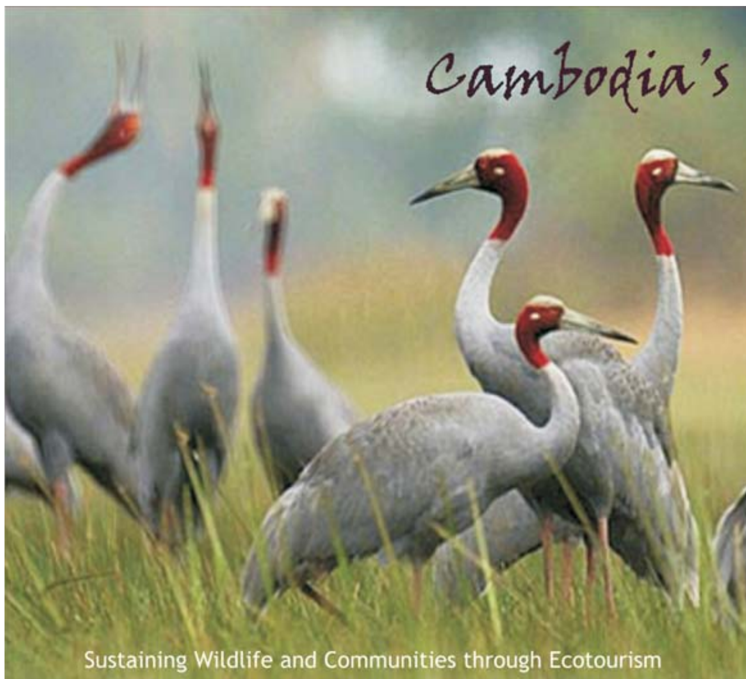

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