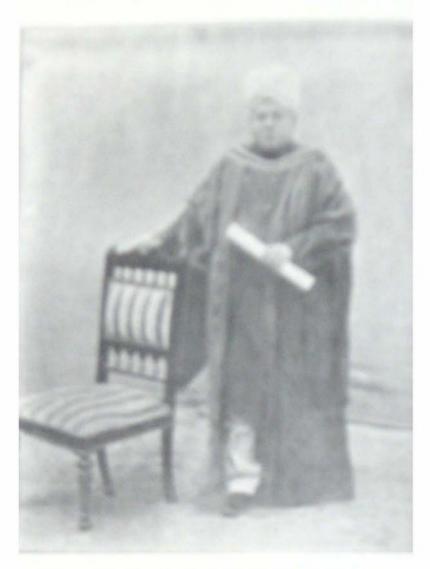
HISTORY OF KERALA.

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Mrs. K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.



THE LATE MS. S. P. PADMANABHA MENDS



WRITTEN, IN THE FORM OF

NOTES ON VISSCHER'S LETTERS FROM MALABAR.

ВV

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Visscher's LETTERS FROM MALABAR.

LETTER I.

Situation of Malabar—Signification of the name—First colonization according to the Native legends—Difference between the Highlands and Lowlands—The stone found in Highlands—Cheapness of provisions—Neither volcanoes to be found nor earthquakes ever experienced here.

Though the broad ocean which rolls between the Netherlands and Malabar presents a barrier to my personal enjoyment of your delightful society, it can neither extinguish my affection nor prevent me from holding communication with you by letter. I, therefore, despatch this, as the first tribute of our constant friendship, in which I propose to relate the origin of Malabar according to the tradition of the natives.

This country of Malabar' is situated about 10 degrees north of the Equator, stretching from Cape Comorin² in the south to Mount Delli³ in the north. The inhabitants are called by us Malabaris, by the Portuguese, Malavares, and by themselves Mallealler. This word properly signifies mountaineers, not that the inhabitants dwell amid lofty mountains, for the greater part of the country, stretching along the sea coast, is flat and marshy; but the name must be derived from the original colonists, who were a mountain race.

Their legend, doubtless embellished by fiction, is as follows:—In by-gone ages, the sea washed the foot of a mountain range, which now lies 7 or 8 miles inland. The men who dwelt in the neighbourhood gained their subsistence by fishing along the mountain shores. Now it happened that there dwelt at Gocarna near Goa, a certain prophet universally renowned for sanctity whose name was Paroese Raman. Discovering to his sorrow that his aged mother had acquired an evil notoriety in the neighbourhood for her misdeeds, he felt unable to endure the public shame she had brought upon him. At length, inspired by a divine impulse, he seized a rice winnow, and hurled it with tremendous

- 1. Note 1, pp. 1 7.
- 2. Note 2, pp. 7 -13.
- 3. Note 3, pp. 13-16.
- 4. Note 4, pp. 17-20.

force from Gocarna right over the sea: by a wonderful miracle, it was carried onward as far as Cape Comorin, upon which all the sea between the two places immediately dried up, and was trans. formed into that tract of level land, to which we now give the name of Malabar. The prophet resolved to take up his abode with his mother in this strange land, hoping here to find a hiding place for her disgrace. Meantime, the fishermen of the mountains hearing of the miracle, flocked into these lowlands and made for the seashore. The prophet met them, and, knowing that a land without inhabitants is waste and desolate, persuaded them to remain and settle there; and in order the more to attract them he invested them with the dignity of Brahmins, promising at the same time to support them according to his custom, by which he was pledged to provide food daily for 3,000 of that caste. He then took the fishing nets with which they were laden and tore them into strands, which he twisted together, to make the three cords which the Brahmins wear as a sign of their dignity tied in a knot on the shoulder, and falling down below the waist. These Brahmins of Malabar are called Namboories and are reproached by the other Brahmins for their descent from fishermen.

You will agree with me in treating this story as a mere fiction, but there is probably some foundation in fact for it, as there is for most fables: and any one who carefully examines these lowlands, will grant that formerly they must have been submerged under the sea. Not only do they lie so low that, like the coast of Holland, they are under water in the rainy season,

1. Note 5, pp. 20-22.

(Another account of this tradition is as follows: - When Parasuraman was doing penance on the mountain Mahandra, where, after having gained twenty-one victories over the Kchettries, he had laid up all his arms, the chief Munees or saints came to see him, and, having saluted him, advised him to cause the sea to recede, and to bring to light the land of Kerala,3 which had been submerged under the ocean in a former age. Parasuraman immediately went to the neighbourhood of Gokarnam and, hurling an axe, recovered the land from the sea as far as to where the weapon fell. The limits are Cape Comorin on one side, and Gokarnam on the other. There are three divisions, that of Kerala, Tulu and Heiga. From Cape Comorin to the river Kanyirota is the Kerala division. The middle portion from thence is the Tulu division. The last part is the Heiga division, the Loundary of which is the river Bashpasetu. These three divisions embrace what is now called Malayalim. Parasuraman, having thus created the land of Kerala, summoned the Brahmins from a foreign country,4 and made over the country to them, and giving chief authority to them over the employments and occupations of the four castes, namely the Brahmin, the Kchettry, Veyshya and the Sudra, he rested from his work .-H. D.)

- 2, Note 6, pp. 22-28.
- 3. Note 7, pp. 28-42.
- 4. Note 8, pp. 42-76.

but they are in many parts broken up into islets by the waters of the sea, which flow in channels! between them, and into which the rivers from the mountains empty themselves. May we not then suppose that this low and broken land is washed over entirely from time to time? We know that, in some European countries, the sea encroaches on the land, and in other places recedes. It is true, no doubt, that many parts of the shore are elevated. Nearly the whole coast from Kully Quilon to Ponnani is low and broken up by numerous water-courses but the coast of Ouilon² is steep and rocky, or rather it is merely a rock covered with a stratum of soil, so that here it would seem the land can never have been under water. While I am on the subject of this rocky district, I must add that the local stone is very well adapted for building. There are quarries here from which the stone is hewn; and I have seen a piece of this stone when being cut from the rock, split like wood under the stroke of the axe. The stone is reddish yellow and spotted,3 very porous and full of holes, in which the lime used in building, gets mixed up, and the whole becomes so well consolidated, that old stone is often preferred to new.

The East India Company find this stone very serviceable for erecting their fortresses and factories, and the inhabitants use it in building their houses.⁴

But to return from this digression. I must inform you that the variety of soil here causes a marked variation in the fertility of different districts. It is true, generally speaking, that the pleasant champaigns and sweet clover fields with which Holland abounds are not to be found here, nor is it the case that the fields are clothed with many coloured flowers, breathing sweet fragrance, as the poet Antonides has it, in his poem on the river Y.5

"Fruitful Cochin, where sweet blossoming May,

"For ever decks the earth with livery gay."

This is a poetical license deviating far from the real truth, as, commonly, the vegetation is but thin and scanty, and the fields are anything but rich in flowers. It is true, indeed, that the low sandy tracts are more fertile than the more elevated and rocky districts, for, while these yield nothing but trees and tree-fruits,

- 1. Note 9, pp. 76-83.
- 2. Note 10, p 83.
- 3. (Laterite, below which is found limestone6 and lignite. The cliffs rise to nearly 250 feet in some places.—H. D.)
 - 4. Note 11, p. 83.
- 5. (Antonides van der Goes, a Dutch poet who is clourished in the seventeenth century. His principal work was a poem on the river Y, or the "Ystroom". See Foreign Quarterly Review, Vol. IV, p. 57.)
 - 6. Note 12, pp. 83-85.

the former contain vast expanses of rice fields, which are so productive that they suffice to furnish rice not only for the whole of Malabar but also for exportation. It is curious that so dry a plant as rice grows in the water. In fact, the natives sow the nelp in the low lying meadows, at the time when they are a foot or two under water, scattering the seed in the water, through which it sinks to the earth, and there takes root; when about a foot high, the seedlings must be transplanted.

Provisions are all cheap here, especially rice and meat. A pig can be brought for a dollar, a good calf for half a dollar, a fowl for ten cents.² This must be attributed to the habits of the natives, among whom it would be considered a sacrilege to eat beef—merely to kill a cow being a crime punished by death without mercy. Some castes are permitted to eat other meats, but it is little done; the Brahmins have a mortal abhorrence of animal food, and make use of nothing that has had life.³

Upper Malabar is very elevated, and contains many mountain ranges rising one behind the other.⁴ It boasts few mineral productions,⁵ except iron, which is beaten out in small bars and exported to Mocha. There are no volcanoes in this part of the world, nor are any serious convulsions of the earth known. Indeed there has never been an earthquake within the memory of man,⁶ while, in the countries lying further to the East, both volcanoes and earthquakes are more common.

LETTER II.

On some disorders indigenous to the country and the causes of them— The distinction of seasons, and the effects thence arising.

The great respect I entertain for your judgment causes me to take up my pen with diffidence, being aware that my letters are not worthy to meet your eye; but I trust your kindness to overlook their deficiencies, and to be satisfied with my desire to inform you of all that I have observed in these distant lands.

I remember to have read in certain books of travels that there are men to be met with in the Alps whose necks are covered with swellings, and that the inhabitants look upon them as

- 1. Note 13, pp. 85-100.
- 2. Note 14, pp. 100-101.
- 3. Note 15, pp. 101-100.
- 4 Note 16, pp. 109-110,
- 5. Note 17, pp 110-120
- 6. Note 18, pp. 120-122.

ornamental.¹ Similar swellings are often to be seen on persons in this country; but here the disorder generally attacks the legs, and other parts of the body besides.³ The disorder always begins with a fever, which they here call the raging fever, which sometimes causes delirium, and, as the strength of the malady increases, great pain is felt in the legs or in other parts attacked: the fever then settling in the suffering part, causes it to swell in a frightful manner. In the commencement of the disorder, the swellings subside again, but, as the fever returns, at intervals of one or two months, or a longer period, they reappear and become permanent; so that men have been found with legs as thick as my waist and with other frightful swellings.²

This malady cannot be ascribed to any particular nation or race of men. I remember to have read that it attacks only the St. Thomas' Christians, and that they may be known by this mark; but nothing can be more absurd than such a notion, for we see every day people of all kinds, men and women, Mahometans, Heathens, and Christians, and even Europeans who reside here, attacked by it. You, who have given your mind to the investigation of the mysteries of nature, will, no doubt, be able to give a sufficient reason for these facts; but I trust you will have the goodness to weigh my opinion, which may possibly assist in the explanation.

I believe that the cause of the disorder is in the water and the soil, and partly also in the air, which is filled with vapour drawn up from the water. It appears that in the low parts of Malabar in the neighbourhood of Cochin, the earth is full of saltpetre or some other substances, which mingle with the water of the pools or rivers near the sea coast; and the people who constantly drink this water acquire a disorder and fever which causes at first shivering, and then drives the particles which occasion the fever into a certain part of the system. These particles, being sharp

- 1. (The author alludes to the goitre or bronchocele. The classical reader will recollect the line in Juvenal (Sat. XIII, 162) Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? The sufferers were called, 'Gutturosi'. It was formerly supposed that this glandular swelling only appeared in certain countries, such as Switzerland and Savoy, and that its origin arose from drinking snow-water. It is, however, found in certain districts of South America, Sumatra, and even in Great Britain, especially in Derbyshire, from whence it has been called the "Derbyshire Neck." Its origin is very obscure, but as it prevails in countries, both where snow exists and where it does not, drinking snow-water can no longer be asserted as the cause of its appearance.—H. D.)
- 2. (Elephantiasis. This prevails to a great extent among the inhabitants of the Western Coast; nor has any certain remedy hitherto been discovered for the disease, short of amputation of the diseased part. It is more than probable that bad water and bad diet, are its remote causes.—H.D.

pungent, cause great pain, and at last distend the small vessels in the afflicted region, which after the first access of the complaint, subside again, but after fresh particles have been driven in by fresh fevers, the enlargements not only remain fixed but increase in size. On the legs thus deformed, the flesh becomes loose and spongy, but this makes them light also, so that, however enlarged they may be in size, the patients can walk with ease.

These remarks of mine seem to be strengthened not only he the taste of the water of these lowlands, which is brackish and unpleasant, but by actual experience; for the people who are in better circumstances, and can afford to bring their water from a distance, from the river Mangatti, are seldom visited by the disease, while on the other hand, those who drink the water of the neighbourhood suffer therefrom. On this account, the East India Company has wisely ordered that this water should no longer he given out to the garrison, but water from the Mangatti instead. and it has been observed that the malady has been much less prevalent among the troops since that time. I must add that the iuice of the young cocoanuts is also very deleterious; and my neighbour said that he himself had caught the disorder from that cause. The reason is plain: for we know that the vessels of the cocoanut palm are of great width, so that it imbibes water from the earth just as it is, without detaching it from the particles of saltpetre; and in this state the fluid enters the young nut, the interior of which contains nothing but a sort of water, rather sweet in taste, and consequently it gives rise to the same disorder as the water of the wells.

I am so fortunate as never to have suffered this disease; though I could not escape another, which the natives term Malde-terre,' which attacked me almost every month, beginning with great uneasiness and pain in the bowels, and ending with violent sickness and diarrhoea. The Indians have a curious remedy for it, which is to take a hot iron and burn the soles of the feet with it. This often has a good effect.

Not to detain any longer with these painful topics², I shall now turn to descriptions of other natural phenomena and proceed to relate briefly the courses of the seasons in this part of the world.

One hardly finds here that difference of seasons which is experienced in Europe: for neither are heavy hailstorms, nor

- 1. Note 2, pp. 130-133.
- z. Note 3, pp. 134-157.
- 3. Note 4, pp. 157-160.
- 4. (Hailstorms have occasionally occured in these districts, though they are of very rare occurrence. One of unusual severity occurred only last month (April 1862) in the Town of Cochin itself.—H. D.)

thick falls of snow, nor hard frosts, ever seen or felt in these parts. One must divide the year into two Monsoons, or seasons. the one being the period of dry weather, the other the period of rain. The dry season may be divided again, first into a temperate season, when the air is tolerably cool: this begins in November. when the atmosphere is bright and clear; the S. E. landwinds then begin to blow, attaining their greatest force in January and subsiding again in February. They blow every morning during this period, and are found by experience to be prejudicial. After this follows the hot season, when the wind ceasing, the air becomes exceedingly sultry, especially in the forenoon and at night. because there is not the slightest breeze to cool it; whereas, in the afternoon, there is often a wind from the sea. In the month of May, the season begins to change. The heavens become overspread with the heavy clouds, and violent storms of thunder and lightning occur. I cannot find that these storms cause so much damage as among us in Holland, the cause of which I take to be the rarefaction of the air through the continued heat of the sun; so that the thunder and lightning, finding less obstruction, become more easily diffused and fall to the earth with diminished force. The rainy season sets in at the end of May or beginning of June, and lasts till October, bringing perpetual storms of rain, often accompanied by violent winds. It would be well-worth the trouble of any philosopher to enquire into the cause of this rainy season, and I consider it my duty to speculate upon it, because the phenomena afford some clue to the decision of the question.

In the hot season we find that the wind blows entirely from the North and West—on which account ships then coming from Persia and Surat have a speedy voyage. It is also certain that as, during that time, the powerful action of the sun causes a quantity of vapours to accumulate in those regions, and rain falls

I. (A knowledge of the monsoons may be traced from very early ages. Humboldt says that Alexander's companions were not ignorant of the existence of the monsoons, by which navigation was so greatly favoured between the Eastern Coasts of Africa and the North and Western parts of India. After having spent ten months in navigating the Indus between Nicaea on the Hydaspes and Pattala, with a view of opening the river to a universal traffic, Nearchus hastened to sail from Stura, at the mouth of the Indus at the beginning of October, since he knew that his passage would be favoured by the N E. and Eastern Monsoons in the same parallel of latitude. The knowledge of this remarkable local direction of the winds, subsequently emboldened navigators to attempt to sail from Ocelis on the Straits of Babelmandely, cross the open sea to Muziris (south of Mangalore), the great Malabar emporium of trade, to which products from the Eastern shores of the Indian peninsula, and even gold from the distant Chryse (Borneo?) were brought by inland trade—Cosmos.)

there as little as it does here, therefore the north-west wind must drive those vapours in a south-easterly direction, till they meet the mountain ranges which are a barrier to their further progress These mountains are the same which stretch from Cape Comorin through Asia. Now the vapours, as they approach these mount. ains, get more and more condensed, till at length, in the month of May, they are forced down by violent winds, then rebound again, and finally descend in rain on all places situated west of the chain. That these mountains are the true cause of the rainy season appears from the circumstance that when the rainy season sets in on this side of the chain, on the other side, just at the same time, the dry season begins. Hence we are frequently astonished to find that in two places on opposite slopes of the same mountain, one has the rainy and the other the dry weather at the same time: and when, on our side, the rains leave off and the southeast winds begin to blow, just then the rains commence of the Coromandel Coast.

And while we are on the subject of the weather, I must observe that, in these countries, storms do not last so long as with us in Holland: for, while, there, we often know them continue without intermission for two or three days, here, on the contrary highwinds never maintain their violence beyond an hour or two, when a calm ensues, after which the wind rises again: resembling in this circumstance the sudden whirlwinds (Travades) which navigators encounter in the tropics, and chiefly near the Equator. These storms come on very quickly, and generally end as suddenly. First, a small cloud is seen, which increases rapidly, and then whirled onwards by a strong wind, bursts in heavy rain. It is very curious to observe how suddenly the clouds gather in the midst of a clear and hot atmosphere. It would seem that some vapours in the lower portion of the atmosphere are prevented by the powerful action of the sun's rays from collecting together. then driven up higher than usual, they encounter a cooler stratum of air, by which they are condensed together with all the other vapours that meet them by the way (like the steam condensed on the lid of a tea-kettle); then, urged forward like an ever-increasing snowball, by the force of the wind and the heat of the sun, they become over charged with weight, and finally precipitate themselves to the earth. A description of this kind of storm or something like it seems to be given us in 1st King's XVIII. 44. 45 .- "Behold a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand rose out of the sea * * and it came to pass in the meanwhile that the heavens were black with clouds and wind, and there came a great rain."

In conclusion, I will note the effects of the rainy season on our roadstead. This it closes up entirely and chokes with sandbanks, on which the repelled waves break with violence. These sandbanks begin to form in the month of May and are washed away in September and October. Their formation and their destruction are owing partly to the action of the river, and partly to that of the sea; for, at the commencement of the season the river empties itself with great impetuosity into the sea, dragging with it a quantity of sand: on the other hand, the waves of the sea acting in the opposite direction, stop the progress of the sand just where the two bodies of water break upon each other. This is the reason why the sandbanks at that time are constantly augmenting; but, when the force of the sea subsides, and the river has still a vast weight of water to carry down, then the sandbanks are washed away again.

LETTER III.

Description of Cochin and Calicut-Conduct of the English there.

I must now give you a description of Cochin, the place where I am settled. It was wrested, as you are no doubt aware, together with other forts, from the Portuguese, by the arms of our East India Company. During the war with that nation, in the year 1662. the Admiral, Ryklof van Reede, was despatched from Batavia with a fleet to besiege this town; but the Governor defended it with so much resolution that the attempts of the Admiral were foiled, and the mortality among his men compelled him to retreat. The courage of the gallant sailor was not cooled by this failure. At the close of the same year, he returned with a fleet, and, after some conflicts, a Captain named Pierre du Pont succeeded in making himself master of one of the gates; upon which the Governor, Ignatio Sarmento, capitulated, being allowed to march out with his troops and baggage, and with all the Portuguese inhabitants with their false gods and images.2 This conquest took place on the 8th of January 1663; and the anniversary is still celebrated by a sermon in the morning, and in the evening by the display of banners and discharge of guns from the walls.

The principal founders of Cochin were Francisco and Alphonso Albuquerque, who visited this country in 1504, in the reign of king Emanuel of Portugal.³ It was afterwards much enlarged and beautified under Vasco, so that it became one of the wealthiest

- 1. Note 1, pp. 161-183.
- 2, Note 2, pp. 183-207.
- 3. Note 3, pp. 207-210.

commercial towns in the Indies, and was erected into an Epiecopa; See by the Roman Pontiff. The Portuguese have still a titular Bishop of Cochin, whose residence is at Goz or near Quilon : but he does not possess the slightest authority here. This town formerly contained handsome churches, but they have been either demolished, or converted into magazines. The Church of St. Francisco alone remains, and is used for our reformed service; while the Roman Catholics perform their services outside the city, having several churches scattered over the country. Before it fell into the hands of the East India Company, Cochin must have been a considerable town, as is proved by the remains of buildings which are everywhere to be seen; but, since that time, it has become much less prosperous, in consequence of the restrictions imposed by the Company upon its commerce, which, under the Portuguese, had been entirely free, with the exception of the titles due to the Raja. The town is situated at the mouth of a noble river abounding in fish. with pleasant well-wooded banks, and studded with many islets which are planted with cocoanut palms. If wealthy persons ever settled here, as they do in Batavia, they might lay out very pretty villa residences and gardens upon these shores.3

As regards the fortifications, 4 they are sufficient to protect the town against the natives, who do not understand the science of besieging, the methods of bombarding, etc., but they would not be strong enough to resist a large European force, especially as the garrison, consisting of only 300 men, is inadequate to man the walls.

The circumference of the town is tolerably extensive. It would take a man a good half hour to walk round the walls, but the space enclosed by them contains several unoccupied portions. The streets are regular enough, but the houses are quaint, and built after the old Portuguese fashion. Each apartment has a separate roof. The dwelling rooms are not level with the ground, but you mount several steps to reach the hall, which is the first apartment of the house: underneath are empty chambers, in which probably the Portuguese lodged their slaves, or stowed away their goods. Most of the rooms in the common houses are plastered, after the Hindoo custom, with cow dung, which serves for paving, and is renewed every week. They say here that such floors are much more wholesome than stone ones; it is certain at least that they retain the dampness in the rainy season.

The town of Cochin is inhabited by Christians, for the Heathens are not allowed by their own laws to dwell in it. 5 The

- 1. Note 4, p. 210.
- 2. Note 5, pp. 210-212.
- 3. Note 6, pp. 212-213.
- 4. Note 7, pp. 213-215.
- 5. Note 8, p. 215,

inhabitants comprise, however, different classes: there are the native Christians, the Topasses, and the Europeans; the last, who form the most considerable portion of them, comprising also the mixed race, sprung from European fathers and native mothers. This is the class chiefly employed in the service of the East India Company, though they seldom rise to higher offices than that of book-keeper.

There is a very commodious roadstead at Cochin, in which several ships from all parts of the world annually cast anchor; as Malabar, situated as it were in the centre of the East Indies, is a convenient station for vessels to refit and take in water, fuel, and provisions (which articles are good and plentiful here) before continuing their voyage, vessels from Batavia to Mocha, or from Persia and Surat to Batavia, touch here, as well as French and English ships on their way to and from their Indian settlements. It is also frequented by Moorish vessels. It is true that none but small craft can enter the river, on account of the sandbanks, above which are not more than eleven or twelve feet of water; and in the rainy season, large ships cannot remain in the roadstead: but about four leagues from Cochin is a bay called Muddy Bay, where they may lie securely in the mud.²

Next to Cochin I shall place the capital of Malabar, Calicut,³ which has been made famous by Portuguese books of travels,

- I. (Mud Bay or Muddy Bay, is the commercial port of Alleppie in the kingdom of Travancore, 36 miles south of Cochin, remarkable for the singular natural break-water formed in the open sea, consisting of a long and wide bank of mud, the effect of which is so completely to break the waves, that ships of all sizes can securely anchor even at the stormiest season of the year in the open roads, where the water is perfectly calm. The origin of this deposition of mud, has never been satisfactorily accounted for. It imparts a dirty colour to the water and makes it thick and slimy. It has shifted more or less within the last century, but not to any great extent. A similar deposit exists at Narakkal about 20 miles north of Cochin, and the advantage of this latter place, as a natural open harbour for shipping, has recently been brought to the notice of the British Government —H. D.)
 - 2. Note 9, pp. 215-227
 - 3. Note 10, pp. 227-239.

(The well-known city of Calicut, which has experienced such a variegated fate, lies on the sea-coast, in the latitude of 11° 15' north. It consists partly of houses constructed of teakwood, and partly of huts composed of palm branches interwoven through each other, and covered with palm leaves. Of stone buildings there are very few. The fortress of Calicut is of much greater antiquity than the city to which it has given its name. The natives of Malabar believe that it was built by Cheramperamal from whom all the petty Malabar princes are descended. This city was raised almost to the ground by Tippoo Sultan, who destroyed its flourishing trade expelled from the country the merchants and factors of the foreign commercial houses: caused all the cocoanut and sandal trees to be cut down, and

and also by its being the seat of Government of the Zamorin. This town is called by the natives Karrekovre, which signifies hencoop. The reason they give for this name is that when Cheramperumal divided his kingdom, he gave to the Zamorin for his share only so much land as the sound of a cock crowing from its perch could be heard over. You must not suppose that this town is in any way to be compared with those of Europe, or that it comes up to the exaggerated descriptions of the old Portuguese travellers. It possesses neither walls nor fortifications of any sort. but is built irregularly along the shore. In the bazaar or market place alone is there any order in the arrangement of the houses. These, which are mostly built of stone and covered with the dried leaves of the palmyra tree, are of so miserable a description that they can be compared to noth. ing one sees anywhere else. Being a free port, Calicut is frequented by various races. Among the Europeans, the English and French have factories there, the former being the most influentiaal.1 The Moors also are in great force, and form the majority of the inhabitants.2 They are not very favourable to the English. whom the fear of the Zamorin alone prevents them from attempt. ing to expel from the city. Mr. Adams, the head of the English in these parts, never ventures into the streets unarmed, which is a plain proof of the fear he entertains of the inhabitants. The English, depending on the favour of the Zamorin, do not refrain from injuring the Mahometans in underhand ways. They will inform the bandits who lurk in the vicinity, some seven or eight leagues from the town, when the Moorish Almades (or small vessels used for trading along the coast) are about to depart with merchandize, so that they may take the opportunity to pillage them.

Calicut, though still a commercial town, is falling into decay. Many ships, both English, French and Moorish, however, keep up their trade with it, because there are no restrictions on commerce, with the exception of a duty of 5 per cent paid to the Zamorin on all imports, to enforce which he keeps officers stationed here. As the English have the largest business, they are the most favoured by the Zamorin, whom also they often supply with money when he is in want of it.

ordered the pepper plants in the whole surrounding district to be torn up by the roots, and even to be hacked to pieces, because these plants, as he said, brought riches to the Europeans and enabled them to carry on war against the Indians.—Bartolomeo's Voyaze to the East Indies.

- 1. Note 11, pp. 239-248.
- 2. Note 12, pp. 248-249.

Mr. Adams, the head of the English in this place, was brought up there from a child, and having, from his youth, traded with the people of Malabar, he acquired a familiarity with their language which gained for him much influence among them. In consequence of this advantage, he was chosen by the English as their Governor. Being an enemy to our Company, he incited the Zamorin to the late war, himself lending, in order to promote it, 100,000 rix dollars, with which that Prince defrayed the expenses of the war. We have no reason to doubt this story, since he even sent English officers to assist the Zamorin, to defend Fort Paponette against our arms. Nay more, when Chetwa was conquered by the Zamorin, and our people expelled, the English immediately erected a factory there, in order to secure the pepper-trade; this factory was destroyed when the fort was re-taken. From all this, it is evident that the Dutch have but little good to expect from the English, and that they cannot prevent that people from playing their game slyly whenever it is in their power. The English cannot but look with envious eyes upon the great influence our Company possesses in India, and the confidence they inspire among the nations with whom they trade. It would be hetter if our neighbours would examine more closely into their own behaviour, and see whether their arrogance is not the cause of the mistrust and dislike with which they are regarded.

I will relate an instance of this sort of conduct which took place at Calicut in the year 1720. The English officer, Second-in-Command there, went out one day to drive in his carriage. It happened to be a day when the great national assembly of the Malabars2 was collected in the open air to deliberate on the affairs of the State. The Englishman, in order to show his contempt for them, instead of making a circuit, drove right through the multitude, in spite of their entreaties that he should desist from such unbecoming conduct, which threw the whole assembly into the utmost confusion. On the following day, when the assembly met again at the same place, the Englishman chose to shew his courage by driving through it again with some ladies who were in his carriage. This time the people were so incensed at the repetition of the outrage, that they struck their hands to their weapons and cut the carriage to pieces, and the hero and his amazons had to escape wounded to their homes. Though this was no more than the miscreant deserved, yet Mr. Adams, declaring that the conduct of the natives was cruel and inhuman, left Calicut and threatened to set the bazaar on fire. The Zamorin, who reaped so much

^{1.} Note 13, pp. 249-250.

^{2.} Note 14, pp. 250-269.

profit from the English trade, managed to pacify him and to recall him to Calicut, but as the bad feeling of the natives towards the English still exists, he distrusts them and spends most of his time at Tellicherry.

LETTER IV.

Description of Quilon, Aiwike, Kully Quilon, Porcad, Cranganur, Paliport, Chetwa—Dutch fortresses in Malabar—Narrative of the late war—Cannanore, Anjengo, and Tellicherry belonging to the English—Eddawa, formerly a possession of the Danes, but not abandoned.

Your laborious but honourable office being connected with military affairs, it seems fitting, in writing to you, to blow the trumpet of war, and I shall therefore proceed to relate the history of the last which occurred in Malabar. I will give you also a description of the forts situated in that country, that you may conceive a clearer idea of the whole.

About 30 leagues south of the town of Cochin, is the Fortress of Quilon, which was conquered by the Company from the Portuguese. It was formerly a town, 2 but is now only a petty fort, and as the sea washes, and has been undermined, a portion of the walls, it has now been resolved to reduce it on that side, so that some of the inhabitants will be forced to break up their houses, and take up their abode outside the walls. This fort is of use in vesting the power of the Rajahs of Travancore and of Signati,3 in whose domains it is situated; and as an outpost against the foreigners, especially the English, whose fort at Anjengo is at no great distance. The Fortress of Quilon commands the bay of the same name: tolls are levied from the native traders, and licenses (passen) issued to them. It possesses little territory inland. besides the plain; on the sea side the boundary is marked by a gate with four stone pillars. There are certain stations in this province, such as Tengapatnam in the south near Cape Comorinwhich serve principally as places for the despatch of letters, and for cutting millstones and other stones used in the service of the East India Company. A good deal of linen also is woven here, though the trade belongs to Tutacorin. North of Quilon are

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 - 2. Note 1, pp. 270-292.
 - 3. Note 2, p. 292

some other factories, among which are the great and little Aiwike, situated at the mouths of rivers, where the Company stations corporals with some coloured soldiers to prevent the smuggling trade in pepper.

The factory of Kully Quilon is especially noteworthy, being the first which the East India Company possessed in Malabar. The Rajah of Kully Quilon was the first sovereign who admitted the Company into his territories, though he would not grant them permission to erect a fort. About 400,000 lbs. of pepper are annually purchased by the Company in this place.²

Poracad³ is a second factory, situated nearer to Cochin. This also bears the name of the kingdom in which it is situated, A considerable quantity of rice is produced here owing to the fertility of the low-lands. The Company obtain the same amount o pepper here as in Kully Quilon.

There are three forts belonging to the Company to the north of Cochin, where more danger is to be apprehended from hostile powers. Cranganoor is about fifteen miles from Cochin in this direction, situated at a bend of the river of the same name. was once, as the Portuguese travellers tell us, a considerable town.4 but it is now merely a small, though strong, fortress, and it formerly served as a restraint upon the power of the Zamorin: but this object has ceased to exist, since that prince has withdrawn from the neighbourhood, and the Company's territories have been extended particularly during the late war. The fort serves now as an outpost against the Raja of Cranganoor, a very feeble potentate, and vet more against the Raja of Porcad, whose territories lie on the opposite side of the river.5 It is also of use as a preventive station and against the smuggling trade, and the transit of prohibited goods; as well as in levying certain tolls for the East India Company. The station of Palliport 6 is in the same province; it is situated at the mouth of the river Cranganoor, which falls into the sea three miles from the town of the same name, and takes its name from a strong quay which was formerly garrisoned, but is now abandoned, as there is no enemy to be feared in the neighbourhood; and the place is only tenanted by a corporal and a few black soildiers. Like other forts it is used as a preventive station.

- 1. Note 3 pp. 292-293.
- Note 4, pp. 293-294.
 Note 5, pp. 294-297.
- 3. Note 5, pp. 297—328.
- 5. Note 7, pp. 328-329.
- 6. Note 7 (a), pp. 329-330.

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- 2. Note 4, pp. 293-294.
- 3. Note 5, pp. 294-297.
- 4. Note 6, pp. 297-328. 5. Note 7, pp. 328-329.
- 6. Note 7 (a), pp. 329-330.

Visscher's LETTERS FROM MALABAR.

LETTER XX.

Of the Nairs, or warrior caste of Malabar. Their families, occupations, mode of warfare, and numbers.

This letter shall be devoted to a minute account of the Nairs or warriors of Malabar 1, who attained much celebrity during the wars between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. They may be justly entitled born soldiers, as by the virtue of their descent they must always bear arms 3. They constitute the third and last of the honoured castes under the name of Sudras, 3.

Their ceremonies and observances coincide in a great measure with those of Chetriabs: like these they are allowed no lawful wives, and the children always belong to mother's family. Another point of resemblance between these castes is that their corpses are always burnt, a privilege which belongs exclusively to the higher castes; the members of the inferior ones alone are interred. The ceremonies observed on the birth of a child resemble also in many points those of the Chetriahs. At the age of 12 years a Sudra child begins to learn the laws of his caste, and when he has attained his 16th he first takes up arms. 4

The Sudras may be divided into two classes b: the nobles and the commons. The following are the noble families—Nambedi b. Nambiar 1, Samandra Bellates, Patitsjan b, or Belette Nairs, Bellalen or Bellares 10, Wellekoc Tallenairs 11, who are barbers and much esteemed, as they were privileged by Saueratojaar 12

Intoductory Note Part 1. On Malabar Castes pp. 1-25.
Do ,, 2. On Nambutiris pp. 26-136.

Do , 5. On Kshetriyas pp. 136-144.
Do , 4. The Antaralas pp. 144-161.

1. Note 1, pp. 161-337.

This is put in as Part V of the Introductory Note.

- 2. Note 2, pp. 338-342.
- 3. Note 3, p. 342-
- 4. Note 4, pp. 343-7-
- 5. Note 5, p. 317.
- 6. Note 6, pp. 347-3.
- 7. Note 7. pp. 349-9.
- S. Note S pp. 349-352.
- 9. Note 9, p. 352.
- 10. Note.10, p. 353.
- 11. Ncte 11, p. 353.
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- 4. Note 4, pp. 313-7.
- 5. Note 5, p. 317.
- 6. Note 6, pp. 347-3.
- 7. Note 7, pp. 349-4.
- S. Note 8 pp. 349-352.
- 9. Note 9, p. 152.
- 10. Nota.10, p. 353.
- 11. Note 11, p. 353-1 12. Note 12, p. 353-

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About to leagues south of the town of Cochin, is the Fortress of Quilon, which was conquered by the Company from the Portuguese. It was formerly a town,2 but is now only a petty fort, and as the sea washes, and has been undermined, a portion of the walls, it has now been resolved to reduce it on that side, so that some of the inhabitants will be forced to break up their houses, and take up their abode outside the walls. This fort is of use in vesting the power of the Rajahs of Travancore and of Signati,3 in whose domains it is situated; and as an outpost against the foreigners, especially the English, whose fort at Anjengo is at no great distance. The Fortress of Quilon commands the bay of the same name: tolls are levied from the native traders, and licenses (passen) issued to them. It possesses little territory inland, besides the plain; on the sea side the boundary is marked by a gate with four stone pillars. There are certain stations in this province, such as Tengapatnam in the south near Cape Comorin. which serve principally as places for the despatch of letters, and for cutting millstones and other stones used in the service of the East India Company. A good deal of linen also is woven here. though the trade belongs to Tutacorin North of Ouilon are

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- 4. Note 6, pp. 297-328.
- 5. Note 7. pp. 328-329.
- 6. Note 7 (a), pp. 399-330.

Chetwa is another fort about twelve leagues from Cochin, serving partly to protect commerce, and partly as a defence against the Zamorin, whose dominions lie contiguous. It stands at the mouth of the river, and is, at the present moment, the strongest fortress in Malabar. Its erection, seven or eight years ago, cost us a severe war which lasted several years, and the history of which is worth relating.

The East India Company having resolved to build a new fort? gave oders to B. Ketel, the Commandant of Malabar, to finish it as speedily as possible. This alarmed the Zamorin, who knew it was intended to curb his power on this coast. He accordingly left no means untried to impede its progress; and succeeding by fair methods, he determined to try force. fort was now almost completed; and he saw that the time for his attempt was come. He was encouraged by learning that the garrison, consisting of 48 men, were lodged outside the half finished fortress, and that none of the requisites had been provided for its defence. This shewed the greatest want of foresight in the Commandant, who had received intelligence of the intended attack, and ought therefore to have increased his garrison, to have made convenient places for artillery, and ordered his men to keep within the walls, and be on the alert. The Zamorin perceiving his advantage, crossed the river at night with 600 men, who were soon followed by more; and all was effected so quietly, that about 4 o'clock in the morning of Jan. 22nd, 1715, they surprised the soldiers who were sleeping in their huts before the fort. They took to flight in great alarm, and the Zamorin obtained possession of the place without striking a blow. Near the fort was a pagger3 of the East India Company built of palm trees,

- 1. Note 8, pp. 330-331.
- The following account of this transaction is given by Captain Alexander Hamilton, who travelled among the East Indies between the years 1688 and 1723:- 'The Dutch were building the fort of Chetwa, and the Zamorin got some of his men under the disguise of labourers to be employed by them, and to take an opportunity of surprising the Dutch. The two lieutenants who had the overseering of the work were one evening diverting themselves with a game at tables in a guard room about half a mile from the fort. They had let some of their soldiers go straggling about, and the disguised natives took the opportunity to kill the sentinels the ambuscade, and take the half built fort. One of the lieutenants, in attempt ing to retake it, was killed; the other, thinking it impracticable to attack greater forces within than he had without, embarked for Cochin with his men. I was fortuned to be at Cochin when he and his men arrived, and by a Court Martial he was sentenced to be shot, which sentence I saw executed. The Zamorin caused the English flag to be hotsted, and the fort was destroyed." -Trans.
 - Note 9, pp. 331-332. A pugger appears to be a small fortified village or hamlet.

the interstices filled with earth and rubbish so as to make a hreastwork to which the fugitives hastened announcing their misfortune. Ensign Stock, who was in command of the place, received the tidings with consternation, and having but a very weak garrison, while the enemy's force was continually increasing. he made no attempt to expel them. For this neglect, capital sentence was pronounced against him by the Council of Justice sitting at Ceylon, God knows with what right, and he was shot. only a few weeks after he had been elevated to the rank of lieutenant. When the tidings of this disaster reached Cochin, it caused a universal panic among the Dutch, and gave rise to a spirit of indolence among the natives, who thought that we were ruined. Commandant Ketel resolved to march out of the city with three companies, which formed the greater portion of the garrison, leaving orders that the artificers, sailors and scribes should man the walls. He advanced rapidly, taking with him three pieces of artillery, and two mortars, and hastened to Chetwa. Mangatatva. the Zamorin's general, stationed himself with his troops to obstruct his passage, but as soon as they felt the power of our cannons and musketry, they took to their heels; many were cut down, others drowned in the river, and others took refuge in the fort at Chetwa, where their defeat caused a great panic; and there is no doubt that, if the Commandant had followed up his victory by attacking the fort, the enemy would then have ahandoned it in alarm. But instead of this, he marched with his troops into our neighbouring pagger, and thus gave time to the enemy, who were totally unprovided. to supply with necessaries by aid of the English themselves Calicut, and to barricade the entrances to the fort; proving themselves in this last measure wiser than our people, who had left the gateways unprovided with doors. At length, on the 1st February. the Commandant resolved to assault the place, and scale the walls: but oh folly! when the troops reached the walls, they found that they had neglected to bring scaling ladders, and were consequently forced to retire foiled, with the loss of eighty men. The Zamoriu took advantage of this opportunity, to build a fort called Paponetti, between Chetwa and Cranganoor, which he fortified with three trenches, and manned with a troop of soldiers, among whom were some Portuguese deserters, and even some English officers.

Towards the end of 1715, three Captains arrived from Batavia with a reinforcement; they attacked this building on the 11th January, 1716, but, owing partly to some misunderstanding among the officers, and partly to the faint heartedness of Captain Pluis,

the second-in-command, who trembled at the sound of cannon, the attempt failed. For, when the besieged beheld our men advancing they were so terrified at their numbers that they rushed out of the fort on the opposite side; and those of our troops who were stationed there, mistaking the cause of the sally, and imagining it was an assault upon themselves, were seized with a sudden panic. The enemy, beholding this unexpected and fled in disorder. diversion, mustered courage and returned to the forsaken fortress: and there is no doubt that, had they understood how to follow up their advantage, they might have completely routed our army, by cutting off their passage and obstructing their retreat, as there is no beaten road or path through the forest which surrounds the fort. This fruitless result of the expedition created universal consternation, which was increased by the rumours which began to fly about, mostly originating in an apprehension that the allied princes were about to desert us; the Rajah of Parvet in particular who, it was reported, was about to attack the fort of Cranganoor. Hearing this, the Commandant resolved to abandon our pagger at Chetwa, in order that the garrison might not be cut off, and to remove it in order to assist in strengthening Cranganoor.

Things remained in this state till the end of the year 1716. when William Bakker Jacobz was despatched from Batavia as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief. He had served in his youth as Lieutenant in the Navy, and had never been engaged in any other campaign. With him were associated Major Hans Frederic Berkman, who was experienced in the Military affairs of Malabar, having passed many years here: and Commander Johannes Hertenberg, who was to supersede Ketel in the management of mercantile affairs. They brought with them a splendid army composed of Europeans, Javanese, Balinese and others, to whom were joined the troops of the Rajah of Cochin, so that they were well-prepared to carry on a compaign. Their first attempt was upon the stronghold of Paponetti. When they reached the anchorage up the river called Caro, about a quarter of a league distant from the enemy's pagger, the General gave notice of his approach by discharging three pieces of artillery. was answered by three shots from the enemy within the fort. who meant by this to shew that they were prepared to await the attack of the General and his army. The latter advanced as soon as it was morning, resolving to attack the pagger on three points at once; which was achieved with such good effect that before 10'o clock the enemy displayed a flag of truce. Owing either to the state of intoxication into which most of the principal officers (except the Major) were plunged, or to some other cause, no tegard was paid to this signal; and as our army had by this time made itself master of the two first trenches, the enemy perceiving that their flag of truce was disregarded, retreated within the third entrenchment which was very strong, and now well-supplied with men. Here they defended themselves with great courage, inflicting considerable loss upon our troops; and when at length they again hoisted the flag of truce, it met with more attention, and a treaty was concluded by which they agreed to evacuate the fort with arms in their hands. But an unfortunate accident occurred. caused, it was said, by the Europeans who were within the fort, The powder magazine was set on fire, that it might not fall into the hands of our army, whilst the Zamorin's troops were in the act of leaving the fort; many were burnt, and several others rushed so violently on our ladders in order to escape, that some of our soldiers were pushed off and fell to the ground, which infuriated them so that they struck at the heathen multitude with the buttends of their fire arms; and the more the poor wretches attempted to defend themselves, the more violent they became, and they cut numbers, that, according to one reckoning, three thousand of the enemy were killed within and without the fortothers say one thousand. The fort was afterwards destroyed, and completely razed to the ground. The bones of the dead remained for many years in the surrounding fields, a memorial of this great defeat.

The heathens received a great shock by the result of this battle. In order to follow it up, some of our vessels were sent to attack Chetwa by sea. On arriving there, no enemy was to be found. At first, it was supposed that they were in concealment. and we did not venture to approach too near, lest they should fall upon us; but at length on receiving certain intelligence that they had deserted the fort, our men entered and found out a soul there. Our General afterwards captured several Paggers, Mapowvane. Towtamburi, Avatorti, and Ourganoor in the land of the Paliat: and gained a decisive victory over the Zamorin's army near Ourganoor. The Balinese pikemen did him great service in this battle, rushing furiously on the foe, and terrifying them so much that they dreaded them more than the Europeans, as men from whom no quarter was to be expected. If the General had chosen to advance his victorious banners, he could no doubt have made himself master of the Zamorin's Court at Ponnany, and of Calicut itself; but whether private reasons of his own induced him not to do this, and therefore not to conclude peace that year (which he might have done on advantageous terms) and thus have spared

^{1.} Note 11, p. 332.

the Company costly preparations for the ensuing campaign), or whether other considerations weighed with him, we will not now pause to enquire. Nothing was done in the rainy season, (which is not adapted for carrying on warlike operation): but at the close of the year, Patricotti¹ was taken, and a noble pagoda of the Poenetoar Namboori was pillaged by the Balinese and other coloured soldiers, although the General, for reasons of his own, had issued a strict prohibition. The Javanese soldiers, attracted by the booty, broke this prohibition, and obtained a quantity of gold and silver articles and precious stones, which the Europeans, not daring to disobey, could not share. I have obtained many heathen idols from these spoils which I keep as relics. Shortly after this followed the peace concluded in 1717,² so that the reinforcements sent from Batavia were not wanted.

In conclusion, I shall add that thirty-six leagues to the north in the kingdom of Colastri³ is the fort of Cannanore, which on one side is washed by the sea, and consequently could not be easily blockaded. This fort serves as a bulwark, not only against the power of the native monarch, but also against the Moors, who have a prince there called Ali Raja.⁴ The latter has up to this time been a good friend of the Company,⁵ transacting business with them, and supplying them with cardamoms and turmeric.

From all this history, you can form a good idea of the power and means of the East India Company in Malabar. Other European nations have great possessions here. The English have a

- 1. Note 12, p. 332.
- 2. Note 13, p. 332.
- 3. Note 14, p. 332.
- 3. ("Proceeding along the sea coast" says Bartolomeo, "you then arrive at Cannanore, a town with a castle, and subject to the government of Queen Collatiri, by the Europeans called Collastri. This city is of great antiquity, and the kings of Collatiri belonging to the first class of the Indian princes.

"The capital of the kingdom of Cannanore, called also Colanada, lies in the latitude of 11° 50', and is distinguished by the same name. The whole surrounding district, which extends towards the north as far as Mount Delly, is inhabited by the Molandis, who live merely by piracy. These sea-robbers are mentioned by Pliny, Arrian, Ptolemy and other ancient authors. They unite themselves to other pirates, who reside on the Angedit islands, near Goa, and capture all the small vessels, which sail from Goa to Cochin. The huts in which their wives and children live, stand on the eastern side of Mount Delly. This mountain, which forms a cape or head-land, lies in the latitude of 12° 5', and here Malabar or Malayala, properly so-called, ends "--Voyage to E. Indies.)

^{4.} Note 15, pp. 332-334.

^{5.} Note 16, p. 334.

fort called Anjengo. south of Quilon; it is tolerably strong, as it has need to be; for there are many enemies in the neighbourhood, and it has often been attacked. In the north they have a fort called Tellicherry, between Calicut and Cannanore, which of late years they have considerably strengthened.

The poor Danes have also a residence in Malabar, called Eddawa, resembling a miserable hut, rather than the dwelling of a commercial officer. It is situated three leagues south of Quilon. This nation has fallen quite into obscurity in these parts, from its want of money and influence; so that the natives last year (1722) refused them lodging, there; upon which their Superintendent repaired to Quilon to dwell for a time under our protection, and in the sequel to Tranquebar, a factory of theirs on the Coromandal Coast.³

Here then you have a sketch of the European settlements in Malabar, together with an account of the late war. I hope you will not take it amiss that I have related all the circumstances without keeping back anything, and without sparing the managers of the war, for it seems to me that the whole truth of such things should be related without disguise, though this rule is but little regarded by historians of the present age.

LETTER V.

Description of Canara, Vingorila, Goa-and the Customs of the Portuguese in these parts.

The pleasure you have always taken in the study of history, and of its sister science geography, induces me to give you an account of some countries lying to the north of Malabar, and in some measure belonging to it: as it contains factories fortified in ancient times by the company, which are under the management of its officer, who bears the title of Commandant of Malabar, Canara, and Vingorla.

Canara is a kingdom adjoining Malabar on the north, subject to an independent prince, who is much more magnificent and

1. Note 17, pp. 334-354.

(Anjengo or Angintenga, a corruption of the two Tamil words unjee taynkul or five cocoa trees, was for many years an English factory and a place of some note in former days. It is now desolate and deserted. The ruins of the Portuguese Church and fort, still exist. Orme, the Historian, was born at Anjengo. For further accounts of this interesting spot, see Forbes' Orienta. Memoirs, and Abbe Raynal's History of the Indies.—H. D.)

- 2. Note 18, pp. 354-356.
- 3. Note 19, pp. 356-357.

powerful than those of Malabar, though the religion of the inhabitants of the two countries is nearly identical. The East India Company possess no jurisdiction whatever in this place, and are only tolerated there as merchants, driving a good business in spices, sugar, etc.

This kingdom produces many peculiar commodities, such as sandal wood, which is found there in great abundance, as well as rice. We might call it the granary of all Northern India; indeed the East India Company are often obliged to get rice from here for the consumption of Malabar and Ceylon. The Portuguese send a fleet annually to occupy the seaport of Canara, not only for the purpose of supplying themselves with rice for Goa, and other parts of India, but in order also to prevent their enemies, the Arabs, from obtaining any provisions there.

The city of Canara, where the Raja holds his Court, lies some leagues inland, and is connected with the scaport by a fine road, planted with trees, which the inhabitants are obliged to keep in excellent order. This road is so secure that any stranger might go and sleep there with bags full of money, and nobody would molest or rob him; for, if such a thing occurred, the people in the neighbourhood would be not only severely punished, but would be forced to make good the money to the owner. Indeed the laws of the Hindoos to prevent robbery are admirable. At Surat itself, a city with so many thousand inhabitants, the merchandize lies out under open tents, as safe as if it were locked up in our storehouses.

Vingorla, lying some miles behind Goa, was formerly also a factory of the East India Company, where a considerable trade was carried on, but they were lately forced to abandon it on account of the continued attacks of the Mogul Governor, and the Marasyn robbers under Mara Rogia, a rebel who devastates the empire of the Mogul with fire and sword. The Mahometans have indeed, since that time, proposed to restore this place to the company, but the offer has been refused, the more so as the trade has been transferred to Surat.

While I am occupied with this part of the country, I must add some description of Goa, 1 as it lies between Canara and Vingorla.

1. There is a legend that the old city of Goa was overwhelmed by a sudden rush of the sea, and that its houses may still be seen in calm weather below the waters. The following lines in allusion to this tradition may fitly be inserted in this place:—

There was a city, glorious and free, Built on the shore of the dark blue sea. Where towers and spires of gilded hue Shone over the waves of the ocean blue, It is considered by the Portuguese, as you know the capital of the Indies, and here a Viceroy sent from Portugal has his seat of Government and holds his Court. It is sufficiently strong on the seaside and the moles are protected by forts and dykes: but it has nearly fallen into decay within, and is destitute of inhabitants, excepting the ecclesiastics, who have a convent here, the artizans, and the poor people. The upper classes have retreated to the

And palace and cottage smiling told How fair was that city in days of old ! Far, far above was the glowing sky Where the sun shone bright o'er the turrets high, While the cocoa shade and the graceful palm Hung o'er the waters so lovely and calm, Thick and numberless, side by side, Drinking the stream of the onward tide. But, now, from that spot where the glad sun shone. That glorious city of palms is gone, Gone with its pride and people so brave, Whelmed by the tide of the salt sea wave. Yes! there below the surging deep Fair Goa's sunken towers sleep, All, all that once was glad and bright, Reposing there in ceaseless night! Swift the remorseless billows roar Rose wildly o'er that fated shore, Nor human power availed to stem The tide that rolled o'er the ocean's gem The wild surge broke-the rising foam Dashed furious o'er each hall and home Sweeping the happy and the fair 'Neath the deep wave unburied there! 'Tis thus that olden annals tell How Goa's beauteous city fell ! And, now, 'tis said, in midnight clear When the boatmen o'er those waters steer From sunset's tranquil hour until The waves are hushed and winds are still, Deep, deep below the water shining They see the turrets still reclining And the dim outline, lingering yet, Of many a glittering minaret, And groves and gardens, and the wall That, still unharmed, surrounds them all; And silent streets, so drear and dread O'er which no living beings tread-A city wrapt by envious fate In darkest gloom most desolate! Not the fair mistress of the world 1 Was thus to pitiless ruin hurled, Tho' famine's waste and sword and fire,

environs of the town on account of the insalubrity of the climate: and the river banks and islets are adorned with flourishing farms and plantations of cocoa and other fruit trees, on the profits of which they subsist. The whole island of Goa is furnished with such like farms, as is also the case with

Combined to make her life expire, Tho' floods and tempests, and the tide Of wild Barbarian crushed her pride. And superstition's furious zeal Hath rent her more than savage steel; Yet, still her palaces deny The wrath of man, and time defy And many a ruin can yet unfold Where warriors stood and spoke of old. Nor has worse fate that I town befel, Which felt the burning mountain's power Which, flaming like an earthly hell, Enwrapt it in its lava shower. Ages swept by, none knew the spot, Almost the thrilling tale forgot, For, vineyards rose and blossomed where Was once a town so stately and fair Yet now uncovered it stands alone, As once it stood in the days that are gone, And the bright sun shines on the marble floor As it shone there a thousand years before. And, still more famed for wealth and pride. Where kings and prophets lived and died, Was that great city 2 whose dread power Survived not o'er its destined hour. The "mighty city"-ere it fell Where earth's proud princes loved to dwell, And gorgeous monuments upreared To those they honoured and they feared. Yet seers foretold the threatened doom. And, darker than the sculptured tomb. All pomp and pride for ages lay In heaps beneath the mouldering clay. Yet though deserted in despair The ruined city still is there ! But thou, fair Goa! not again Shall rise from out the boundless main. In all thy beauty buried deep Beneath the wave for ever sleep! No falling rock, no lighnting's blast, Thy sea-girt towers to earth have cast, Nor cruel foe with sword and flame, Thy self won power e'er overcame, The water swept thy pride away, To lifeless doom, but not decay .- H. D.)

- 1. Pompeii.
- 2. Babylon.

Salsette in the north, where the Jesuits play the master, and other places.

It would be considered a disgrace by the Portuguese Fidalgos. to follow any trade, but the Jesuits look on such employments as honorable, and they are in fact the chief traders of these parts. We need be under no apprehension that the Portuguese will cause any injury to our commerce here, for they are devoid of any knowledge of business, and what with their indigence of their fraudulent conduct which has destroyed all confidence in them. they are held very low in public estimation throughout the Indies. But they are great lovers of fine titles. High generals are all the talk among them. An office which with us would be filled by a small tradesman, must needs require a general with them. For each ship of war, they have a Capitano di Marre Guerre, and a levy of captains, lieutenants and ensigns besides. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that their pay is proportionate to their titles. A captain receives less than one of our serjeants, and the Resident of Panoor assured me that he had only twenty golden fanams or shillings per month from the king. for his maintenance; yet these gentlemen like to cut a figure. Not satisfied with having one umbrella carried over his head, a man of high rank requires two or three, ornamented with hanging fringes and silver buttons. The bearers must be Kaffres, clothed in red coats, and these are accompanied by other Kaffres bearing long swords called Espingardes, who act as bravoes of their masters. For, as their incomes are so slender and their state so imposing, these signors often betake themselves to schemes of plunder and assassination; and every year they despatch an expedition against their hereditary enemies, the Arabs, in the hone of obtaining booty, of which, however, in these days, they do not gain much.

There is no place in the world where law is less regarded than here. Scarcely any enquiry is instituted into cases of murder; moreover the Fidalgos or noblemen cannot be punished for crime in the Indies, but must be sent to Portugal for trial; and this is rarely done. Their vice and dissipation are excessive; they surround themselves with troops of Bayaderes or dancing girls, row with them in their Oranbaien on the rivers, and spend their time with them in all sorts of amusements. These Bayaderes are, for Hindus, very pretty. In their dances, they move not their feet alone, but all their limbs. They attire themselves very gaily, with bracelets and golden ornaments, and exercise great fascination over the pleasure-loving Portuguese.

The Portuguese ladies are not better conducted than their husbands. When a man of any rank travels abroad, he does not leave his wife at home, but takes care to shut her up in a convent. Indeed the jealousy of the husbands goes so far that they remark, if any man speaks to their wives, and not unfrequently death is the penalty he incurs.

The Viceroy here is the highest in command; he remains for three years only, unless the Portuguese sovereign should prolong the term. He has two residences, one in the city, called the Casa di Pulvere, and the other, where he commonly sojourns, outside the walls. He holds audience every morning; standing under a canopy; and takes his meals alone. His Court circle is considerable: and he makes a good sum out of the presents which the inhabitants, according to custom, must offer at his coming and going. In the interregnums between the departure of a Viceroy and the arrival of his successor, the Archbishop or Primate takes the reins of government, and then the clergy have their turn in the appointment to offices.

The ecclesiastics here are innumerable; Hindus and natives of Canara as well as Europeans—so that there are much fewer soldiers than priests. The reason why so many natives enter the priesthood, is that they may be spared the insults of the Portuguese, who treat all black men as if they were slaves.

The Portuguese trade in the Indies is of little value. It makes a great noise when two ships from the mother country arrive together in the year at Goa: and these come more for the purpose of providing the inhabitants with necessaries than for commercial enterprise. Each has on board more than forty ecclesiastics of various orders. Tobacco is charged with heavy imposts, the produce of which is assigned especially to the queen for her private purse. It is nevertheless an article of great consumption; being not only used by the Portuguese in all parts of India, but exported also to foreign nations in Europe, the Dutch taking no small share of it.

The most profitable trading voyage of the Portuguese is that to Mozambique. Here they sell linen and other commodities, and purchase in exchange many slaves or Kaffres, whom they convey to Goa, where they fetch a good price. They carry on commercial transactions with China likewise, where they possess an island cailed Macao. The Macao merchants have for some years kept up a brisk intercourse with Batavia, the Chinese junks having kept aloof. But not more than one or two ships visit Goa during the course of the year, and these part with most

of their cargo, consisting principally of Chinese luxuries, as silks, tea, sweetmeats and sugar, at Cochin and Cevion. There is no nation in the world so fond of sweetmeats as the Portuguese. They always hand them about on their social visits. But, for wine, beer, and strong liquors in general, they have no taste: intoxication is of rare occurrence among them. The Dutch. on the contrary, drink to such an extent as to expose themselves to the reproaches of the Portuguese and the natives, who commonly call us Hollandeses bebidos or Dutch drunkards. The English are liable to the same imputation : they are greatly attracted by the Persian wines, and by Punch, which is made of the arrack of Goa I must remark, by the way, that though in England they talk a great deal about the Protestant religion, the English in India allow themselves to be very much mixed up with members of the Romish communion, generally having their children baptized by the Priests, and marrying Roman Catholic wives.

Having thus far extended my account of the Europeans at Malabar and the neighbouring places, which I trust you will not find tedious,

I shall now conclude, etc.

LETTER VI.

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Malabar an expensive settlement to the Dutch East India Company—Its importance—Remarks on the duties incumbent on our Commandants—Encomiums on Joh: Hertenberg—Administration of the East India Company—Landed estates belonging to them.

As the welfare of our State and the prosperity of commerce have always concerned you deeply, I have no doubt that you will peruse with pleasure the account of the Company's trade in Malabar, and the importance it has attained on this coast; the methods of maintaining it, and its vast wealth, which influence in a peculiar manner the welfare of our country.

I. (In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was formed by the amalgamation of several different companies into one united body. The members were invested with authority to conclude peace or make war with oriental potentates, to build forts and garrison them according to discretion. For many years, this new Company acquired considerable authority and power in the East. Its commercial relations were very extensive, and for its better protection, the Company despatched a fleet of fourteen vessels, as a support to their numerous colonies. It was not long before they came in contact with their jealous rivals, the Portuguese, and the hostile fleets of both nations frequently encountered each other in the Indian seas. It was not till after many conflicts that the superiority of the Dutch was maintained. In less than half a century, they had taken or destroyed upwards of 300 Portuguese vessels, and thus made themselves masters of the sea. Upon

Malabar is considered by the East India Company as an expensive settlement, for the profits obtained on the goods which are here sold are far from defraying the expenses required for its support. You will easily understand this, when you learn that a ship of 145 feet is sufficient to provide the settlement not only with merchandize, consisting chiefly of arrack, sugar, spices, tin, copper etc., but also with all the provisions requisite for a year. But, on the other hand, the maintenance of the garrison, its munition, and its servants, who may be reckoned at present at 1,200 souls, costs a large sum of money, and, if to this we add the extraordinary expenses which have been incurred by the Company for some years past, by the erection of a new dispensary, rice-warehouse, hospital and powder magazine, a new fort at Chetwa, and a smith's shop. which are now almost completed—and also the they have still before them in the establishment of a new factory at Percad, and the occupation of the two forts of Cannanore and Ouilon-it is evident that their outlay must far exceed their profits here, without mentioning their expensive wars, the last of which cost nearly two millions.1

You must not, however, conclude from this statement is a useless position to the Company, and that it were better to abandon it; for there are weighty reasons for its retention. The first is that we may remain masters of the pepper-trade in Malabar,² for it is certain that if the Company were to quit this place, the Portuguese would endeavour to obtain possession of it. They already affect to have claims upon it, and say arrogantly enough that "the Company are keeping it for their king." Still more would the English strive to get hold of it; for they have no commercial station in all Malabar that can at all be compared with this, for abundance both of pepper and of other goods.

the destruction of the maritime power of the Portuguese, the Dutch found no difficulty in attacking and capturing their seitlements on land, and the booty of military stores and ammunition which they seized in their several conquets, turned greatly to their advantage, as the magazines and fortresses contained every thing necessary both for themselves and the prosecution of their commercial projects. Such was the origin of the great prosperity of the Dutch East India Company. Last, after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, the Company began to decline owing to many concurring circumstances, chiefly from the speculation and avarice of the Government and merchants, and partially from the innumerable wars in which they became engaged Settlement after settlement becoming a prey to internal faction, or the attack of the natives, fell from their grasp, and the English soon supplanted a power which was unable to maintain itself either by land or sea.—H. D.)

^{1.} Note 1, pp. 358-365.

^{2.} Note 2, pp. 365-368.

In the second place, Cochin is very useful as a provisioning station for vessels sailing from Batavia to Mocha, or returning from Surat and Persia to Batavia. They can obtain here not only very good water (fetched from the river Mangatti), but also abundance of victuals at a cheap rate, such as poultry, pigs, cattle, fish and fruit. For this reason, European vessels visiting the Indian coasts always put in at Cochin for provisions.

In the last place, we may add that Cochin serves as an outpost to protect Ceylon against the attempts of other European nations, especially the English, who we have most cause to fear; for if they were masters of this place, they might use it as a rendezvous for their fleets. This they could do even in the rainy season: for light vessels of less than twelve feet might be brought over the sand bank into the river, while the larger ones might lie securely in the Muddy Bay, three leagues distant,

Thus, you see the importance of this settlement, which requires a man of ability to manage it with discretion; for though, like the Company's other settlements, it is governed by the Political Council, the chief responsibility rests with the head of that assembly, who is the Commandant; and it behoves him to be very ready-witted when he converses with the native Rajahs, who are most difficult to deal with. For, if he hesitates, they deem it a sign of fear and confusion, and immediately assume a contempt for him. The Commandant must cultivate, also, a figurative and metaphorical mode of expression, which, besides being considered a proof of wisdom, enables him to throw a cloak over subjects which are disagreeable to them, and to carry out measures which they would not take so easily if they were expressed in plain words.

Having made close observations on all the commercial affairs of Malabar, my belief is that the following rules2 should be observed in order to a successful management of this country:-

I. The Commandant must effectually defend the kingdom of Cochin against the future attacks of its enemies, to which end the Company have declared themselves the protector of that kingdom. If this were not done, the Zamorin would soon weaken the power of the Rajah of Cochin, and would allow other nations to establish themselves in the territories he might gain. It is, therefore, clearly for the Rajah's interest to keep on good terms with the East India Company.

^{1.} Note 4, p. 369-

- II. The Commandant must especially endeavour to prevent the Rajah of Cochin from making aggressions on the Zamorin or others, or provoking them to war; which he would be very ready to do, relying on the Company's arms, and hoping by their assistance to regain some lands to which he lays claim.
- III. He must enquire narrowly into the justice of the claims the Rajahs make mutually on each other, as he is often called on to arbitrate between them. This is the more necessary as their claims are very obscure and are seldom settled, so that they have continual pretexts for the wars which perpetually arise between them. A wise Commandant will take care not to involve himself in these disputes, unless they immediately affect the interests of the Company.
- IV. He must be thoroughly acquainted with the laws and customs of the natives, who cling very much to them, making them a part of their religion. They carry these feelings to such an extent that if a Commandant were unwittingly to infringe their laws in passing sentence, it would arouse a general spirit of murmuring and disatisfaction.
- V. He must undertake no wars without great deliberation, and with a good prospect of success, as the Company might otherwise be placed in great danger; the character of the natives then to grow insolent and daring at the slightest misfortune that happens to us, and in such cases, their numbers swell like a snowball. An instance of this occurred in 1715—16, when we lost the fort of Chetwa, on which occasion the natives broke out into all manner of extravagance, using most insolent language; their spirit was quelled, however, in the following year by our arms.

The Commandant, Johannes Hertenberg, has extorted from the Rajah of Cochin two stipulations which are very conducive to the welfare and tranquillity of the Company. The first is that all the Rajahs, Princes and Nobles of the kingdom shall lay their complaints and disputes before him, so that he is constituted arbitrator between them, by which means he becomes acquainted with the grounds of their difference, and is thus enabled to hinder many illegal enterprises of the Rajah of Cochin, which occasioned great annoyances to the former Commandants. The second stipulation is that the Rajah shall undertake no hostilities against the Zamorin or any other Prince without the previous knowledge and consent of the Commandant; without which agreement he could frequently plunge us into war merely to advance his own interests.

As we are engaged on the subject of the administration, it will be as well to describe how this settlement is managed.\(^1\) The East India Company having received by patent, from the States General, supreme jurisdiction in their own settlements, this power is vested in the chief place of each great settlement, of which Malabar is one. All the native Christians dwelling in the lowlands are under the authority of the Company, and neither the Rajah of Cochin nor any of his princes have the power of putting them to death or punishing them; if they did so, satisfaction would be demanded. The Jewish, Moorish, and Canarese inhabitants are partly under the authority of the Rajah, and partly under that of the Company.\(^2\)

Crimes are punished here, as they are in Europe, by fines, imprisonment, flogging, branding, hanging and shooting. 3 Criminals are sometimes sent in chains to labour on the public works, as there are no jails here. The assemblies, as in the other Indian settlements, are either political, where the Company's affairs are discussed; judicial, where criminals are tried and judgment passed in important causes; and civil, where disputes of less amount than 100 rix dollars between the native townspeople are decided, and before which the ceremony of betrothal takes place. There are also an Orphan-chamber, whose business it is to take care of the property of orphans. and the College of Aldermen, who have the superintendence of the streets, houses and canals.

In the last place, it will be as well to notice here the various landed properties which the Company possess in this place. and the rents they receive. They consist of estates and islands which the Company have acquired from time to time either by gift or by treaty. I must premise that the islands are situated not in the sea but in the rivers, or else are detached pieces of land washed over by the sea and rivers. They are let on leases of ten or fifteen years, in order by this length of possession to encourage the tenants to make new plantations, hoping in the interval to receive the fruits of them; and the rents consequently rise at each new lease. Indeed, it is made a condition of the lease that the tenant shall make plantations of cocoanut palms; and a person is appointed to number the trees in all the estates every year, in order to ascertain how much the plantations have increased. The islands contain not only cocoa palms, but also arable fields and saltpans, for this country produces an abundance

^{1.} Note 3, pp. 372-374

² Note 9, pp. 374-378.

^{3.} Note 10, pp. 378-380.

^{4.} Note 11, p. 380.

^{5.} Note 12, p. 380.

of salt, which is exported to other places. The following is a list of these arable lands and fields, with the years in which they were acquired:—1

The lands of Edourtien Paponetti	•••	1666.
Muskieten island, gardens, and arable field	•••	1708.
Gardens in the island of Caddemata	•••	1689.
Do. at Arkotte	•••	1712.
Saltpans in the island of Bollogatti	•••	16 7 0.
Arable fields and gardens in the island of	f	
St. Domingo	• • •	1718.
Do. do do Poul o	7	
Hosser's Island	•••	1665.
Arable fields and gardens in the island Ilha		
Perdido		1664.
Arable fields in Cruz de Milagre	•••	1620.
Do. the island of Guassini		1692.
Do at Antje Caimal	•••	1692.
Do. at Castelle		1663
Do in the island of Bindverti		1663.
Do. at Aroe	•••	1683.
Gardens and lands behind the Company's		3
garden	•••	1663.
Arable fields at Senhora Saude	•••	1687.
Do. St. Iago	•••	1687.
Do. St. Lovys	•••	1687.
Do. Belijoor de Fonseka	•••	•
Arable sields at Mondanbelli	•••	1667.
Do. Perperangerre	•••	1681.
Do. Maincorde or Muddy Bay	•••	1690.
Do. St. Andre	•••	1668.
	•••	1665.
Do. Chermagellam	•••	1667.
The lands of Rajah Marta, called Banbasse	•••	1673.
Calicatte or Marenbal	• • •	1669.
Kully Quilon's strand	•••	1717.

The East India Company has also bestowed on the Dea conry some gardens and lands in the island of Vypeen, behind the Canarese bazaar, in order that the revenues thence derived should be devoted to the use of the poor.

^{1.} Note 13, pp. 380-383.

LETTER VII.

Trade of the English in Malabar, and the disasters they have experienced.

You are doubtless aware that the trade of the East India Company, so famous throughout the world, one of the main stays of our country, and the resource of thousands of poor creatures who make their livelihood by the employment it affords them, has been greatly undermined by the English, not so much by the English Company and their vessels, as by the private traders. who are much more numerous, and who besiege the Coast of Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar and Surat. At Cochin we see at least thirty English vessels, large and small, in the course of the year, which perform the transit between the neighbouring regions. and put in here chiefly for the sake of provisions. Three or four of the English Company's ships have also been here lately. It is certain that their trade in these places is less considerable than that of the Dutch Company who despatch three or four vessels annually to Surat, on account of the spices which are brought there in large quantities, and of which they monopolize the trade.'

The character of the English is, as you are aware, proud, domineering, and selfish, and, when combined with a disposition to cruelty, has been the cause of many sad events in India. For, as they always oppress the natives, the English gain from them little in return but hatred and curses, and the feeling thus engendered often results in deeds of violence and murder. There was an instance of this some years ago at Bencoolen on the coast of Sumatra, where the natives were so much irritated by the outrages committed upon them, that they at length resolved to destroy the English fort, a purpose which they accomplished with the slaughter of every one they could lay hands on.

Not long afterwards a similar occurrence took place at Anjengo, a fort belonging to the English in the country of Travan core, about sixteen miles from Quilon. It is said to have originated in some misconduct of the English on Shrove Tuesday, in the year 1720. Their interpreter, who was a native Christian, and consequently a Roman Catholic, was preparing for the approaching fast, as the members of his church are wont to do, by an ebullition of unusual license, and among other things he slily instigated some lads to pelt, with eggs and filth, the Moors, always a peculiarly sensitive race, together with some heathens who happened to be passing by. The Moors, whose habit it is to go about armed, instantly clapped their hands on their weapons and

threatened not to leave this insult unaverged. The interpreter upon this, quieted the tumult, and secretly informed the Commandant of what had taken place; and that officer, instead of punishing the oppressors, caused the Moors to be apprehended and imprisoned, while the English remained perfectly indifferent to the exasperation which this transaction excited among the rest of the Moors around them.

But another crime ensued, attended by more serious consequences, arousing the anger of the whole nation. The English seized a heathen medicine master, called a *Pandyt*, who is always a Brahmin, and compelled him to shave the beards of their slaves, which is an act that Brahmins cannot perform without losing caste. This insult to an order of men so highly honoured, was deeply felt, and vengeance was resolved upon.

Accordingly the natives proceeded to blockade the English fort all round on the land side, preventing the ingress of supplies in this direction. They could not however prevent communication by sea, and as long as the fine weather lasted, the English obtained their supplies by that means. But from June till October the rainy season prevailed, and navigation was rendered impossible by the violence of the winds, and then, accordingly they suffered from great scarcity of provisions. At length after the sea was again open, and some English vessels had made their way to the fort, in February 1721, a peace was nominally concluded with the natives, who however reserved a secret intention of wreaking dire vengeance on their foes as soon as a fitting opportunity should occur. An occasion for the execution of their design presented itself that same year, at the beginning of the rainy season.

With the view of conciliating the Queen of Attingal, mother of the royal race, whose authority was great in that country, the English Commandant determined to offer her some splendid presents; and to make them the more acceptable he brought them in person, accompanied by a numerous retinue, leaving within the fort none but the sick and infirm. His escort consisted altogether of 140 persons. Troubled by no misgivings, they advanced with much pomp, with sound of trumpet and drums, to the Court of the Queen, who gave them a most friendly reception, and appeared to derive extreme gratification from their arrival and the gifts they brought, though for certain reasons she said she must defer receiving the latter until the following day. Meanwhile she pressed them to pass the night at her court, and the Commandant, utterly unsuspicious of danger, assented. Pretending that she was unable to accommodate the whole party in one place, the artful Princess

assigned different lodgings for them, so that they should be too much scattered to assist each other in case of need. Then, in the course of the night, the inhabitants bell upon their unfortunate guests and massacred them, and this so thoroughly, that not a single European escaped, though, being armed, they made an energetic resistance. Some coolies managed to get away, and brought the dreadful intelligence to the fort.

Great was the consternation there. The women, whose husbands were slain, in grief and terror got into a sloop which chanced to be at the spot, and fled to Coromandel. Those who remained in the fort, weak and unarmed as they were. expected certain death. The next day came however, and no foe was seen approaching; so their courage began to revive: they shut the gates, took some native Christians into their ranks, and as well as they could, put themselves into a state of defence, and when shortly afterwards the hostile natives did indeed come to the attack, they were repulsed without difficulty, being altogether without knowledge of the art of seige. Thus it appears that both parties made a mistake: the Commandant in leaving the fort without a garrison, and the natives in not immediately attacking; when they could have captured it without a blow.

Since this time no hostilities of any consequence have been exchanged, but the ill-feeling still smoulders on, and there is a consciousness of mutual distrust. It was generally expected that the English would have taken dire revenge for the massacre last described, but the event has proved otherwise: nothing has been attempted by their ships of war that have lately arrived, though nothing could have been easier than to lay waste the country or inflict punishment of some sort.²

The ships in question—consisting of three English men of war, and three frigates, fitted out something like galleys with oars—were sent by the sovereign to sweep the sea of pirates and of illicit traders, but up to this time they have performed sittle worthy of note. When the fleet arrived at Madagascar with the intent of extirpating the European robbers, who have a stronghold there and have been extremely mischievous in the Indies, all its efforts were frustrated in consequence of the favour shewn to the outlaws by the natives of the island. Nor has the expedition been more successful in other parts, as, for instance, against the pirates of Angria, who constantly capture English vessels. These pirates

^{1.} Note 2, pp. 393-406.

^{2.} Note 3, pp. 406-407.

^{3.} Note 4, pp. 407-408.

occupy the shores of Sevajee, a revolted subject of the Mogul in the regions near Surat, and they maintain themselves by robberv. which, owing to the barreness of the land, is their only means of support. They possess three forts, and a good many vessels furnished with oars, which hold several men and pedereros. They endeavour to surprise and board other vessels, and generally choose the night for their time of attack. The English and Portuguese having been the greatest sufferers from their depredations. formed a close alliance against them, and the Portuguese even granted the English, in the year 1721, a factory surmounted by their own flag, within the city of Goa. The two fleets then set out, commanded respectively by the Portuguese Viceroy and the English Commandant, with the intention of routing out this pirate's nest: but the scheme soon vanished in smoke, for, while. on the one hand. Sevajee came forward to render his assistance to the marauders of Angria, on the other hand, the Portuguese entered into a secret compact with them, for a sum of money and just as the fight was about to begin, treacherously deserted the English. who accordingly were compelled to re-embark as quickly as possible, not without the loss of some men. I

Since then, these ships have done nothing except to levy contributions on English privateers under pretext of conveying them, and to such an extent, that they are more dreaded than even the pirates themselves. They have committed all kinds of maipractices in our roadsteads, forbidding all privateers to seek shelter there under the company's flag. Captain Brandwit of the Salisbury even went so far as to attack two foreign vessels, the one carrying the English, and the other the Portuguese flag. One managed to escape by means of a stratagem: but the other was compelled to pay money, like the English privateers, in order to satisfy the rapacity of the Captain, who had thus shamefully perverted the orders of his master.

Here I conclude my account of English affairs, etc.

LETTER VIII.

Divisions among the royal houses, and wars thence arising—Character and manners of Rajah Wierlam.—Customs at the decease of the Rajahs—Observations on the conduct which ought to be observed by the Dutch Government in its intercourse with these princes.

Not only is the whole of Malabar occupied by a multiplicity of kings and potentates, a circumstance causing in itself endless dissension, but these again are broadly ranged into two parties.

1. Note 5, pp. 408-414.

whose hatred is the more effectual, and probably the more interminable seeing that it arises from the unfair distinctions introduced by the original laws of this kingdom.¹

The adherents of the two parties are called the Pandelakoers and the Chodderakoers: 2 and just as Italy was formerly torn by the two rival factions of the Guelp and Ghibelliner, and England distracted by the wars of the white and red Roses, and the Netherlands had to shed tears of blood owing to the ravages of the Kaa beliancos 3 and Flocks, so has the trumpet of war blown by the Pandelakoers and Chodderakoers often summoned the princes of Malabar to mutual hostilities. Regarding the origin of these two parties, I find two different accounts, which are not unworthy of record. Some will have it that the great Cheramperoumal who partitioned Malabar and made laws for it which are still observed, instituted them, for two important reasons, the first of which was to confirm the distribution of kingdoms that he had made; for being about to undertake a journey, either to the Ganges in fulfilment of a vow, or, as the Moors say, to visit Mahomet in Arabia for the purpose of embracing his religion, 6 he divided among his favourites the whole of Malabar. Now, he assigned the kingdom of the Zamorin to his illegitimate children, 7 who according to the law could not inherit, and it was natural to suppose that this would cause umbrage to his nephews who were the lawful heirs of the crown and to whom he had only given the kingdom of Cochin. They would probably use every endeavour to recover their rights when onportunity offered. For this reason he originated these two parties. and he regulated the number of princes, noblemen, etc., who should belong to each, with the express command that if a king, prince or landowner should be attacked by one of the opposite faction. he should be assisted by all the members of his own party, under

- 1. Note 1, pp. 415-418.
- 2. Note 2, pp. 418-419.
- 3. (Kaabeljancos and Flocks—two parties which in the 14th and 15th centuries divided and agitated the whole population of Holland and Zealand. The origin of this burlesque denomination was a dispute between two parties at a feast, as to whether the codfish took the hook or the hook the codfish? This was made the pretext for a serious quarrel, and the partisans of the towns and of the nobles ranged themselves on either side, the former, the Flocks, wore red caps and the latter, the Kaabeljancos, grey ones. Jacqueline of Holland was supported by the former in her quarrel with Philip of Burgundy, and in the year 1492 the extinction of the faction struck a final blow to the dissension. See History of Netherlands by T. Colley Grattan—(Trans).)
 - 4. Note 3, pp. 419-420,
 - 5 Note 4, pp. 420-431.
 - 6 Note 5, pp. 431-467.
 - 7 Note 6, pp. 467-468.

pain or loss of privileges. The Zamorin king was appointed chief of the Pandelakoer, and received a sword in token of his authority: and the king of Cochin as chief of the Chodderakoers received a shield.² Cheramperoumal's second reason for establishing these factions was to create a martial spirit: lest, living in perpetual peace, the Malabar people should sink into effeminacy and thus become a prey to the surrounding nations.

There are a kind of sham combats still held in many kingdoms of Malabar, which probably owe their origin to this institution. In these jousts or combats, many hundred, perhaps a thousand, persons attack each other, armed with sword and shield, and inflict mutual wounds, sometimes indeed death, as happened at Cully Quilon when I was there last October.³

From this account of the rival factions you perceive that the Zamorin is no Emperor of Malabar, as the Portuguese used to tell us in their books, for he is no greater than three other chief princes of Colastri, Cochin and Travancore, and inferior in dignity, indeed, to the Rajah of Cochin as being of inferior race. Nevertheless, the opinion has always held ground that he is the most powerful and possesses the best army of them all.⁴

But to return from this digression. I said before that there are two traditions regarding these parties. The other tradition is that there were formerly two families, possessors of two pagodas. The name of the one was Pandel, that of the other Choddar, and the former being the strongest and most powerful, attacked the latter and plundered them, until the Choddars implored help from the prince of Walwonatti in order to revenge themselves on the Pandels. These now being unable to withstand their enemies alone, conspired with the Zamorin against them: and thus drove them to apply in their turn to the king of Cochin, who consequently became the head of the Choddar party, while the Zamorin assumed the character of protector of that of the Pandels. Each of these monarchs enticed others to espouse their causes, and the dissensions thus originating have descended to posterity.

Most serious consequences have arisen from these divisions. In the first place, it was inculcated by law upon the principal States (Stenden) or each of these kingdoms that they must always espouse the faction of the supreme Rajah: Cochin has four of

^{1.} Note 7, pp. 468-469.

^{2.} Note 8, p, 469.

^{3.} Note 9, pp. 469-476.

^{4.} Note 10, pp. 476--478.

^{5.} Note 11, pp. 478-479.

these States, which are called the pillars of the kingdom. They are Porcad and Paroe, the Rajahs of which belong to the spiritual order, and Berkenkoer and Mangatti, having temporal Rajahs. Though there are other princes in the kingdom of Cochin even more powerful than some of these Stenden, yet these are bound as Chodderakoers to assist the Cochin monarch in his wars against the Zamorin, and in return have a voice in the election of the new prince to the succession of the Cochin throne.²

Secondly, to this division may be attributed the continual warfare which exists between the kingdoms of the Zamorin and Cochin. No firm or lasting peace is ever made, but merely, so to speak, a cessation of hostilities, invariably followed by a renewal of war.³ The irreconcilable hatred arising from the violence of these party feelings, was rendered more inveterate by the murderous deed of a Zamorin prince of bygone times, who caused three Cochin princes to be killed.⁴ Animosity was exasperated by this to such an extent that even to this day members of the rival factions will never meet voluntarily or speak to each other. A reconciliation will never be effected until the law of retaliation be satisfied, which, according to their customs, demands the death of an equal number of princes of the murderer's family.⁶

You have read in the Portuguese narratives of their voyages published by Vander Aa, (accounts no doubt containing many fictions and exaggerations, after the wont of these masters of the sea as they style themselves) how, when rejected by the Zamorin, they were received with open arms by the Rajah of Cochin: and now you can understand his motive for the kind reception he gave them; he hoped with their assistance to accomplish his revenge upon his enemy, which he had not sufficient strength to do unaided, and he immediately plunged into hostilities.

The East India Company who established themselves as protectors of the kingdom of Cochin, were consequently also involved in these interminable wars.

It is the duty of a wise and prudent Commandant to take care that the Rajah of Cochin is not the aggressor, which, influenced by the noted hatred he bears his enemy, he is always ready to be, in the hopes of being able, assisted by the Company's arms, to acquire from the Zamorin certain territories to which he lays claim. Had this rule always been observed, the Company

- 1. Note 12, pp. 479-430.
- 2. Note 13, pp. 480-483.
- 3. Notes 14 & 15, pp. 483-508.
- 4. Note 16, pp. 508-509.
- 5. Note 17, pp. 509-510.

might have been spared many of the expensive wars they have been engaged in, and of which they had sad experience during the reign of the late Rajah.

This Rajah was a man of average height, dark and ugly, for which reason he was commonly called by the towns people, the charcoal burner; he was crafty and designing, and was in the habit of clandestinely injuring other princes in order to provoke them to hostilities against each other.

He delighted in wars, though with his own soldiers he did but little execution, and laid the chief burden of prosecuting it upon the Company. His private interests occupied all; his thoughts; he paid his soldiers so badly that they were sometimes forced when garrisoning a place to make a sortie to provide themselves with food. This was the case at Eunemakke. His extortions were unrivalled; he was always devising fresh means of levying funds, so that from being one of the poorest he became the richest of the Cochin Rajahs. Confiding in no one, he would shut up his money in the pagoda. or bury it under ground, or carry it about with him in boxes. He condescended to traffic in the commonest commodities; thus, he sold to his court rice and cocoanut shells both burnt and raw; and by keeping the monopoly of these things in his own hands he enhanced the price of them. He lived on bad terms with Command. ant Hertenberg, who did not relish his rogueries and refused to cooperate in his artful and underhand practices. He died after a long and painful illness. It is said that on his death-bed he enjoined upon his successor to live on good terms with the company. though he had neglected to do so himself latterly. Death carried him off on the oth October of last year (1732); he had reigned 20 years, and had nearly attained the 70th year of his age. He was little known by his own name. Wierlam, among his subjects: for their custom is never to call the Rajahs by their names but by their titles, as the Rajah of Cochin, Cranganur and so forth. The individuals in the line of succession are not named after the properties of which they are sometimes the owners, but according to the order in which they stand with respect to the succession, as the first prince (that is the Rajah) the second, third, fourth, etc. The private territorial lords (landsheren) or grandees are called after their estates, dignities, or offices, as Kaimal, Ragiadoor, etc. The Rajah does not put his name as a signature to his letters (which are called Olas)2 but a mark, each kingdom having its own peculiar mark, which never varies; so that on merely seeing

^{1.} Note 18, p. 511.

^{2.} Note 19, p. 511.

these letters one can tell at once from what kingdom or monarch they come, though the Rajah's name does not appear.

The successor to the late rajah was, up to the time of his accession to the throne, the second prince, and thus by his elevation all the others below him attained a step in the order of succession; and to keep the number full, a new prince, chosen from the legitimate royal family was incorporated among them. From this constitution it is apparent that a prince seldom attains the throne in his youth, unless in case of some extraordinary mortality. All who are above him, sometimes seven or eight, must precede him, before he can hope to enjoy the crown.

These princes either live on their own estates or on incomes allowed them by the Rajah. As these are but small, they often live in a very impoverished condition, and are for State reasons excluded generally by the Rajahs from the administration of affairs.2 The present Rajah is a man of little or no judgment. and was despised by his predecessor. His whole bearing and conduct betoken his inferiority; he is rude and unpolished. extravagant in his conversation, irresolute in counsel, and violent in behaviour: not only do his courtiers and grandees esteem him but lightly, the Company too have little hope of getting any good out of him; and perhaps they have as little reason to fear mischief, as he has not sense enough to injure them in any underhand manner. Vet they had better keep on good terms with him, in order to detach him from uniting against them with those who bear them no good will, of whom the most to be dreaded is the Paliat with his family. He is the General-in-Chief of the kingdom at this time. Hitherto this dignity has belonged to another family. His vast estates, and his excellent army combine to make him a dangerous neighbour, even to his sovereign, in the island of Vypeen, where he resides and a great portion of which belongs to him. His enterprising spirit was manifested four years ago, when he had the effrontery to slay a wealthy and influential Canarese called Malpa, one of of the Company's merchants, and to boast of the deed; and, as the Company, probably fearing more serious consequences, let the crime go unpunished, his arrogance increases. Time will shew how far his turbulent spirit will carry him; at present, he is occupied with endeavours to foment angry feelings against the Rajah and the Company.3

- 1. Note 20, p. 511.
- 2. Note 21, pp. 511-512.
- 3. Note 22, pp. 512-522

I must return to the accounts of the Rajahs and the customs observed at their deaths and accessions. 1 On his death-bed a Rajah presents 200 or 300 cows to the Brahmins, and other gifts: he also distributes among his relations, money, jewels, etc., for all that he dies possessed of devolves on his successor. At his decease, the grandees assemble and prepare all the necessaries for the burning of his remains, which ceremony must take place within 36 hours, and is performed, as is the custom among the Brahmins, with but little pomp. Money and other alms are distributed in the interval; and the Olas are made out, which are circulated to notify the Rajah's decease. It is not a matter of indifference to the Rajahs at what place they expire: when they find themselves dangerously ill they retire to certain spots which are especially sanctified for the purpose. These are Trichore (where the late Rajah died) Kankanoer² and Tripontorah. first twelve days are the days of great mourning, when all tearing their grief by manifest their subjects the grow: no business beards their letting transacted, not even buying and selling provisions, throughout the country. For the first three days the successor is bound to furnish food for all the Brahmins present, and to give them money: this is repeated on the 40th day, and again at the expiration of three months. He wears mourning for a whole year, and during that period must submit to certain restrictions, such as not being allowed to shave his beard, chew betel, eat more than once a day, sleep on anything but a mat, etc. Neither may he enter any of the Company's factories or forts, or any other unholy place where cows are killed or eaten, so that the Commandant is obliged to wait upon him, at his Court or elsewhere if he wish to see him. After the first twelve days are ended, his principal subjects must pay their court to him occasionally and offer him presents. comes the head of the fishermen, who, after making his obeisance, lays before him a golden fish, a silver net, and an earthen dish containing sand and salt. On the anniversary of his predecessor's death, the Rajah gives a great feast to his court, for which preparations are made on a grand scale. I have been assured that sometimes as many as 14,000 or 15,000 of the venerated caste flock to these banquets, and these must be all regaled for three days with rice, butter, sugar, milk, piesang, etc., which, not being much used to such good cheer, they devour with voracity, and, besides furnishing all this, the host is bound to give all his guests money according to their rank, so that the amount of money spent at these ceremonies, is enough to maintain them for years if they

^{1.} Note 23, pp. 522-539.

^{° 2.} Note 24, pa 539.

are not rich. Similar feasts, but attended with less pomp, are given in memory of the Queen mother and the Princes of the kingdom,

The people of high caste also celebrate the memory of their deceased parents, wives, etc. They give a banquet on the first anniversary, and in the following anniversaries they double each time the triple cord they wear as the badge of their rank, so that they who, in the beginning of the year, wear one triple cord, in the sequel wear three or four of them:—which mode of wearing the cords is peculiar to the Brahmins, Chetties and Vaysias.

On the birth of a royal child in the line of succession, he is laid on earth brought from Vanneri, near Baliancotte, whence the royal family sprang, in the regal house of Chetria Gouron.

The Chettriahs in ancient times came here from the country of Hindustan in the north. There they might have lawful wives, but here they are not permitted to have them.

I must add a few remarks on the finances of the Rajah of Cochin. Some time ago the authorities in Batavia thought good to give him a grant of the Alfandigos, pepper customs, and soo kandies of pepper, together with other privileges. Their object was to enrich him, as to enable him to make head against the Zamorin. This policy seems to me nugatory, because in the first place their avaricious dispositions induces these Rajahs to appropriate all that they can get to their private use; we saw a specimen of this in the late Rajah, who from the poorest became one of the wealthiest of his race, whilst no one ever paid his troops so poorly, and his army was consequently in a wretched condition; and as his wealth increased his spite and enmity towards the Company augmented. In the second place, a Rajah is generally poor on his accession to the throne, though he is heir to all the property and wealth that his predecesser died possessed of, for they generally distribute before their death all the wealth they have amassed together, consisting principally of jewels and money. among their nearest relatives (excluding the next heir). Thus the late sovereign made his nephew the third prince his heir in these things, so that he can afford to laugh at the new king who is poor; and so the kingdom is no gainer by the wealth of the king.

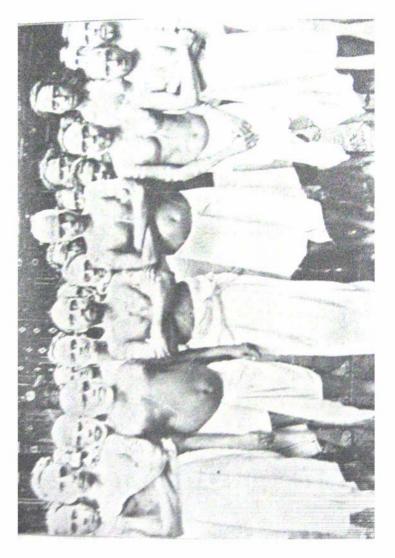
And to this, thirdly, the dread of the Zamorin's arms which has taken deep root in the hearts of the remaining princes. I believe it would have been better had the East India Company from the beginning reserved for themselves all that they have conquered from the Zamorin, and therewith made a fund to defray the expenses of the succeeding wars.

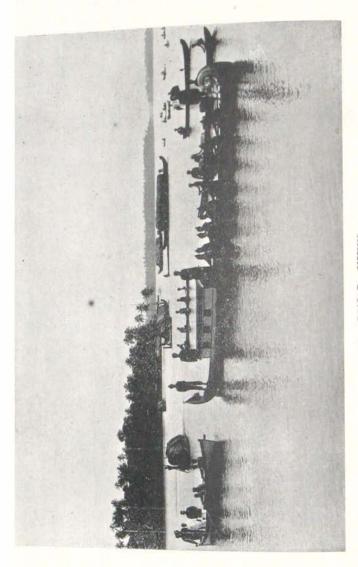


CAPE COMORIN.



CAPE COMORIN.





A CANAL VIEW.

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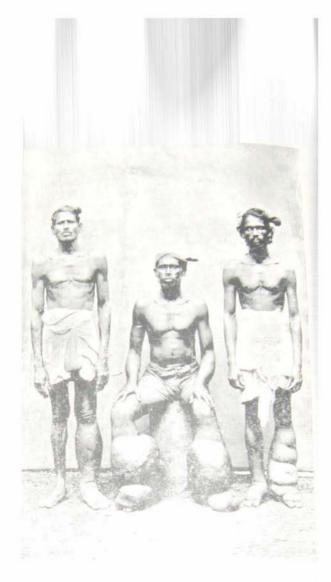


A RIVER VIEW: THE ALWAY RIVER

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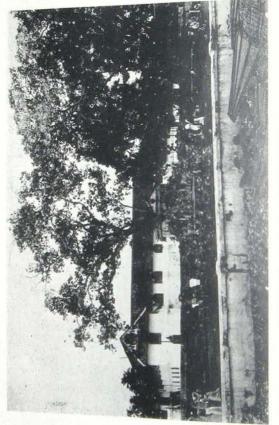


HARVESTING PADDY.



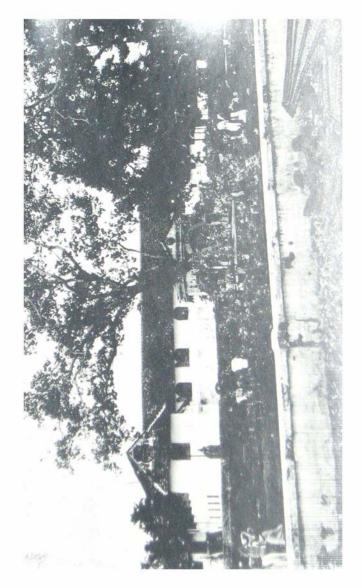


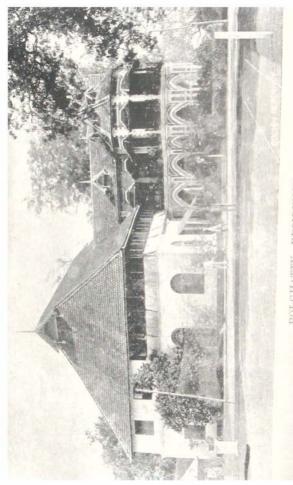
A TYPICAL FOREST SCENERY.



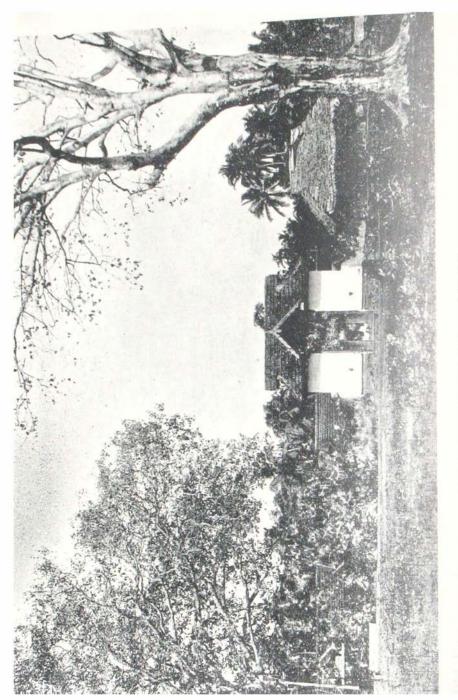
PALACE IN COCHIN (DUTCH BUILDING).

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BOLGHATTY RESIDENC



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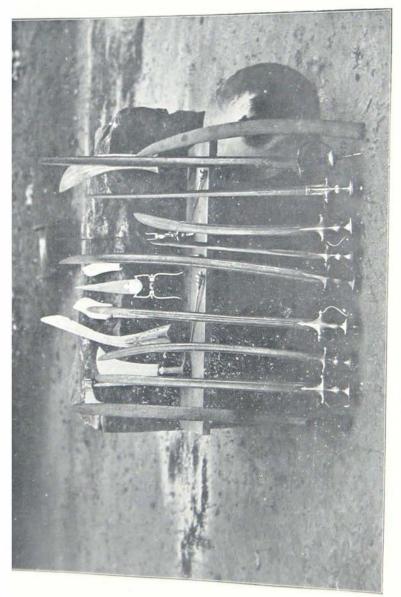


THE RUINS OF PALLIPPURAM FORT.

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ANJENGO FORT.

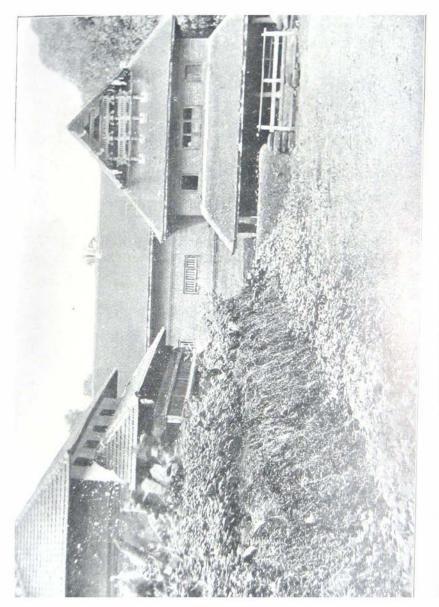


WEAPONS OF OLD NAYAR WARRIORS.



ATTENDANTS. COCHIN WITH A FEW OF HIS NAYAR MILITARY THE KING OF

To face page 499]



A TYPICAL NAMPUTIRI ILLOM.

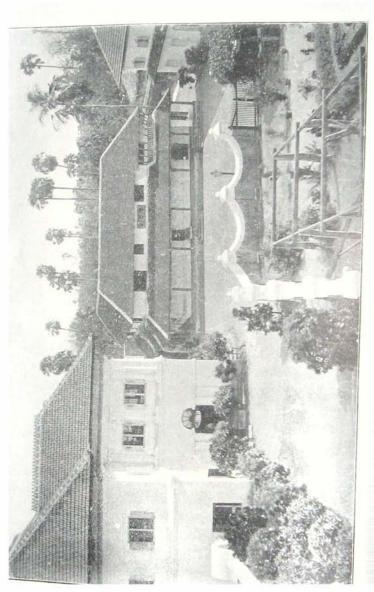


AMPALAVASI LADIES.

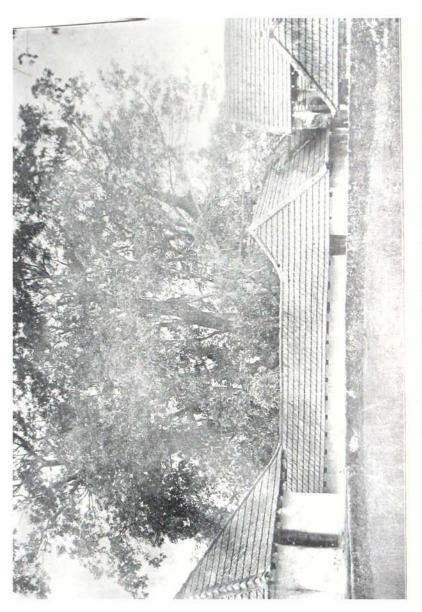




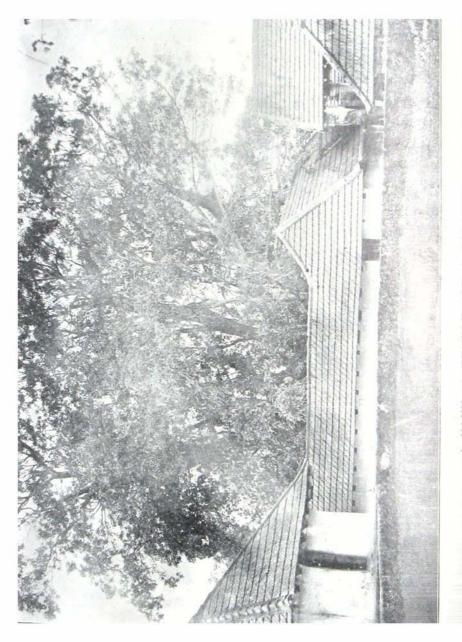




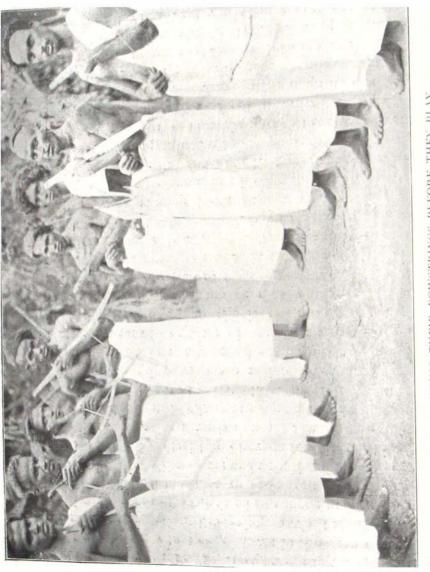
A TYPICAL ARISTOCRATIC NAYAR HOUSE,



A KAVU: A TEMPLE FOR A GODDESS.

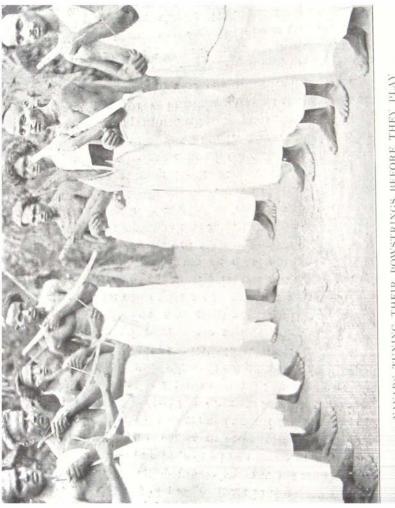


A KAVU: A TEMPLE FOR A GODDESS.

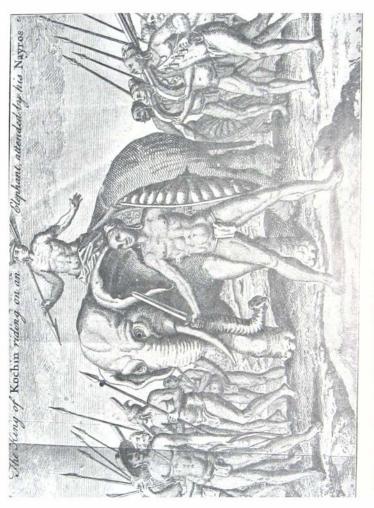


NAYARS TUNING THEIR BOWSTRINGS BEFORE THEY ON THEM DURING THE ONAM FFSTIVAL.

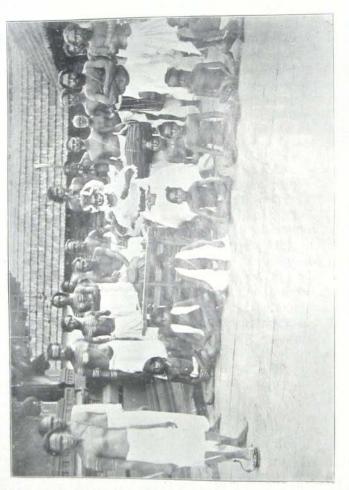
KANIAN ASTROLOGERS.



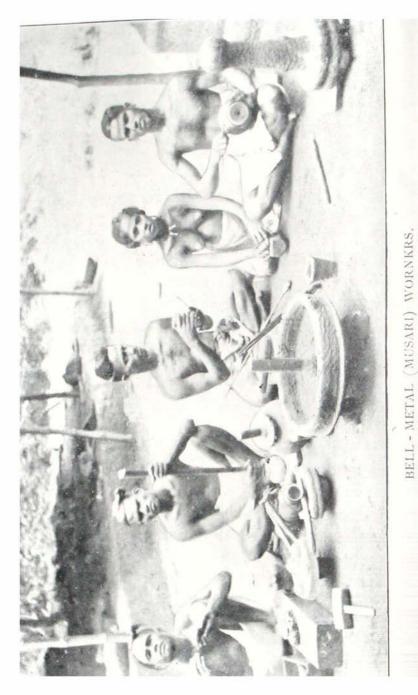
NAVARS TUNING THEIR BOWSTRINGS BEFORE THEY ON THEM DURING THE ONAM FESTIVAL.



THE NAYAR WARRIORS OF ANCIENT TIMES.



A CHARACA LA ROBES.

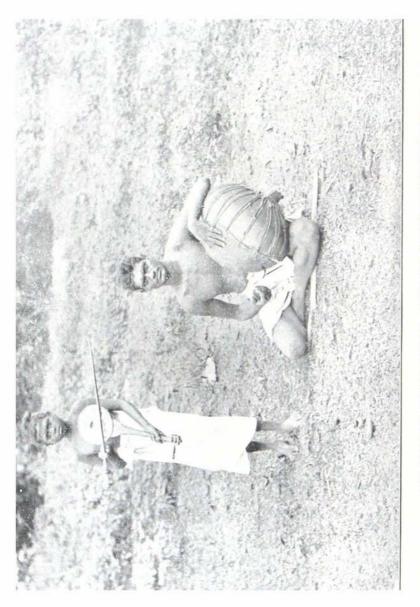


ASARI WOMEN.



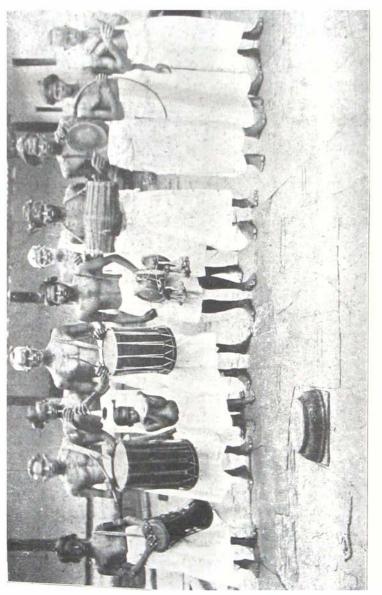
IZHUVAS WITH TODDY - DRAWING POTS.

A PANAN DANCE.

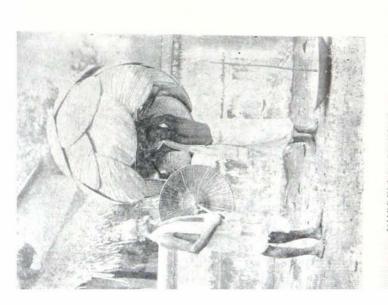


PULLUVANS WITH THEIR MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

A VALA MARRIAGE PARTY



MARARS WITH THEIR INSTRUMENTS.

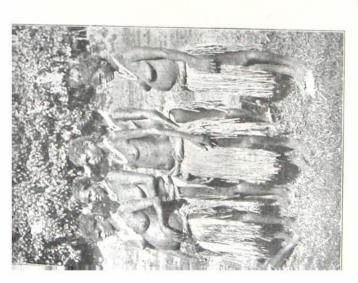


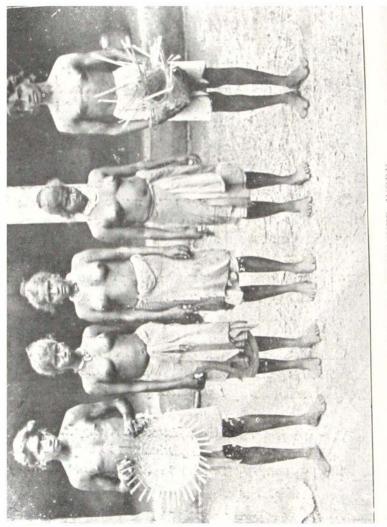
PULAYAS.

UMBRELLA - MAKERS.

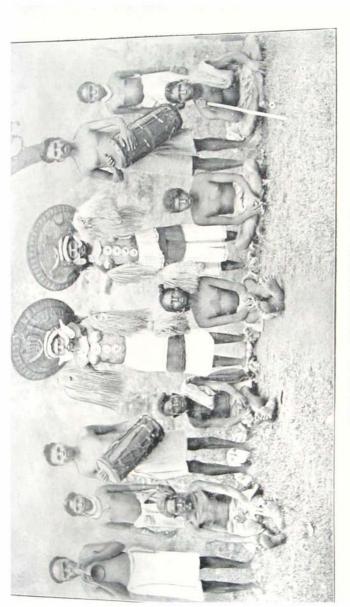


THANDAPULAYA WOMEN





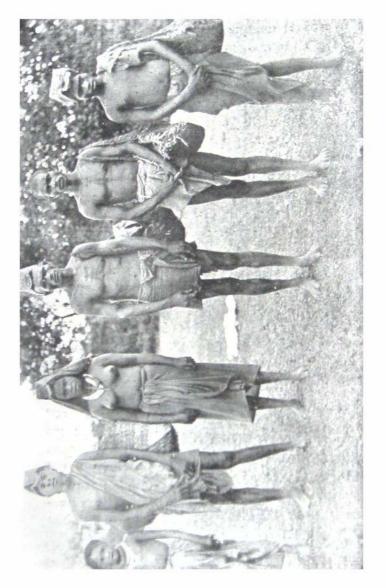
PARAYANS AT WICKER WORK.



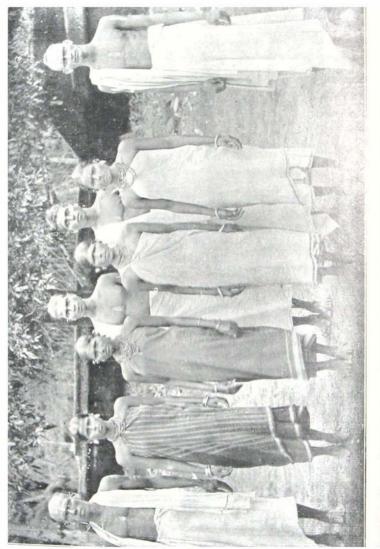
THE DEVIL - DANCE OF PARAYANS.



AN ULLADAN'S FAMILY.



A GROUP OF KADARS.



A GROUP OF KUDUMI CHETTIES.

The Transliteration Table followed in the printing of this work.

The Press has accented letters only for 12 point capitals and lower case letters; and, even among these, the sets are not complete.

In spite of great care, a few mistakes have crept in to mar the uniformity attempted to be maintained in spelling the names of places and of persons. For this, the Editor craves the pardon of the reader.

This Press owns no letters of the Nagara alphabet, and so Malayalam characters have to be used.

	1		1		
(GND)	a	ഖ	kha	പ	pa
ആ	a a	တ	ga	ഫ	pha
ஐ	i	ഘ	gha	ബ	ba
ை	ī	63.	nga	e i	bha
உ	u	يو	cha	മ	ma
உர	u u	മെ	chha	<i>∞</i>	ya
ප	l r	—	ja	ro o	ra
8	<u>r</u>	ഝ	jha ·	ല	la
െ	1	തെ	ňa	വ	va
ത്ത	<u> i</u>	s	ţa	တ	ร่า
എ	e	0	tha	0.913	şha
എ	e	ഡ	da	സ	sa
ഐ	ai	ഢ	dha	ഹ	ha
. e	0	ണ	ņa	<u> 9</u>	la
80	ō	ത	ţa	<i>a</i> b.91	kşha
ഒര	au	\mathbf{c}	tha	O	ra ra
അ∘	am	ø	d a	g	Ĭa l
നോദ	аḥ	w	dha	ററ	tta
an l	ka	m	hа	ൻറ	n'ta
					1,
					<u> </u>