

# MEMORANDUM

ON THE

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE MALABAR COAST

COMPOSED BY

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE EXTRAORDINARY MEMBER OF COUNCIL,  
GOVERNOR-ELECT OF CEYLON AND OUTGOING COMMANDEUR OF  
MALABAR

JULIUS VALENTIJN STEIN VAN GOLLENESSE

FOR HIS SUCCESSOR

THE WORSHIPFUL COMMANDEUR REINICUS SIEREMA

*IN THE YEAR 1743 A.D.*

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TRANSLATED BY

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WITH NOTES BY

A. GALLETTI, I.C.S.

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## INTRODUCTION.

While complying with orders received from Their Right Worshipfuls the Indian Government at Batavia by despatch, dated the 11th August last, to compose before my departure a memorandum relating to the state of affairs on this coast, I am in doubt as to whether to write concisely or circumstantially and according as the subject matter requires. No doubt the former plan would be the better if it could give the reader a good and clear idea of the state of affairs. Much reading is only a weariness of the flesh and more than enough has already been written about Malabar. But there are certain points which of their own nature require a great many words to explain, concisely as you may wish to put them; besides a large number of remarkable events have occurred during the eight years of my administration and so I should be almost inclined to write a detailed account; the more so when I recall to mind what a large amount of work it gave me in the beginning to acquaint myself with such a great number of kings, princes and smaller rulers. Their names alone are learned only with difficulty—not to speak of their morals, usages, laws, interests and affairs. However a thorough knowledge of all these different points is absolutely necessary if the Company's representative wishes faithfully to promote its interests, while on the other hand ignorance may easily lead to misunderstanding and mistakes, and though for you, Sir, who have spent many years on this coast, a detailed account would not appear to be so necessary, it may be of use to others.

However on reading over the memoir of Commandeur Hendrik Van Rheede<sup>1</sup>, dated March 17th, 1677, which he left to his successor Jacob Lobs, I find that this elaborate work treats of the Malabar kings and native affairs so admirably that neither I nor any one else could presume to handle the matter better; and so I beg to refer your Worship to this work. But I must point out that the number of Nairs is much smaller than that given by the writer; his calculation is probably based upon the times

<sup>1</sup> The memory of Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede of Drakestein, Baron of Mydrecht, is preserved by a fine monument at Surat, where he lies buried, and a monument still more enduring, the *Hortus Malabaricus* or Botany of Malabar in 12 volumes folio with 794 illustrations. The remains of his Memoir on Malabar still exist in the Madras records (MS. No. 7), but very little of it is now decipherable. There is a copy in the Hague General Record Office. He was born about 1637 A.D., came out in the military service of the Company and was supernumerary Captain at the siege of Cochin in 1663 (Batavia Diary). He distinguished himself during the siege and Bijlhof van Goens, Commandeur of the expedition, had him appointed full Captain. After the capture of Cochin he was set to work as Superintendent of the Topasses (half-castes, etc.) whom the Portuguese had left there and ingratiated himself with these people. Van Goens was much struck with his ability, employed him on political missions and eventually, in 1670, got him appointed Commandeur of Cochin "as being an able and efficient officer, particularly experienced in the affairs of Malabar" (Report of Van Goens, dated 1676 in Valentijn). However van Goens did not approve of his conduct in this appointment and afterwards accused him of pride and ingratitude. The quarrel seems to have been about the fortifications of Cochin regarding which van Rheede appears to have had somewhat grandiose ideas. He was accused of being never satisfied with the plans, but of always chopping and changing with the result that he spent over 800,000 guilders (say £70,000) when he was expected only to spend 450,000. Van Goens observes that having been a military man he did not understand the value of money. In 1677, a few months before van Goens became Governor-General, van Rheede joined the appointment to which he had meanwhile been promoted of Extraordinary Member of the Batavia Council. He arrived at Batavia on the 13th of May, 1677 (Batavia Diary), and soon after obtained leave to go home to the "dear Fatherland." He started home as Vice-Admiral of the Return Fleet on the 24th of November 1677. The *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* began to appear in 1678 and van Rheede doubtless spent some of his leisure arranging the botanical notes he had collected with the help of natives and others in Malabar. He also received assistance from Dutch men of science. In 1684 he was sent out again to the East "Invested with High Power and Authority" and provided with Instructions "specially directing him to visit the factories in Bengal, on the Coast of Coromandel, in Ceylon, Malabar, Surat and the Cape, to discover all frauds, abuses, malversations, to devise and introduce such remedies as may be necessary, and to disprove not only guilty but suspected officers and send them to the Netherlands with the documents" (document quoted in De Jonge). In 1686 Valentijn notes his presence in the perfor names of these duties of Roving Inspector-General or Commissioner-General as the Dutch called the office (and the English also when they made a similar appointment, Sir J. Goldborough's, 1692, cf. Wheeler I, 249-50), at the Cape in 1685, at Negapatam, Bimlipatam and Masulipatam in 1687, at Porto Novo in 1688. In July 1688 he was at Pulicat and the Fort St. George Council hearing that he was invested "with an unlimited power for the settlement of their affairs in these parts and being also in place equal to the General (Governor-General, as commonly) at Batavia" deputed three of their number to wait upon him (Fort St. George Diary). While on the Coromandel Coast he transferred the seat of Government from Pulicat to Negapatam, and, again indulging his taste for fortifications, had a "Castle" built there which cost according to Valentijn's informants either 1,000,000 to 1,200,000 guilders or 1,600,000 to 1,800,000. Van Rheede discovered many abuses and sent several officers home to the Netherlands, but no sooner had he turned his back than "everything, particularly the private trade, went back to the old footing." He died on a voyage from Ceylon to Surat in 1691 (De Jonge VIII, XIV. H. vart III, 84).—A lengthy extract from a Report on Ceylon attacking van Goens' administration of the island, which he wrote at Batavia in 1677 is printed in Valentijn. The original exists at Colombo—Mr. Antonius, Archivist to the Ceylon Government, observes: "His considerations on a stone pillar standing on a rocky promontory at Trincomalee bears the name of van Rheede's adopted daughter, Francina van Rheede of Mydrecht, and the date 1687, but shows that the romantic legend about it told by Sirr and Forbes is false. Further information will be found in van Rheede's contemporary Havar, who disliked, but respected him, in the lengthy preface to various volumes of the *Hortus* and in a study by E. J. Veth (1887).

of Cherum Perumal<sup>1</sup>. Things have however greatly changed since and much has been discovered in course of time that was then unknown; and so I think it will not be out of place to offer your Worship at the same time some notes in the form of a dictionary [missing] of the chief kingdoms, lands, towns, bazaars, pagodas, rivers, festivals and names in Malabar arranged in alphabetical order, which cannot fail to be of some little use to a new Chief of the Settlements, who will by simply turning it up find all he wants; or at least he will not have to trouble himself, when he comes across a word unknown to him in letters and *ōlas* [palm-leaf letters], with asking the meaning from people, who might sometimes inform him wrong.

Although I have spared no pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of everything, I will not go warrant that in course of time a few errors will not be discovered in the work. I humbly beg your Worship to correct such errors. The little intercourse which one actually has with the natives of Malabar makes such investigations very difficult, but this work may be perfected by such corrections in the course of time and may be of great use in the Company's service.

So far as concerns the Religion and the History of Malabar, if I were to put any account of them on paper, my work would become too diffuse. The Rev. Philip Baldaeus<sup>2</sup> has given an accurate description of the first; and the second, so far as it is necessary to know anything of it in view of the Company's interests, may be studied in the old papers here in the Secretariat.

In the course of this memorandum I shall notice briefly what has occurred in my time; but I shall make no mention of what happened before except so far as may be necessary for a correct understanding of affairs by connecting them with what has gone before. Proceeding on these lines the work will be quite long enough and a second bundle will be added in which the papers referred to may be found [missing].

After referring to country affairs, I shall add a few words regarding the domestic economy of the Company. I need not enter into details; because the administration is based on the commendable "Memorandum of Instructions," dated 9th October 1697 and 31st May 1698, composed by the Right Worshipful the late Governor-General, Hendric Zwaarderoon<sup>3</sup>, of happy memory, at that time Commissary of Malabar, and left for the guidance of the Commandeurs. As long as your Worship is careful to have the orders laid down there strictly observed, everything will be carried out well and to the satisfaction of our Worshipful Masters [the Directors in Holland] except in regard to a few points in which Their Right Worshipfuls [the Council at Batavia] have been pleased to make alterations by despatch, dated 7th November 1702.

Furthermore your Worship will find the necessary instructions in the collection of orders from Home and from Batavia in 8 folios. These orders may be found under their respective headings, which is not a little convenient for an administrator, and your Worship would do well to keep the system up. It were to be wished that the headings were not so general, as it would then be much easier to find what one looks for. For instance under the heading "servants" is so much matter that it would be easier to find instructions concerning them in the original letters; all this could have been a great deal simplified by appropriate classification. I have had no time to rectify these defects as my administration has been full of troubles, difficulties

<sup>1</sup> Much has been written to little purpose about Cheruman Perumal, the legendary ancestor of many of the chief families of Malabar. The word may perhaps mean the "Big man of the Chera people," but neither this derivation nor any of the various theories which have been based on the myth is convincing. Van Rhoeke's list of Nairs is reproduced with curious misspellings and misunderstandings in A. Hamilton's *New Account of the East-Indies*, edition of 1739, pp. 284-8. The total number of Nair warriors in the original list is 1,514,000, or more than the whole Nair population of British Malabar (391,000), Travancore (536,000) and Cochin (112,000) according to the last census. The statement of Hamilton that the Kingdoms of Cannanore, Tannore, Cochin, Porcat, Para and the Zamorin are not in the list is incorrect. They are entered under the dynastic name of the sovereign.

<sup>2</sup> The book referred to is P. Baldaeus, *Nauwkenrige beschryvinge Van Malabar en Coromandel en het eiland Ceylon, nevens een ontdecking van de afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen, en een Malabarsche spraakboek*. Folio, Amsterdam 1672. There is a translation in Churchill's *Voyages* (London 1750) which preserves the valuable prints. Those who wish to see what Cochin, Masulipatam, etc., looked like about 1660 A.D. may turn to it.

<sup>3</sup> Hendrick Zwaarderoon was born at Rotterdam on the 26th of January 1667 A.D. and came out to the East in 1684 with van Rhede as van Rhede's secretary. He was appointed Book-keeper in 1686, Under Merchant 1686, Merchant 1688, Upper Merchant 1694. From 1694-7, he was Commandeur of Jaffna, in 1697 Commissary for Malabar (that is, Inspector-General with authority superior to the local Commandeur) and then Officiating Governor of Ceylon. In 1699, he was appointed Director at Surat, in 1703 Secretary to the Council at Batavia, in 1704 Extraordinary Member of Council, in 1716, Ordinary Member. He was Governor-General from 1720 to 1724. Such were the steps in the career of an officer of the Political service of the Dutch Company. In 1716, he was offered the command of the expedition against the Zamorin of Calicut, but refused it. He was a successful administrator and the Company never paid such high dividends as during his Governor-Generalship. He was much interested, like many of the old Dutchmen, in planting, and on retiring from the Governor-Generalship elected not to return to Holland, but to spend his last days on his estate in Java. He died in 1728. The volumes of instructions referred to exist still, one of them (62) much damaged (MS. Nos. 50 and 59).

and extraordinary events. The arrangement of all the orders and instructions under their proper headings should be carried out by men who understand the work, since the contrary causes much trouble and vain searching.

This memorandum will thus accordingly be divided into three parts : Part I the persons with whom the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company comes in contact on this coast ; Part II : articles in which the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company trades, which it sells and buys ; and Part III : the Company's domestic affairs. With regard to the first Part, I must make a few preliminary remarks concerning the people of Malabar, which are generally applicable.

They are not bloodthirsty like other eastern nations, but they are particularly covetous, faithless and insincere ; for money you can get anything out of them and the greatest crimes may be atoned for by a small sum of money. Honour and good faith, promises and oaths are with them very frail ties easily broken if their interests require it and so you cannot look too much about and before you with them and not the slightest trust can be put in their promises. Their many and binding contracts made with the Company, but never kept by them, are indisputable proofs of my statement<sup>1</sup>. What can you do with men who, when they are embarrassed or beaten, willingly submit to the terms and conditions of the conqueror, but who have no intention of observing them except as long as they feel the force to which they must bow, and whose good faith and obedience vanish as soon as it is withdrawn from this coast ? Their hypocrisy is profound. They are in no way excitable, but very composed ; outwardly polite but their heart full of bitterness, they are masters of the art of sounding a person without his noticing. I have often found that when the Signatty<sup>2</sup> wished to obtain something from the Company, he proposed the very opposite, solely with the intention of discovering my sentiments. If I rejected his proposal, he had gained his point ; if I granted his request, he would produce so many engines directed to the gaining of his object, that I often found myself in a real quandary scarcely knowing how to repulse the attack.

They are particularly phlegmatic and ridicule the hasty temper of Europeans, and if you have dealings with them you should treat them according to their own ways ; this need not prevent you occasionally using, if necessary, strong language and earnest admonitions, but that again will accomplish little unless a good number of soldiers impart weight to your words.

All transactions with them are very much delayed by their numerous festival days and ceremonies ; one must put up with this and there is no remedy ; but their lucky and unlucky days, which always occur according as their interest demands and just as is convenient to them, are intolerable.

One point I must notice here which is of great importance in the Company's service, viz., although the kings and princes exercise great authority over their subjects, affairs are so regulated by the laws of Cherumān Perumāl that their rule can in no way be called despotic ; subjects obey their king ungrudgingly as long as he remains within the limits of the law ; even if a chief were to wrong a few individuals, the whole community would not take up the quarrel ; but if he were to issue orders calculated to injure the interests of the whole community, they would not be obeyed. I draw attention to this in special connection with pepper, and I confess to have made a mistake more than once in stating in the Company's papers that kings and chiefs alone can and should stop the export of pepper, and having examined the subject more carefully, I have come to the conclusion that their power in this matter is small if they do not wish to bring the hatred of the whole nation upon their head ; since the kings have indeed with the knowledge of their subjects promised to supply the Company with pepper but not at any particular price ; and in the contracts made with the king of Tekkenkur, dated 16th June 1664, it is distinctly laid down that the pepper must be paid for at such prices and with such commodities and specie, silver or gold, as the bazaar from time to time demands and as can be agreed upon with the traders or ordinary merchants.

<sup>1</sup> This should not be taken too seriously. In a frank passage in his Memoir of 1761 Commandeur Caspar de Jong observes that much rubbish was talked about the non-observance of contracts and treaties by native princes. These treaties were sometimes obsolete, sometimes seriously interpreted by the Dutch. Similar charges of not observing treaties could just as easily be brought against the Dutch themselves.

<sup>2</sup> The " Signatty " is the Prince of Quilon ; from Desinganād, properly the name of the country. He was an ally of the Dutch in the Travancore War of 1738-42 A.D.

In paragraph 11 of his Memorandum referred to above, Commandeur Hendrik Van Rheede, who was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Malabar, testifies to the same thing in the following words: "subjects are not bound to observe any orders, commands or whims and council decisions of the king which are not in conformity with their laws, welfare or privileges and have not been approved in their own district and ratified at the meeting of their district assemblies". And further paragraph 35 "No king of Malabar has the power to make contracts which are prejudicial to the interests of landlords, noblemen or Nairs; such a king would run the danger of being expelled and rejected by his subjects, etc."

If any one were to object that the contracts made between the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company and the respective kings and landowners seem to prove that my view is wrong, I can only answer that no such conclusion can be drawn and that such contracts rather go to prove the truth of my statements; because it cannot be shown that such contracts were ever observed by any one except so far as the people of Malabar found their interest in the observance or so far as their fear of the power of the Company compelled them for a short time, and so I think it is abundantly clear that all measures both political and commercial to induce the natives to trade with the Company with loss to themselves are entirely useless if they have other ways of disposing of their merchandise, because it would never enter the mind of the chiefs seriously to oppose their subjects in this matter.

Commissary Marten Huisman and Council commenting in the margin on paragraph 35 of the said Memorandum, say that kings have indeed the power to make certain treaties, which may in some measure extend to restriction of trade by sea, but they cannot do so against private rights. This statement is not inconsistent with what I have said above because the people of Malabar will not make a fuss about trifles; but when vital interests are at stake, such as those bound up with pepper, areca, rice and oil, they will by no means willingly allow their hands to be tied, or must be compelled by force.

<sup>1</sup> Specimens of Resolutions passed at such meetings will be found in Mr. Nagam Aiyar's Travancore Manual, I, pp 319-322. A resolution passed by the people of the Nanjanad area in solemn meeting held at Aersman under date the 14th Margaly, 889 M.E. (December 1713 A.D.) runs: "As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers caused great damage to us, and as while from the time this land came into existence we continued to pay *angali melavaram* for lands we possess by purchase, we have been obliged to pay *kottappunam* and unprecedented taxes, the land has suffered very grievously. Hereafter therefore we should, in accordance with the royal commands of our sovereign Kulasekhara Paramal Tampuran, continue to pay *angali* and *melavaram* alone, but not any *kottappunam* and unusual taxes, and should protest against such attempts by unitedly making a bold stand and if necessary by emigrating. We should honourably keep up all the privileges or rights which our ancestors enjoyed in olden days. If palace officers should come, we should give them allowances only at 12 measures for each Brahmin and 9 measures for each Nayar among them"; and so on.



## CHAPTER I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGS OF MALABAR, BEGINNING IN THE SOUTH WITH THE STATE OF TRAVANCORE OR TRIPAPU SURAPAM. (SVARUPAM = RULING FAMILY) ONE OF THE FOUR CHIEF KINGDOMS.

The king of Travancore is of the Chodilecur Faction<sup>1</sup>, a Nair by caste<sup>2</sup>, adopted from the house of Colastry, [Kôlatiri of Cannanore] and styles himself Cuchi Tambaran or the little king. This state was formerly divided among five houses, Travancore, Attinga, Elleda Surovan, Peritally and Signatty; and since the four first states have been united, they form the most powerful state in Malabar<sup>3</sup>. The other states have, without harmony (which is seldom found in the ruling families), little power; but this chief on the contrary has with the help of the English<sup>4</sup>, had all the noblemen of the state, both Pulas and Gurips<sup>5</sup>, put to death or banished the country except the Pula of Bariatto. Since that time he not only rules supreme but by confiscating their goods and lands he has so increased his treasures and revenues that he excels the other rulers in the greatness of his expenditure and was able to keep up the war against the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company and the Signatty for four years, although in the meantime he had to pay considerable tributes at first to the Moguls and later on to the Mahrattas from the time the latter had taken possession of the Madura Coast.

The present king [Martanda Varma] is 37 years old, an able and untiring prince, but very cruel and so conceited and arrogant that he aims at nothing less than the supremacy over the whole of Malabar; and no doubt he would have gained his object had not the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company been in his way.

From the letters dispatched from here, the Campaign Journal<sup>6</sup> and other papers kept here at the Secretariat your Worship may learn the origin of the late war with that king and how at first the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company was pretty successful against him, but later on for want of men and other necessities had to leave him master of the field; until finally on knocking his head against the Coilan [Quilon] lines and losing more than 6,000 men and on hearing of the return to India of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff<sup>7</sup> as Governor-General he hurriedly returned with his army to his own country. He has been suing for peace in very polite terms, and has already made

<sup>1</sup> *Chodilecur faction*.—Mr. Asbyuta Menon writes: "The Namburi Brahmins and Nayer chieftains with their followers belonged formerly to one of two factions Chovaraour and Panniyorour. The Raja of Cochin is said to have been the head of the former and the Zamorin of the latter."

<sup>2</sup> *Nair by caste*.—the Tampi or descendants of the Maharajas will not now eat with, though they will eat in the houses of, ordinary Nairs; whose indignation has been expressed in the newspapers. Whether or not the Maharaja himself is to be considered a Nair is quite a different question. See p. 110 below.

<sup>3</sup> In 1576 according to a Report of Van Goens printed in Valentijn, Travancore ended two hours march north of Tengapatnam and embraced only the southern extremity of the present state, a strip of land of about 700 square miles (35 X 20) or one-tenth part of modern Travancore. This is also the extent of Travancore as shown in Valentijn's map (1726). The ruling family of Attinga (Attingal), another narrow strip of about 30 miles of coast bounding it on the north, seems to have been closely connected with that of Travancore, and sometimes reckoned as part of it; as apparently in Jan Nieuhoff's book (1693, II. p. 136); and in a report abstracted in the Batavia Di-ry under date 27th Nov. 1683 it is stated: "The principal trade places from Quilon to the Cape in the Travancore king's lands are the villages of Mapely, Aratura (Valiatura), Tengapatnam and Carinpatnam (Kudikapattanam). The village of Mapely lies about 6 miles (= about 20 English miles) from Quilon and is one of the principal ports, being well situated for the trade in pepper and wild cinnamon. In the village Aratura, about 6 miles (20 miles) further south, much pepper could be purchased". Towards the end of the 17th century Kelorna (Kerala Varma), Raja of Travancore, is described in Dutch records as the Queen of Attingal's vassal (N. Macleod). About the same time the English settled at Anjengo, and they obtained their grants from the Queen; while in 1767 the Chief of Anjengo wrote: "Her (the Queen of Attinga's) country is now in the absolute power of the king of Travancore, and he holds the Hires of the family under restraint in the palace of Attinga but, being of the same family himself, does not otherwise treat her ill; yet she has not the least shadow of authority left etc." (Mil. Cons. No. 8, p. 896). Elleda Surovan (Eladad Svarupam, Elaya = young, Svarupam = ruling family), Peritally and Signatty (Desinganad) or Quilon were when the Dutch first appeared on the Coast practically independent principalities bordering on and intermixed with Travancore and Attingal on the north-east and north. These and other states were, however, sometimes reckoned as really part of Travancore (e.g., in Van Kheede's Memoir).

<sup>4</sup> "With the help of the English".—The contemporary records of Anjengo are missing, but I find the following remark in a letter from Anjengo to the Select Committee at Madras, dated 8th September 1767 on page 899 of Military Consultations, General No. 8, Fort St. George records: "It is to be remarked that by the help of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company he was first enabled to acquire an Influence in the country, and which he is continually acknowledging tho' he makes them not indifferent Returns for it". The king of Travancore referred to is Martanda Varma "the Great", the founder of modern Travancore.

<sup>5</sup> *Pulas and Gurips*: i.e., pillais and kurups. These are Nair caste-suffixes, originally, probably denoting offices or titles—cf. Cantor Vissoher (1723): "The Gurips, who are fencing masters, are also held in great esteem". The "eight families of Pillais" or 8 baronial houses of Travancore are often mentioned in these records and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> This Journal or a part of it exists (MS. No. 2871).

<sup>7</sup> Gustaaf Willem, Baron Van Imhoff, was born in 1706 A.D. He came out to the East in the grade of Under-Merchant in 1726, in 1728 he was promoted Merchant, in 1729 Upper Merchant, in 1730 Second Secretary to the Supreme Council at Batavia, in 1732 Extraordinary Member of Council, in 1736 ordinary Member of Council and Governor of Ceylon. In 1738 he was at home on leave; in 1739 he paid a brief visit to Malabar; in 1740 he took his seat in the Council at Batavia, quarrelled with the Governor-General concerned in the famous massacre of the Chinese, was sent home in arrest, came out as Governor-General in 1743, and died in harness in 1760.

peace with the Signatty; but since he understood that the departure of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff from Europe had been postponed, the peace negotiations with the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company have advanced very little. Of these negotiations and the final result your Worship will be informed further on.

And although a peace should be concluded, one may very reasonably doubt whether it will be lasting; since he strongly insists upon a promise from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company to remain neutral in case he goes to war with the Malabar chiefs, which sufficiently shows his ambitious intentions, and though it will be some time before his finances are re-established and besides most of his Cunjecutas [Kunjukuttakars] or picked Nairs have fallen, still I do not believe that he has altogether abandoned his high-flying design to make himself master of the whole of Malabar, and even if peace should be made, your Worship will have to watch his conduct carefully, and avoid cautiously whatever may give rise to fresh troubles. It will be sufficient for your Worship to keep Their Right Worshipfuls properly informed and to wait for their orders with regard to him.

The chief products of his territories are pepper and piece-goods. The former is found on this side of Brinsjan [Vizhinjam] and the latter is manufactured on the other side between Brinsjan and the cape at Cottatte,<sup>1</sup> Colletye [Collachel] and Tengapatnam; the English have a large share in the trade of both products; however most of the pepper is brought across the hills to the Pandy country and to the coast and the piece-goods also are carried over the whole of Malabar. Moreover the country produces as much rice as is required to feed its inhabitants.

Nanjnadu, a small principality beyond Cacollam, bordering on the Pandy country<sup>2</sup> which escheated to Travancore about 200 years ago, produces so much of this grain that the king levies tolls every year amounting to 300,000 gallioons<sup>3</sup> on the rice in the husk exported to the Pandy country. The monopoly contracts made between the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company and the king's forefathers are to be found in the book of contracts [M.S. No. 48]. But these contracts were never heeded; in 1695 the king did not even scruple to allow the English to build a fort at Ansjenga [Anjengo] in Attinga; the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company's "lodges" at Tengapatnam and Ansjenga have several times been plundered; the resident at Tengapatnam, Johannes Heidenberg, was murdered; the vessels and the property of the Company were seized.<sup>4</sup> This is the origin of the well-known debt or claim of Attinga amounting to 52,742-9-6 guilders [about Rs. 30,000], of which a full account may be found in the second bundle of the annexures under No. 1 [missing]. All this occurred in the time of the great power of the Pulas when the state was badly governed owing to domestic disputes and complications; at present however matters are so well regulated and carried out with such regularity and fitness that the like is not seen with any chief in Malabar. All the

<sup>1</sup> Cottatte is Kottar, the capital of old Travancore, now a part of the large town of Nagercoil (26,000 inhabitants); lat. 8° 10', long. 77° 29'; 5½ miles from the sea. In 1739 Van Imhoff (Journal in MS. No. 281) proceeding by land from Tengapatnam to Tuticorin halted at Colletje (12 English miles) and Puletope (12 more) and was then 12 miles from Cottatte. He marched along the sea to Rajakumangalam, the half-way place, and then turned inland to Cottatte. From Cottatte to Cape Comorin was 16 miles. The itinerary leaves no doubt as to the identity of Cottatte with Kottar. All these places contained (and contain) Portuguese churches. Kottar has also an ancient pagoda and has perhaps been an important commercial town for more than two thousand years. It has been identified with the Colliara Metropolis of the ancient Greeks and the Cottara of the Ptolemaic tables. The temple in 1739 was cotton cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjinad comprises the two south-westernmost talukas of modern Travancore, Tovala and Agastivaram. Cacollam is Kalkulam taluk and the Pandy country is the mountainous area on the east of old Travancore, the name probably referring to the famous old dynasty of the Pandyas.

<sup>3</sup> Gallioons: A Travancore chakram as shown by an entry on p. 166 of MS. No. 281 (Diary of Van Imhoff, 1739), where in an interview with Travancore's ministers "obuchram fanams or gallioons" are referred to and it is explained that 480 Dutch doits = 1 pagoda = 20 gallioons; 1 gallioon = 24 doits. The Company's doit was under Batavia Plakaat of the 18th Oct. 1726 worth one quarter of a stiver and the common bazaar rupee under Plakaat of the 28th May 1736 was to be accepted at 27 heavy stivers. The doit meant in the passage cited is apparently a doit light money, of which 240 = 1 rix-dollar. The calculation accordingly is, 2 rix-dollars = 1 Travancore pagoda = 20 gallioons; 1 gallioon = 1/24th rix-dollar = 1/24 × 1/20 rupees = 1/480th of a rupee; 1 rupee = 576th gallioons. In 1727 (MS. No. 148) 222½ rix-dollars is given as the equivalent of 2,000 gallioons, which makes the gallioon 9 instead of 10 to the dollar. Elsewhere I find 27 gallioons = 1 ducat (p. 176 of MS. No. 281) and it is also stated that at their intrinsic value gallioons were 24, not 20 to the pagoda. Five years later the Anjengo factors exchanged their ducats at from 27½ to 28½ fanams, and their rupees at from 6½ to 6¾ fanams. "Gallioon" is the Malayalam Kaliyao. The kaliyaga coinage is a well-known old coinage of Travancore, and though kaliyaga are not now current coin in Travancore, prices, rents, etc., are still often referred to in terms of kaliyaga, seven kaliyaga being reckoned to a rupee. A rupee was in 1743 about twice its present value in English currency. Eight rupees were then reckoned to the sovereign at Tellicherry (Diary 1743, p. 84): So a gallioon at 6 to the rupee was worth about 6d English.

<sup>4</sup> This occurred on the 28th August 1694. The Queen agreed in 1695 to rebuild the factory and to pay 80,000 kaliyan fanams, reckoned at 9,411 rix-dollars, besides presenting an elephant (see N. Macleod "De machtenbreiding der Oost Indische Compagnie of het vasteland van Amie van 1683-1697"). The English factors of Anjengo with 120 men were also murdered on the night of the 11th to 12th April 1721 at Attungal and the factory was then besieged for 6 months, the Rani of Attungal being unable to keep order among her own people.

great men of his kingdom called "Anavies"<sup>1</sup> are men of common Nair origin and their rank is not inherited by their descendants; accordingly they depend entirely upon the ruler, they owe everything to him and they obey him with a slavish submission; and as their welfare depends entirely on the favour of their master, the king is served with great promptitude and from them he never need fear conspiracies against his person or possessions.

## (2) THE STATES OF PERITALLY AND ELLEDA SUROVAN<sup>2</sup>.

Peritally and Elleda Surovan bound on Travancore in the north-east; by the extinction of the families of former rulers they have come under one ruler who is called the king of Peritally, Nair by caste and adopted from the princes of Ellerta Surovan or Corporam,<sup>3</sup> being of the Chodircur faction. The king of Travancore took possession of this state in the year 1734, led away the royal family into captivity and had them imprisoned in a Pagger,<sup>4</sup> where the king died two years ago. The other princess and princesses are still there with the exception of one princess, who was fortunate enough to escape from the hands of this usurper and to get safely to Tekkenour; in the year 1740 she was brought back from there by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company to her state and reinstated as ruler; but in the year 1742 she again had to leave it and withdrew into the state of Cochin where she resides with her relations at Corporam, and still receives 45 fanams [Rs. 2½, 18 Cochin fans. = 1 rupee] daily from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company towards her own support and that of her suite.

Rice and pepper are particularly plentiful in these two states and they are called the Malabar pepper garden par excellence. Marambins<sup>5</sup> and Nairs are numerous, but just as pusillanimous as those of Calicoilan [Cayaneulam]; for if this little nation had only offered the slightest resistance, the Raja of Travancore would never have advanced so far. But their maxim is "dead men never come to life again", and so you must avoid as far as possible the danger of losing your life. For this reason they always choose the side of the strongest and make no secret of this shameful principle. The residential town is Cottaracarre,<sup>6</sup> situated in Elleda Surovan; the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has made monopoly contracts with the kings of this country. There are many weavers at Oligoly, a mile [1 Dutch mile = 4 English miles] from Coilan [Quilon]; in time they will supply good piece-goods, and although Peritally remains in the power of Travancore, we shall always be able to compel them to sell their woven fabrics to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, because most of the cotton which they use is brought to and unloaded in the Bay of Coilan which belongs to the Company.

## (3) COILAN (QUILON).

Next we come to the little kingdom of Coilan. After the Raja of Calicoilan was slain in 1734 it was annexed to the latter. This state is small and produces nothing of importance except a little pepper; and although considerable consignments of this grain are sometimes supplied, most of it is imported from Peritally and other places. The fortress of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, likewise called Coilan, lies within the lines of the Signatty, which were so manfully defended last year by the brave Nairs under the gallant old Rajadore<sup>7</sup> Achuda Barier [Achyuta Wariar] against the entire forces of the Raja of Travancore that the latter had to raise the siege with great loss and shame.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "Annavy is a title in Travancore similar to Achan in Cochin. The word is probably derived from Annan, elder brother, Achan meaning father. There are still some men in Travancore holding the title."

<sup>2</sup> Peritally: Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "No name resembling Peritally is locally known as the name of a former kingdom". The Travancore Manual identifies Peritally with Nedumangad (I, 310) formerly Elavallar, correctly (vide letters in MS. No. 300). Portuguese form was Pavagatali. In the Tellicherry Diary for 1728 it is recorded: "The Kings of Chinganatta [Signatty] and Perital have joined Vanjankalla [a turbulent Nair vassal of the Queen of Attinga] and are resolved to crush the king of Travancore". The war of 1734 began with an attack on Cayaneulam by the joint forces of Travancore and Peritally (Letter of king of Chyanaculam in MS. No. 202).

<sup>3</sup> Corporam: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes "Kerapuram is the sandy tract lying between the sea and the back-water to the north of Alleppey".

<sup>4</sup> A pagger—is a stockade or fort (Malay).

<sup>5</sup> Marambin:—Madampinar, old Nair titular affix.

<sup>6</sup> Cottaracarre—is now a station on the Shencotta-Quilon branch railway.

<sup>7</sup> Rajadores—are "lords who have been raised by the Rajas to certain commands over the army or country", (Canter Viascher, 1723). The word is not derived from "Raja", but is the Portuguese Regedor, magistrate, etc. commonly applied to these people in the old Portuguese books, e.g., in Gaspar Correa. This without denying that Rex and Raja may have a common root. The form used in Italian by Sebastiani (1672) is Regedore; the form used in Dutch by Nienhof (1682) is Residoor.

The residential town of the king is also within these lines and the Travancore works lie within a stone's throw and could be bombarded from fort Coilan.

#### (4) MARTA.

Marta comprises two little kingdoms, Carnapoly and Carimbali or Betimene; the former stretches along the sea between Coi—and Calicoilan; the latter lies on the other side of the river between Calicoilan and Porca.<sup>1</sup>

The king of Travancore had caused a princess of his own family to be adopted there against right and reason. She was queen in name, but as a matter of fact the state was ruled by the King's Rajadores. In the year 1740 she was compelled to leave the state and to withdraw into Tekkenur to Nedumporam, a *desam*<sup>2</sup> or free place. But in 1742 when we had to leave the field owing to want of men the state fell again into the hands of the Raja of Travancore; the latter still holds possession of it on the understanding that his claim on Peritally and Marta will be examined by two impartial kings. These countries produce nothing, except what is required for the people's sustenance. The Company has built a pepper store-house of brick at Peza<sup>3</sup>; but the pepper is mostly brought from Peritally as this country can scarcely furnish 100 candies [1 Candy = 500 Dutch pounds] of its own growing.

#### (5) CALICOILAN (CAYENCULAM).

Calicoilan is a beautiful little kingdom stretching from the sea far inland; it lies between Pandalam, Tekkenur, Elleda Surovan, Martencur, Porca (Puracad) and Tirkenapaly or Pagodingo. The king of this state possesses also the kingdoms of Coilan and Pannapally. He is a man of understanding and courage but his profligacy and fickleness mar all his other good qualities; he is not exactly avaricious but rather wasteful; but as his own means do not suffice, he gathers and scrapes together all he can and for this reason he may rightly be called grasping. He has 15,000 Nairs who were formerly looked upon as the best in Malabar, but in the late war they behaved with unparalleled cowardice; the strange conduct of the king no doubt contributed greatly to this; his people are far from loving him, and they do not think him worthy that they should risk their lives in his interests. The country produces little pepper but the Hon'ble Company allow His Highness 500 fs. Ragias<sup>4</sup> annually for extirpating wild cinnamon besides the ordinary grants for pepper.

#### (6) PANNAPALLY.

Pannapally is a little kingdom lying inland beyond Calicoilan, to which it was attached when its ruling family died out. The people of Malabar call the four little kingdoms above mentioned Cherrivay or Unaddu Carre, because formerly they were under one queen who divided them among her four daughters.

#### (7) PANDALAM OR CHEMBALANUR.

Pandalam or Chembalanur is a principality situated beyond Calicoilan, bordering on the Pandy Country; it is of little importance. The Raja is a great friend of the Raja of Travancore and a great enemy of the king of Calicoilan; he gave the former free passage through his dominions when he was on his way to attack the latter. Without this permission the invasion would not have been so easy, because good fortifications had been constructed in the direction of Elleda Surovan. The southern beams that are supplied to the Hon'ble Company come from this country. The Raja is a Kshatrya by caste and has 3,000 Nairs.

#### (8) TIRKENAPALY.<sup>5</sup>

Tirkenapaly, which is better known among us by the name of Pagodingo, is a little piece of land lying along the sea; it stretches from the Calicoilan country to Porca and belongs to the king of Repolim, who has it governed by his Rajadores.

<sup>1</sup> Marta.—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Of the two small states Karunagapilly (Carnapoly) and Kartikapilly (Carimbaly) which were ruled by two branches of the same family. Mertukulencara (Marta) was the capital of the first." This corresponds with position of the principalities as shown in Valentijn's map (1726).

<sup>2</sup> Nedumporam.—is near Tiruvella. *Desam* now simply means a topographical—administrative sub-division.

<sup>3</sup> Peza.—Nieboel (II, 181) writes: "To the south (of Marta) by the sea lies a place called *Panderatoutte* by the inhabitants and *Peza* by the Portuguese."

<sup>4</sup> Fs. Ragias.—In use at Coilan and worth a little more than half a rupee (see page 73). For the behaviour of His Highness's Nairs in the war, which nearly drove him to suicide, see note on page 83.

<sup>5</sup> Tirkenapaly.—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Trikunnappuzha is a village in the Kartikapilly taluk and still belongs to the Chief of Idapilly (Repolim)." There is a pagoda of some importance in it.

## (9) TEKKENCUR.

Tekkencur is a considerable state; it lies between Calicoilan, Berkencur [Vadakkencur = northern principality, as Tekkencur = southern principality] the broad river of Carraporam [Vembanad Lake] and the hills; it supplies much pepper and areca. The state has 18 marambins [madampinars] and two powerful caimals<sup>1</sup> in the east, next to the hills, called the Navacadda and Najoattu Caimals, who make little of His Highness's authority. Most of the pepper is brought up-country to the bazaars of Kun, Serepilly, Irataperha, Erunalur and Irruny, and from there it is fetched by the Pandi merchants with pack-oxen notwithstanding that in the contract of the 16th July 1664 it is specially promised that of this grain no more will be carried up-country than just so much and so little as is bartered for foreign necessities of life required by His Highness's subjects. The king resides at Cottatte.<sup>2</sup> He is a man of between 50 and 60 years old, gentle by nature, and his only aim is to keep his state in peace and prosperity. His Highness has always shown good will towards the Company, but although he even now gives earnest indications of his sincere affection for the Company, yet it is certain since he has noticed that the Company is determined to take serious steps to make itself master of the pepper trade, that he is of one accord with the other chiefs of Malabar to undermine and reduce the Company's power underhand.

In the east of this state, next to the hills, lies the principality of Punjatty Perumal; its ruler was adopted from the house of the princes of Charkara; much cardamom is found here.<sup>3</sup>

(10) REPOLIM<sup>4</sup> OR ELLENGALUR.

Repolim or Ellengalur is a small state next to the Anjicaimals; its lands are spread all over Malabar. The king is a little prince eight or ten years old under the guardianship of his mother and some nobles who are very much at loggerheads with one another. In the year 1740 the Company made a contract with this ruler, whose power and influence might be of considerable importance if his lands were closer together.

*The King of Cochin and his four states, Porca (Puracad),  
Berkencur (Vadakkencur),  
Mangatty (Mangad) and Paru (Parur).*

## (11) PORCA.

The king of Porca, a Brahmin by caste, is a prince of about 32 years of age. He is not very intelligent but his little kingdom is none the less very wisely governed according to the wholesome laws made by his grandfather. The state lies on the sea to the north of Pagodingo and to the south of the province of Muton; towards the interior it borders on Tekkencur and Calicoilan; and relatively to Coddemalur, a piece of land with a walled-in court and situated in Tekkencur, where the queen resides, it borders on Berkencur territory.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has a beautiful brick lodge in the bazaar at Porca and a storehouse for pepper on the beach. Although the state itself does not produce 50 candies of pepper still a contract is made every year for 400 candies, which are brought from Tekkencur, Berkencur and from the land Culupara which belongs to Repolim. In the year 1721-22 the Company secured here 884,800 pounds of pepper.

<sup>1</sup> Caimal.—Chief. Cahter Viecoher (1723) writes: "The Caimals are temporal potentates possessing the right of making war. Some are subject to the prince in whose territory they are situated; others are independent." The word has now become a mere Nair name-affix.

<sup>2</sup> Cottatte.—This Cottatte is Kottayam, the seat of the Syrian Metropolitan and of the Protestant Bishop in Travancore and Cochin. Mr. Achyuta Menon notes that the family is still in existence, resides at Vaikam and is supported by a Travancore pension.

<sup>3</sup> Punjatty Perumal: Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "The chief of Penjar still owns extensive lands and forests in Minadul taluk. The family of Barkara was a branch of the Cranganore family, but is now extinct. They once ruled over Chetwuy and its neighbourhood."

<sup>4</sup> Repolim, like most of these names, was taken over from the Portuguese (cf. Repolina vada in Maffei *Historiam Indiarum*, 1608 A.D., page 41-A). The place meant is Edapilli, now a station on the Thoranur Cochin railway. The form Erpolim, which I have come across in the Batavia Diary, is perhaps the connecting link between Edapilli and Repolim. The Edapilli family is still called also Ellangalur Svarapam or Ellangalur ruling family. The chief, a Nambudri Brahmin of high rank, is now a subject of the Maharaja of Travancore, but has not been completely despoiled of his temporal power. He has now a wide spiritual but limited temporal authority (Travancore Manual, III, 683). He lives in a palace built in the old style.

This Rajah has for some time shown a strong leaning towards the king of Travancore, and to please him he has offered insults and affronts to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, for which however he may have to pay dearly one day. To excuse himself he in his turn complains of the proceedings of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, but these complaints are altogether unreasonable and unfounded.

As regards pepper, in the year 1741 a contract for pepper was made with his merchants and a promise was made to pay 12½ ducats per candy of 500 lbs. on condition however that if the stipulated quantity had not been delivered in full before February, they would not receive more than the price of the previous year, which was 11½ ducats. Now as they did not take the slightest trouble to comply with these contracts in spite of our frequent admonitions and as they had not been complied with even in the month of May, we did not pay more than had been promised. The king resented this and we took great pains to explain the whole matter fully to His Highness and eventually in an *ōla* received on the 17th August 1741 he himself acknowledged that the claims of the merchants were unfounded, but nevertheless requested the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company to pay the new price, which the Company however could not agree to.

The second point of discontent is the seizure of his vessels at Coilan by the Signatty, which may be admitted for what it is; a detailed account of it is given in our respectful letter to Batavia, dated 14th May 1742. But no blame attaches to the Company, because as soon as I was informed of the incident at Climanur I requested the Signatty to let the vessels go, not because I judged the claim illegal but because the *babia*<sup>2</sup> (bay) where the vessels had been seized belongs to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company; and seeing that His Highness was spinning the affair out, I released the vessels myself almost forcibly to the great chagrin of a ruler with whom the Company was on the best of terms.

The third cause of complaint is the firing of our people at the king's vessels on the broad river (Vembanād Lake). Now this has been expressly forbidden, and although His Highness at the time had sufficiently declared himself against the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, still those who were found guilty were punished; and more His Highness cannot expect.

Meanwhile as this little potentate insists upon sulking, it will be best to leave the whole thing alone and refuse the Company's passes to his subjects until he has come to his senses and until he has given satisfaction to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company.

### (12) BERKENCUR OR BEMBELLANADDU<sup>3</sup>.

Berkencur or Bembellanaddu, under which name Tekkencur is understood with it, is bounded on the west by the broad river, on the east by the country of Pandya, on the south by Tekkencur and on the north by Cottamangalam.

<sup>1</sup> Ducat:—Probably the Venetian gold ducat (weight 68½ grains, modern English sovereign 123 grains), very commonly mentioned in the west coast records of this time. Other European gold ducats (Dutch, Hungarian, etc.) of very similar weight and value were also current on the Coast, as also "Moorish" ducats worth slightly less. Canter Vischer (1723) gives the value of the Venetian ducat as 18 to 18½ schellings and says it sometimes rose to 19. A rupee was calculated at Cochin in the first half of the 18th century at 27 heavy stivers (authorities (a) Strutt's Diary, M.S. 1714 A.D. (b) Batavia Plakaat of 1736) and a schelling was 8 stivers. This makes the ducat 4 rupees or a little over. In Masius M.S. No. 322 a list of coins with their values in rix-dollars in 1741 A.D. is given. The value of the "European gold ducat" is there given as 2½ rix-dollars, that of the "Moorish" ducat as 2⅓ rix-dollars. A rix-dollar being worth 48 heavy stivers in the East (60 in Europe), this makes the Venetian ducat 4½ rupees. The value of the "Venetian" may also be arrived at from the Anjengo treasury accounts in the Diary for 1744/5 (the earliest preserved), which show that it exchanged at from 27½ to 28½ fanams and a rupee at 6½ to 6⅓ fanams. The exchange of gold and silver, and of one coin with another fluctuated greatly at this time, but from the various indications above it may be assumed that the ducat was pretty constantly a little more than 4 rupees. 11½ and 12½ ducats were accordingly somewhere near Rs. 60. Now if the Dutch expected the Paracud merchants to supply them with pepper at Rs. 60 a candy of 600 Dutch pounds, they expected to be supplied at considerably less than what appears to have been the market price. The Tellicherry candy was a little lighter than the Cochin candy (520 English pounds, Tellicherry Diary for 1740-1, p. 69), but in February 1742 the Tellicherry factors note the price of a candy of pepper as Rs. 100, in February 1743 Rs. 116, in March 1743 Rs. 116. The Dutch in fact, as has been noted in the Introduction, exacted a disguised tribute from the petty princes of Malabar in the form of pepper at very much reduced prices. The complaint of the Kodasseri Coimbat referred to on p. 81 below that it was making a fool of him to take his pepper for 14 ducats (say Rs. 58) instead of 24 (Rs. 100) may be compared. It may be observed that though pepper was over Rs. 100 a candy at Tellicherry and Calicut during the Dutch wars with Travancore, the Anjengo factory was getting pepper from Travancore at lower prices—in return for keeping him supplied with arms.

<sup>2</sup> *Babia*:—The Portuguese word is used, perhaps with reference to the terms of some old Portuguese treaty or merely because its use had survived.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Vadakunkur means the northern dynasty and Tekunkur the southern dynasty. These two originally formed one State known as Velmalanad. Of the eight provinces referred to Caradurti is Kadatur in the Ettimannur taluk. Manjur is in the same taluk. The rest cannot be identified. Kiemalanaddu (Kihmalanad) means Eastern Hill Tract. Toddopale (Todupuzha) and (not 'or') Caricotty (Karikod) are well-known villages. The family now lives in Kaipisba, Ettimannur Taluk, on a pension granted by Travancore. Todupuzha and Karikod are not far apart."



This state comprises eight provinces called Badeatty, to which belongs Tallearambu, Caradurty, Manatta, Mansur, Ballacherry, Pudicalu, Manatty, Kilnur, besides the great territory of Kismalanaddu, in which lies the well-known bazaar Toddopale or Caricotty. These provinces supply a considerable quantity of pepper and of this the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company must annually have 1,000,000 lbs. under a contract made in 1740; but what we said before in our general remarks regarding the limited power of the rulers in Malabar is particularly to be noted here, since the third ruling prince, who owes all to be Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company and could not possibly maintain himself without the Company's protection, would if he had the power, certainly in his own interests take care that the contract was complied with, the rather that His Highness has been given to understand in very significant terms that if he fails to fulfil his promises the expelled prince will again be made the ruler. He has done whatever was in his power but without success. For this reason it has been necessary to raise the price of this grain in order not to lose it altogether, and it seems that this expedient also will prove unsuccessful, because the natives secure still higher prices by smuggling the pepper.

(13) MANGATTY OR PADDINJATTU EDDETTU.

Mangatty or Paddinjattu Eddettu is situated between Cranganore, Chenotty and Paru and stretches as far as the hills.

It consists of three small states, Mangatty, Carta—and Beltadavil<sup>1</sup> which formerly had their separate kings, but since the death of the lame Cartadavil in 1735, they have been governed by a prince who was adopted by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company from the house of Valluanatty and who owes everything to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. The preceding king was of the house of Murianatty Nambiar and died in the year 1741 after having fairly plundered the state. The country exports about 150 candies of pepper and is for the rest of little importance. Among the nobility the family of the Curilunies excel in power but still more in mischievousness and when an opportunity offers ought to receive some chastisement. The royal family have pressed strongly for a contract with the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, and although there is no necessity for this because the little kingdom is under Cochin, still as contracts have been made with the other three subordinate states and as it might some time or other be of some use, we have granted the same in Council, the 15th December last. The draft of the contract will be found under No. 2 in the Appendix [missing]. If the contract cannot be completed before my departure, your Worship may have it executed.

(14) PARO OR PINDDNIVATTATTA.<sup>2</sup>

The fourth and last division of the Cochin state is situated between Bardella, Cherally, Mangatty, Chenotty and Baypin. It is a beautiful little piece of land and contains warlike Nairs. It produces annually 150 candies of pepper which falls under contracts to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, but is all conveyed elsewhere. The king is a Brahmin of high caste, about 30 years old, handsome in appearance but strange and desperate in conduct, having fairly ruined this rich country. The second prince, his brother, instigated by their mother, stood up against this and indeed made himself master of the state, when the king murdered with his own hand his prime minister, the shrewd Rajadore Tekkanetta Menon, and so everything fell again into the hands of the king. The royal family is half Chodircur, half Pandircur<sup>3</sup> and is divided into two branches.

(15) COCHIN.

The king of Cochin or Perumbadapu, one of the four chief states, lying along the sea between Porca, Tek-and Berkenur, Anjacaimal and the territories of the Zamorin is very powerful by himself besides that, as the result of adoption and decease, his power has been further increased by addition of the territories of Muton or Ellerta Surovan stretching in the south from Porca and ending in the north near the estate

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Aobynta Menon writes: "Karuta Tavashi and Vainta Tavashi (Cartadavil and Beltadavil) mean the black and the white branch. The family now lives near Alwaye on a Travancore pension."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Aobynta Menon writes: "Paru or Pindnivattat Svarupam comprises nearly the whole of the present taluk of Parur. The family is still in existence and receives a pension from Travancore."

<sup>3</sup> Explained p. 63 above.

of Palurty, half a mile from the town of Cochin, where the rightful princes of this state live in poverty. Curicatty Tavasv was added to the state in the same way, and there are also the territories taken from the Zamorin and handed over to His Highness by the Worshipful Admiral William Bakker Jacobss; but the king's chief power lies in his landed proprietors of whom there are very many besides the four most important who have already been mentioned. We shall make mention of the principal proprietors later on.

The king is a Kshatrya by caste and the head of the Chodireur faction and without fear of contradiction the noblest of all the Malabar kings, being a sister's son and consequently the only and true heir of Cherum-Perumal. He is between 50 and 60 years old, a dull, grasping and fickle prince, little mindful of the favours so abundantly bestowed upon his ancestors and himself by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. He is unfit to rule and allows himself to be led by his favourites. However he is good-natured and as long as the shrewd Ittikkella Menon, who was very well inclined towards the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, administered the state, there was little reason for complaint, but ever since the Palyet, the Caliacar Namburi and the two Chrisna Menons brought this courtier into disfavour with the king and forced him out of the conduct of affairs, the Company has little good to hope for from the king.

The second prince is very much like him both in years and in defects; but the 3rd prince, who is about 18, is very profligate and dissolute and brings a great deal of unrest upon the country by his extravagances, which it may be hoped, will in time subside.

The Cochin family had formerly five branches, viz., Martingel (Madatumkil), Mutta, Pallurty, Ellerta [Elaya] and Chalur. The last-named was formed by adoption in the year 1689 and is still in existence, but the other four have died out; the remaining branch is abundantly provided with princes and princesses.<sup>1</sup>

His Highness's hereditary lands and specially Peratbiddy<sup>2</sup> in the north export much pepper, but most of it is smuggled out, and all my endeavours to convince His Highness that it is at the least his duty to issue the necessary orders against smuggling have proved useless.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company is his protector, but he depends more than is right on that; for surely this protection refers only to his public enemies, but he wishes to make use of it to oppress his weak vassals and neighbours and to employ the Company as a scarecrow to frighten the native chiefs with. This was by no means the intention of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. In such cases you should oppose him with moderation, and if this has no effect you should give a hand to the wronged party in order to prevent many calamities and complications.

#### (16) THE ANJICAIMALS.

The Anjicaimals<sup>3</sup> are oppressed most of all by him because they lie in the heart of his territories and right opposite his palace on the other side of the river; but it is for this very reason that they ought to be protected by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company against the greediness of the king, and Their Right Worshipfuls have ordered a police force to be stationed in the bazaar of Anjicaimal; for this fertile land has of old been looked upon as the store-house of Cochin, which indeed it is. These Caimals are very powerful and would be able to make head against the king if they were united among themselves, but they count five leading houses, viz., Cherally, Cunattunadu, Palurgatte, Corumalecur and Badereur, and these again have many sub-divisions, which is the reason of their powerlessness.

The lands of Cherally lie in front and this is the reason why he suffers most, but he is the strongest, as he is also the chief of Curemalecur by adoption, and I have advised him occasionally to show his teeth, first taking care that right is on his side;

<sup>1</sup> The Mata Tavasv still exists and is the present ruling house. The others are extinct except the Charhur, which has however lost the right of succession to the *gudi*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The territory to the east of Shoranur along the southern bank of the Ponnani river for about 10 or 12 miles was formerly called Perattuveli (Peratbiddy), the Ponnani river being known there as the Pecar."

<sup>3</sup> Anjicaimals, i.e., the five chiefs, Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "The only surviving family is that of Cheranallur Karta (Cherally), whose seat is in a village of the same name five miles to the north of Ernakulam. It still owns extensive landed property."



and in such a case it will be your Worship's business to stop those quarrels by the authority of the Company and to act as mediator. I think this is the only way somewhat to moderate the unbearable vexations of the king. Of these lands those of Curemalecur, Tachetta Munnencur and Tattayetta Pannicail export much pepper, but the Company has never had, and will never get, a grain of it except by determined measures. All I have been able to obtain from Cherally are promises to grow pepper in his lower lands for the Company on the pretext that it would be too expensive and difficult to have the grain brought down from the higher lands by land. This excuse is not without foundation, for while we were in Kismalanadu, which land borders on Curumalecur, we were at a loss how to bring down the pepper without heavy expenses, great trouble and waste, and for this reason Their Right Worshipfuls by secret letter, dated 22nd June 1741, have proposed that this grain should be sold on the spot at 75 per cent. premium.

Caimal Cherally is a gentleman between 50 or 60 years old, particularly cautious and shrewd and devoted to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. His heirs are not great courtiers but good soldiers, and when they take up the administration they will probably not put up with the injustice of the King of Cochin but rather follow the example of their neighbours, Murianatty Nambiar and Coddachery Caimal, two powerful vassals of this king, who being tired of his extortions sent home the king's messengers, or rather marauders, with bleeding heads, by which they incurred the great hatred of the grasping king, but have since lived in peace.

#### (17) MURIANATTY.<sup>1</sup>

The lands of Murianatty lie between Cochin, Paponetty, Belosta Nambiar and Coddacherry and export a fair amount of pepper, of which however the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company gets little enough. This Nambiar is between 40 and 50 years old, very truculent and arrogant. He has no heirs and on account of the disputes which have been mentioned the king is unwilling to validate the adoption which he would like to make from Belonga. He has several times requested the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company to support him in this matter and we have promised him to do so provided he supplies his pepper to the Company. But as he has never been able to make up his mind and after much delay has offered no more than 8,000 lbs. annually, although his lands can well produce 150 candies, the adoption has not yet come to anything.

However it is to be feared that if that gentleman comes to die without an heir, the king of Cochin will try to swallow up that beautiful land; so in time we shall have to disregard all considerations and compel the king to allow the adoption.

#### (18) CODDACHERY CAIMAL.

The country of Coddacherry Caimal lies between Paru, Cranganore, the Cochin territories and the hills. It exports 125 candies of pepper and the best cardamom to be found round about here. During the first three or four years of my administration this Caimal brought his pepper to Chettua, but afterwards he could not be induced to do so any longer saying right out, "if my neighbours supply their pepper to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company I shall do the same, but I have become a laughing-stock because I have sold this product to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company for 13 ducats while the other chiefs have received 24 ducats; this I cannot any longer consent to".<sup>2</sup>

The cardamom and the wax are in the hands of the Jesuits who have settled in this country at Ambelacatty, though their Archbishop, who takes his title from Cranganore, really resides at Putenchera half a mile further in the country of Cochin. I have taken great pains to rout out this mischievous rabble but in vain; and there is little hope of getting rid of them except by determined measures to which your Worship cannot resort without express orders from Their Right Worshipfuls.

<sup>1</sup> Murianatty: Mr. Aohyuta Menon writes: "Muriyand is in the Makondapuram taluk of Cochin and near the Trinjalekuda Railway Station. The family now receives a pension from the Cochin Durbar."

<sup>2</sup> Coddachery Caimal: Mr. Aohyuta Menon writes: "Kodasseri is the tract of country surrounding the Chalakud Railway station. The new Forest tramway runs through it for several miles. The family still owns considerable landed property." 13 ducats = about Rs. 54, 24 ducats = about Rs. 100. The latter was about the market price and what the Caimal meant was that he had had enough of paying disguised tribute to the Dutch.

The Caimal is about 50 years old, a shrewd and crafty gentleman but very much addicted to drink; his successor is a bad lot, who has filled the country with counterfeit fanams. Coiners ought, according to the treaties, to suffer the death penalty. I have often pressed the king of Cochin to punish them, but he has never taken any steps in the matter as he fears the Nairs, who among the people of Malabar are looked upon as brave men.

(19) THE PALYET.

The Palyet, principal Rajadore and hereditary general of the State of Cochin, resides at Chenotty quite near Cranganore; he is chief of the island of Baypin [Vypeen] and some time back he became by adoption a sovereign prince of Manacotta or Mulurcarre which lies to the north of Chettua. He possesses also a right to the old state of Villiar Vattatta; this however is merely nominal.

The first Palyet is about 50 years old, a shrewd individual who speaks little but thinks a great deal. He pretends to be a great friend of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, but everyone suspects him. Your Worship should show him kindness at least outwardly, until time shows what his intentions are. While I am writing news is brought that the first Palyet has died at Mulurcarre and the second has taken his place; the latter is a queer lot, but fairly well-disposed towards the Company.<sup>1</sup>

(20) BARDELLA AND (21) TEVENGEL NAIR.

The Prince of Bardella or Cherully has little power, but Tevengal Nair in the country of Malitur has brave Nairs.<sup>2</sup>

(22) CORETTY.

The territory of the female Caimal of Coretty<sup>3</sup> situated in the same neighbourhood is of no great importance, still it exports 120 candies of pepper; which this worthless woman causes to be carried elsewhere. In the year 1730, she was adopted in the state of Mangatty without the knowledge or sanction of the Company. Instigated by the King of Cochin she has been the cause of a great deal of confusion there; for she maintains that one of her cousins will have to be adopted into the state; this should take place if she herself had children and if her own adoption were legal, but it cannot be extended to her cousins, and as there are in that state more than enough princes and princesses of the family of Valluanatty we have always opposed her in order to prevent the great harm that would result.

(23) CHANGARA CODDA.

Changara Coddā is a Caimal of the Cochin state.<sup>4</sup>

The pepper which is found in his land is sent to the north. This Caimal, with those of Panamucattu, Coretty and Coddachery, are called the four Caimals of Nandilettu Naddu.

So far we have spoken of the state of Cochin; next follow the states and countries that adjoin it and are subject to the Company.

(24) CRANGANORE<sup>5</sup> OR PADDINJATTU SUROYAN.

Is a little kingdom five miles (= 20 English miles) to the north of the town of Cochin. By the treaty of peace made with the Zamorin on the 17th December 1717, it was placed under the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. There is only one princess, but to the

<sup>1</sup> The Palyet: Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Paliyat Achan (Achan, father, is a title) has no political power now, but he is the largest landowner and the wealthiest nobleman in Cochin. His principal seat is the island of Chennamangalam (Chenotty) and he owns extensive landed property in Vypeen. Manakots Nair's family is now extinct and Paliyat Achan owns the property. Villavattal Searupam became extinct about 1600 A.D., and it is stated that the title with only a small portion of the estate passed to Paliyat Achan." Mulurcarre is Mullurkarra, now a railway station.

<sup>2</sup> Cherully Nambiri was the Brahmin chief of Padutala, three miles to the north of Ernakulam. He has lands there now, but his family resides in Tiruta in the Mukundapuram Taluk. He is in affluent circumstances. I have not been able to obtain any information about Tevengal Nair." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

<sup>3</sup> Coretti Caimal "Koratti is to the west of Kodasseri and adjoins it. The family is still in existence and in fairly good circumstances." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

<sup>4</sup> Changara Coddā: "Changaramkots Caimal's Nad adjoins Muriyanad. The family exists and is in good circumstances." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

<sup>5</sup> Cranganore: Kodumgallur or Paddinjattat Svarupam is now a tiny principality and has an area of 19 square miles. It is under Cochin and pays a tribute of Rs. 6,878. It is financially autonomous, but in all other respects it is administered as one of the taluks of the Cochin State." (Mr. Achyuta Menon.)

great joy of the king she has been delivered of a son. The King is called the father of the Zamorin family because he has to live with the princesses of that State; however as this king is about 70 years old, he fulfils this duty by the imposition of hands.

(25) AIRUR OR BELANGA.

His cousin and neighbour is also under the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, but both are poor princes without power.<sup>1</sup>

(26) PAPONETTY [PAPPINIVATTAM].

Province Paponetty was taken from the Zamorin in the late war and handed over to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company by the treaty of peace above mentioned, along with Trikonetty [Trikkunnad], Aerattu<sup>2</sup>, Aratta Pala [Arrattupuzha], Mudel<sup>3</sup> Cunattu [Mutalacunnu] and Putenbare [Putampadam] which were ceded by His Worship the Councillor-Extraordinary and Commander-in-Chief William Bakker Jacobsz to the king of Cochin to the great displeasure of Their Right Worshipfuls the Right Indian Government at Batavia.<sup>3</sup>

This Province has been much improved since our occupation by the discovery of many misappropriated lands, gardens and rights and produced last year 734 $\frac{2}{3}$  rix-dollars in cash and 235 lasts of rice. These revenues have since been increased by 170 Cranganore parras and 11 gold fanams.<sup>4</sup>

By a secret despatch of 4th July 1740 Their Right Worshipfuls have returned to the king of Cochin the so-called eighteen half-villages which are situated in it, because his claim to the same was judged to be good.

Sergeant Arnoldus Leenen and Corporal Claas de Jager exercise supervision over it and give satisfaction.

(27) BELOSTA NAMBIAR.

Belosta Nambiar, lord of Maprana, is a landed proprietor and subject to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company; his property borders on the lands of Murianatty Nambiar, Province Paponetty and Trichur.

Formerly he was under the Zamorin, but in the previous war he lost his lands and the king of Cochin appropriated them. However to the great chagrin of the king of Cochin this proprietor of the house of Vengenatta was restored to his former position by Commandeur Joannes Hertenberg. The terms may be found in the contract concluded with him, dated 27th June 1709. The king of Cochin has not ceased to give him trouble every now and then, but has always found the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company in the way.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Ayiror or Vellangallur Soorupam" was a collateral branch of the Cranganore family and its territory lay to the north of Cranganore. The family lost its territory in the time of Tipu and is now living in the mainland in the village of Vellangallur four miles to the north east of Cranganore. The major portion of the territory now forms part of British Malabar." (Mr. Aohyuta Menon.)

<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere (MS. No. 105) spelt Uerotto (pronounce Urotto). Mr. Aohyuta Menon notes that the Cochin State records show that Usakam (locative Urotta) is meant.

<sup>3</sup> "Het Conquest Paponetty" or briefly "Het Conquest". I translate "Province Paponetty" on the analogy of Province Wellesley in the Straits Settlements. The campaign of 1717 by which the Dutch Company acquired this territory, a strip of land between Cranganore and Chetway, is described at pages 20-22 of my introduction. The Province is now part of British Malabar by inheritance from the Dutch and Hyder Ali. The remaining territories mentioned are in the Trikkur taluk of the Cochin State.

<sup>4</sup> 734 rix-dollars = 2,302 (light) guilders. The revenues of the Province for 1741/2 are reckoned on page 71 below as 9,113 light guilders. The 235 lasts of paddy seem accordingly to have been calculated at about 30 guilders or say Rs. 18 a last. In 1678 A.D. rice was 16 to 17 rix-dollars or about Rs. 30 a last in Canara (Batavia Diary 1676, p. 245) and a century later in 1778 A.D. paddy was Rs. 33 a last at Cochin, rice Rs. 76 a last (MS. No. 1066). At this time the price of rice in Canara had risen from 10 to 24 pagodas, or say Rs. 36 to Rs. 84 a last (see p. 78 below). A last is a ton, and in these records the Batavia Diary (1646, page 303, 1678, etc.) and Valentijn (I have come across lasts of 2,400, 3,000 and 3,420 Dutch pounds and 5 candies. The grain last was in 1778, 75 parras of 46 Dutch pounds each or 2,000 lbs. (MS. No. 1066). 75 parras were also reckoned to the grain last in 1764 A.D. (MS. No. 741) and 40 lbs. to the parra of rice in 1777 (MS. No. 1064, p. 177). The parra was, and is a variable weight or measure being 10 times a variable *idungali* or common Malabar measure. Earlier it appears to have been taken as about 36 Dutch pounds (14 to the candy of 600 lbs. at Cochin, according to Valentijn; also 14 to the candy of about 214 cabbles in Portuguese times at Cochin according to Nuniz' tables in addition of Gaspar Curra). A *fanam* is a goldsmith's weight of about 6 grains (about 30 to weight of a rupee, 20 to weight of the English sovereign; a Cochin goldsmith whom I interrogated reckons 31 and 21 respectively) and also a coin, originally of gold, then of silver and mixed metals. In a letter written to Holland in 1742 (MS. No. 367) 686 $\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollars is given as the equivalent of 6,483 gold fanams, i.e., 8 fanams were reckoned to the dollar or 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  to the rupee. Moens reckons 492 $\frac{1}{2}$  gold fanams in these same parts as equivalent to Rs. 28 in 1755 (or 1781)—*vide* p. 136 below; i.e., a little over 5 gold fanams to the rupee. In MS. No. 848 (Land Revenue Accounts) it is mentioned that the gold fanams in which rents for these lands were reckoned were Calicut gold fanams.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Aohyuta Menon writes: "The family of *Vello* or *Vellanad Nambidi* was by adoption a branch of the family of the Vanganad (*Vengenatta*) Nambidi or Raja of Kollengode. It is now extinct."

This Nambiar is between 50 and 60 years old; he pays the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company 3 lasts of rice annually, but the palam<sup>1</sup> which he paid the Zamorin before and consequently owes to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company, he has never yet been willing to pay. He is an irritable gentleman who often meddles with things which do not concern him at all; and when he finds himself embroiled, he would like the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company to come to his assistance; which is not at all their intention.

(28) CHANGARACANDA CAIMAL AND (29) CHITTUR NAMBURY.

Changaracanda Caimal and Chittur Nambury, whose lands lie to the south of Inamaka and near Aerattu [Urakkam] and Arattupula, are two proprietors who were also formerly under the Zamorin, but by the oft-mentioned treaty of peace of the year 1717, they have been placed under the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company on terms which may be seen in article 24. Now and again they are disturbed by the ambitious Rajadores of the king of Cochin, but are always supported by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company.<sup>2</sup>

(30) PAYENCHERY NAIR.

Payenchery Nair is an important proprietor. His lands lie to the north of the kingdom of Cochin. They were formerly under the Zamorin, but under article 17 of the often-mentioned treaty they are now under the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has in this country the important fortress of Chettua [Chettuvayi, Chetway].

The family of the Payenchery Nairs consists of four houses, which are again sub-divided into many branches; they are so involved in quarrels and disputes that there is no end to it. In the capacity of supreme ruler the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has to settle these disputes, but as this cannot be done according to our ways of thinking, each contending party brings two good men to enquire into the matter and to settle it. If they cannot come to an agreement, the first Payenchery is bound to add two impartial men. But as the first, second and third of the family, being old men with one foot in the grave, have not sufficient energy, the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company must sometimes add two Brahmins.

Most embarrassing of all is the fact that the losing party of this petty clan (the worst on the Malabar Coast) does not think of submitting to the decision, but runs off to the Zamorin, who does not fail to meddle quite *mal à propos*. Some time ago this was permitted in a quarrel between the Ittiteyen and Ulatu Nairs owing to the dangerous state of the times; but in future such interference should be politely prohibited with the assurance that the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company never refuses justice to its subjects.

This land belonged formerly to the Princes of Charkare, who lost it because the last owner made a voluntary gift of it to the Payenchery Nairs, his illegitimate sons, out of dislike of his nearest of kin, who now live there as private individuals and in very poor circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

So far we have treated of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company's vassals. Between the kingdom of Cochin and the Zamorin lies

(31) TO (33) TALLAPALLY.

It consists of four principalities called, Ainecutty, Punatur, Mannaculam and Carattu. The last-named house having died out, that country was to be divided among the remaining three and Punatur did in fact obtain his share; but Ainecutty and Mannaculam made a treaty that the remainder of Carattu should be governed by them in turns; this has been done ever since and at present it is ruled by Ainecutty.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Palam.—Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "Palam was a sort of protection money which holders of land used to pay their overlords in addition to rent or assessment." The rent or land-tax which the Dutch levied in Province Papocetty is called "protection-money" in the accounts (MS. No. 848).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Achyuta Menon writes: "The family of Changaracanda Caimal or Karta is still in existence and in fairly easy circumstances. Chittur Namburipad was a Namburi (Brahman) chief. He is not a chief now, but a landlord like other Namburi landlords and is in affluent circumstances."

<sup>3</sup> "Sarkara Sedrupam," writes Mr. Achyuta Menon "was another branch of the Cranganore family, and ruled over the northern portion of the island." One of the oblofs quarrelled with his nephews, the legitimate heirs, and made over the country to his Nair children, the Pashuncheri Nairs. Sarkara is now extinct. The family of the Pashuncheri Nairs now consists of several branches, only one or two of which are in easy circumstances.

<sup>4</sup> Tallapilli is now the name of the northern taluk of the Cochin State. Mr. Achyuta Menon notes: "The western Nambidies. Kakad, one of the branches, became extinct, while some of the other branches were further sub-divided. The branches now in existence are Punatur, Manakulam, Cheralayam, Chittanjur, Kumarapuram and Anaykal. The first three of these are still substantial holders of land. The eldest male member of all the branches except Punatur assumes the title of Kakad Karanavapad and enjoys the income of what remains of the Kakad estate."

**Mamanga Festival.**—Mamanga is sometimes explained as Malayalam Mahamahabham, Sanskrit Mahābhaga, from mahā, great, and maghā, tenth asceticism. It is called the great magham festival to distinguish it from the annual magham festival, and occurs only once in twelve years "between the 12th of February and the 11th of March when Jupiter joins Simhaṁ and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Molesworth). Logan explains as Mahā Jupiter joins Simhaṁ and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Molesworth). Logan explains as Mahā Jupiter joins Simhaṁ and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Molesworth). Logan explains as Mahā Jupiter joins Simhaṁ and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Molesworth). Logan explains as Mahā Jupiter joins Simhaṁ and the full moon in or about the asterism Magham" (Molesworth).

The king is a prince of between 30 and 35 years old, adopted from the house of Neliseram; he came to the throne last year and seems to be a man of a good disposition, but a little too gentle to oppose adequately the seething humours of his second prince, who boasts that he intends to live and die a mortal enemy of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company. Some months ago we felt something of the effects of this boast when this foolhardy prince, without any previous declaration of war and without the slightest show of reason, suddenly with about 1,000 men, made a raid upon the kingdom of Cochin and laid waste the land of Mangalam. At the same time the English of Madras received information of the return to these regions of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff and they spread the report of it, whereupon all his nefarious schemes fell to pieces and he thought it advisable to sheathe the sword very quickly. The Zamorin declared that everything had been done without his orders; we did not fail to profit by this and a peace was concluded on the 3rd of December ultimo in the presence of our deputies, the under-merchants François Terburg and Guillaume Gerard Franchimont. It is to be hoped that this peace will be lasting. At any rate we have seriously warned the king of Cochin to avoid carefully every occasion of new disturbances and rather to bear and digest a small injustice than bring greater upon himself, inasmuch as the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company cannot help him at present. The king holds his court at Panany [Ponnani], where the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has a resident, viz., the book-keeper Gerrit Van Dorpen, who has only to watch the stratagems of the court, and, as since the late war very little good is spoken of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company in those quarters, one seldom gets anything but reports of danger from there, which should neither disquiet your Worship too much nor be altogether disregarded; but prudence demands that inquiries be made and that you ever hold yourself well on the defensive. At present the Zamorin is celebrating the famous feast of Mamanga at Tinevay with much pomp and not without heavy expenses.

The northern portion of this kingdom, called Cottica after the river [R. Kóttá] of that land, is inhabited by Moors [Muhammadans] who are pirates and are able to do much harm to small traders, but they do not lightly venture to attack ships or large vessels. It is true that the Zamorin does not exactly openly approve of this, but there is not the slightest doubt that they obtain his full permission secretly by means of gifts and presents.

The countries of Bettette [Vettadnad] alias Tanore, Parapur Covil [Parappur Palace, i.e., family; seat near Beypore], Reppu Covil<sup>1</sup>, Maisur [Mysore] and Palicat-chery [Palghat] border on the lands of the Zamorin. We omit them because the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company has no dealings of importance with them, though according to the orders of Their Right Worshipfuls of 22nd September 1705, a good understanding should be maintained with the two last-named so that we may be able to make use of them against the Zamorin on occasion.

(43) TO (47) COLASTRY [KÓLATTIRI, RULER OF KÓLAM COUNTRY]

is called Colamvasitsja by the Malabar people. It is the last and most northerly of the four chief kingdoms of Malabar. It has been so much ruined by internal dissensions and wars that this country, formerly so powerful, is no longer a chief kingdom except in name.

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Company possesses in it the important fortress of Cannanore which has been restored in my time by order of Their Right Worshipfuls.

The English have built a strong fortress at Talichery [Tellicherry] in the country of Cunja Nair, a vassal of this kingdom, and the French have built one at Mahé in the country of the Balnore of Bargare, who is also a vassal of Colastray. These things are wholly at variance with our exclusive contracts with the kings of Colastray, and they have been sorry long since, but too late, in view of the bloody war between the above-named Balnore and the French which has been carried on for some years and which was underhand greatly fomented by the English Commandant at Talicherry, Mr. William Wake, with little advantage to the French until finally the Balnore was forced last year by the squadron of M. La Bourdonnois to make peace. This peace

<sup>1</sup> *Reppu Covil*.—Reppu seems to be a mistake for Beypore, the spelling in one manuscript of Van Rhee's Memoir; and in any case it is pretty clear to me, after a comparison with Van Rhee's Memoir and the English Malabar Commissioner's Reports, 1792-1793, that what is meant is the Béppur (Beypore) family, a branch of the Patappur family.

however has not been very disadvantageous to them owing to the intrigues of the above-mentioned commandant and may possibly last only as long as their interests require.<sup>1</sup>

Near the bay of Cannanore, which is the full property of the Hon'ble Company on account of the right which the Portuguese had to it, lies the bazaar of the Moors whose chief is called Adiraja. He also has made exclusive contracts with the Hon'ble Company, which however he does not observe any better than the other princes. After the death of the Bibi or ruling queen which occurred last year, her son, the young Adiraja, has come to the throne; he is a profligate young whelp, wholly devoted to the French. Whenever occasion offers, he displays great dislike and contempt for the Hon'ble Company, though owing to our serious threats he has been somewhat quieter of late; possibly he may become wiser in time as he grows in years.

However if a war should break out between our state and France and he should commit himself too far with that nation or allow it entrance to the bazaar, it will not be amiss to show him that he is within range of the cannon of our fortress and then he will draw in his horns.

Still it is an unaccountable fact that we have allowed the fort of Casanacotta to be built not only within range of our fortress, but even on such an advantageous elevation that it could sufficiently command our fortifications if it were provided with the same heavy cannon as ours. I have no further remarks to make about this proprietor except that the Lekker-Diva [Laccadive] islands belong to him.

It is a matter for much reflection that the kingdom of Colastry continued to be in a flourishing condition as long as the Hon'ble Company alone was settled there, but since the English and the French have established themselves there, it has fallen into a state of decay. Even the Moors of the bazaar were formerly rich merchants, but they have now fallen into a state of complete decline.<sup>2</sup>

The king or ruling prince and the king of Cottatta [Kottayam], a powerful vassal of this kingdom, have lately promised great advantages to the Hon'ble Company's Chief, the under-merchant Jacob Dam, if the Hon'ble Company be willing to protect them against their enemies. But knowing as we do from experience how ungrateful this nation is and how quickly they forget benefits received, we have rejected their proposals under pretext of our inability owing to the war with Travancore, and however alluring their promises may be, your Worship should never engage yourself with them without express orders of the Their Right Worshipfuls.

At the same time it must be said that the fortress of Cannanore is wholly unnecessary if we do not endeavour to draw profits from that country some way or other; the more so because the English have already established themselves at Talicherry and the French at Mahé and they enjoy all the products of that country. It would be desirable to secure so much stock merchandise as at least to be able to flaunt our fortress without loss to the Hon'ble Company, for there may yet be a chance of selling it. While I am writing this, news is brought that the differences between Colastry and Adiraja have, as was generally expected, ended in open hostilities. As the Hon'ble Company has no interests in these countries, it will be unnecessary to interfere in the matter unless in course of time Their Right Worshipfuls should give orders to that effect and place your Worship in a position to give valuable support to one or other party.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tallicherry was built in the country of the *Kurungat Nair* by permission of a prince of one of the branches of the Kollattiri family, referred to in the Tallicherry Diaries as "the Prince Regent" or "Our Prince" and in a report of 1761 (Graeme's Report, paragraph 81) as "King Badalamour", i.e., Vadakkankur or the northern prince. The *Balnore of Bargar* is referred to in the Tallicherry Diaries as the *Bayanore* or *Buynor* and by Hamilton (New Account 1739, I. 298) as the "Ballanore Bargarie, a formidable prince." Balnore = Malayalam Valannavar, ruler. Bargarie = Badagara (Vadabara). The French settled at Mahé (Mayyazhil) re-named Mahé in honour of Mahé de La Bourdonnais, (then a young Captain) in 1726. A full (though owing to the bias of his authorities not unprejudiced) account of these transactions taken from the MS. Tallicherry Diaries will be found in Logan's Malabar.

<sup>2</sup> Adiraja is Ali Raja, the Sea King. The family still exists and has just (1900) ceded the Laccadive islands to the Crown. The succession of the Ali Raja here referred to "aged fifteen about" is recorded in the Tallicherry Diary under date 8th April 1742, and his subsequent history is given in Chapter V of Moens' Memoir.

<sup>3</sup> With rivals in the field who could also accommodate the native princes with supplies of arms, the Dutch could no longer pursue in Colastry their usual policy of obtaining the products of the country for very much less than the market-price in consideration of supplying arms (on payment). In 1768 however (Report dated 18th February) the Dutch Chief of Cannanore was still of opinion that the fort was worth keeping. It was an excellent fort, strongly situated and could be defended by a small force. It was favourably situated for commerce and in time of peace Rs. 65,000 of merchandise could be disposed of annually and 500 to 600 candies of pepper could be collected. He thought it would be a pity to abandon the trade there altogether to their rivals. However the Dutch were paying the



## (48) CANARA

borders in the south on Colastry, the river Nilieseram [Nilesvaram] runs between the two and it is the last country on the Malabar coast. This is a splendid and powerful kingdom; it abounds in everything and especially rice, being the granary of many nations and particularly of the Portuguese at Goa, who annually send a large number of vessels—known as the rice armada—under convoy of some battleships to protect them against the Angria pirates<sup>1</sup>, to this kingdom, and keep a resident at Mangalore in a small fort.

All nations trade freely in the harbours of this kingdom, Onore [Honavar], Mangalore, Bacquenor [Barkur], Molekki [Mulki] and Baticulo [Bhatkal] notwithstanding the exclusive contracts which the Hon'ble Company has made with the old rulers of that kingdom; and the Hon'ble Company now possesses only the harbour at Barsalore [Basrur] called Condapore, where there is a "lodge" (unfortified factory) with two residents, and a handsome trade is sometimes driven.<sup>2</sup> But owing to the unsafety on the sea, the bad conduct of the residents, and want of ships and stock merchandise, no more goods have been sent for some time than are necessary for the purchase of rice and sandalwood and for the expenses of the establishment there. However Their Right Worshipfuls may possibly in time to come send for large quantities of areca of the kind which is exported to China, if suitable profits can be secured.

Before my arrival there was at Barsalore a court merchant called Sonderdas Vistnadas who alone was authorised to deal with Hon'ble Company; this was a very bad arrangement, because, being bound to make great gifts to the king for this post, he finally got to the end of his cash and into great difficulties as the residents had allowed themselves to be persuaded to deliver the Company's goods to him on credit. When he had become insolvent, they demanded a settlement from the court. This was done on good grounds, seeing that His Highness had forced the Hon'ble Company to deal with that man; but all this was knocking at a deaf man's door and the Hon'ble Company was compelled to put on her armour and to seek her rights by force of arms, since they could not be obtained otherwise.

Since your Worship commanded these expeditions in the years 1736, 1737 and 1738 and concluded them to the satisfaction of our Masters and with honour to your Worship's self, and moreover, in the character of the Hon'ble Company's representative, concluded a peace with that ruler in the year 1738, I need not enter into particulars. Your Worship knows that His Highness has fully accepted the draft treaty but from a sort of capriciousness very common in these people has refused to sign it. However it was observed during his lifetime and also by his successor, except that the latter is not inclined to permit the Hon'ble Company to have a fortress built in his country, nor to exempt from tolls his merchants who deal with the Hon'ble Company; however these two points are not of much importance since Their Right Worshipfuls did not claim

market-price for pepper (Rs. 109 a candy) at Cannanore in 1766 (MS. No. 865) and on these terms it was really not worth their while to stick to it. They were only paying Rs. 66 a candy in Travancore. They were ready to sell the fort either to Hyder Ali of Mysore or to the Ali Raja, and finally sold it to the latter in 1771 for a lakh of rupees, of which they got about half a lakh down and found it difficult to collect the rest (Moens' Memoir, p. 148 below).

<sup>1</sup> The material at the India Office and in the Bombay records for a history of the Angria pirates has been drawn on in Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, Smith Elder & Co., 1907. More remains in MS. Dutch records and Tellicherry and Anjengo diaries at Madras. Their power was broken a few years after Stein Van Gollenesse wrote by James' capture of Savarna Drug (1755) and the capture of Gheriah by Clive and Watson (1756). These pirates had strongholds along 200 miles of coast. One called Kennery or Canary on an island near Bombay is thus described in the MS. diary of Stephen Pratt (1714) in the Madras records: "About this afternoon were abreast of Canary belonging to Angria. It seems very well fortified and full of houses. It may be about two miles in circumference and lies about 13 miles from the main and 14 from Bombay." Bombay expeditions against Kennery and Gheria in 1717 failed, and Portuguese, Dutch and joint expeditions were no more successful. A year before Savarna Drug was taken, the Dutch had lost two ships and a yacht to the Angrians (MS. No. 693), and these pirates had then for over half a century defied the native princes and European nations, taken their ships and plundered unfortified places. Sevendroog Tower, Shooter's Hill, Woolwich, commemorates James' achievement:

This far-seen monumental tower  
Records the achievements of the brave,  
And Angria's subjugated power  
That plundered on the eastern wave.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hamilton I, 275: Onor is its (Canara's) northernmost port, and has the benefit of a river capable to receive ships of 2 or 300 tons. It has a castle on a low hill about a mile within the bar built of old by the Portuguese when they were Lords Paramount of all the seacoasts of India (Id. I, 279). *Basacola*, which has the vestige of a very large city, standing on a broad river about four miles from the sea. . . . The Dutch have a factory here only to buy up rice for their factories on the Malabar Coast. It stands about a mile from the river's mouth . . . and has a castle on its north side for its guard (Id. I, 282 rice). *Mangalore* is the greatest mart for trade in all the Canara dominions. The Portuguese have a factory for rice here and a pretty large church.



the first and the second is entirely contrary to Malabar customs. By this treaty the Hon'ble Company has been relieved of obligation to deal with no one except the court merchant; for this permission we pay the king an annual sum of 500 P<sup>as</sup> of Ikkeri.<sup>1</sup>

(49) SUNDA, (50) SIVAJI AND (51) ANGRIA PIRATES.

Further to the north are the territories of the King of Sunda; Caudevar [Karwar, properly Kadvád] is the chief place. With this the Hon'ble Company is in no way concerned, but it is concerned with his neighbour the Sivaji or Kempsjent [Khem Sávant], a small robber chief; the Hon'ble Company had formerly a lodge in his country [Sávant Vádi State] at Vingurla. He is growing more powerful every year and pretends to be a great friend of the Hon'ble Company, possibly because he is not powerful enough to harm it and looks upon it as alone able to check his formidable rivals, the Angria pirates. These pirates too are growing stronger every day to the great chagrin of all European and Native traders. What happened between the Hon'ble Company and those pirates, how they captured the Ceylon and Cochin yachts and how Their Right Worshipfuls wished to take revenge by sending a considerable squadron to that place in the year 1739 under your Worship's command and what the result of this was need not be related here, because all this is fully known to your Worship and can be read in the records. Their Right Worshipfuls have since ordered by despatch, dated 30th October 1739, that they must be injured in every possible way until they make honourable amends.

Meanwhile their head, called Sambasy<sup>2</sup> Angria Sarkel, has died and has been succeeded by his brother. According to reports from Barsalore the latter would be inclined to make peace with the Hon'ble Company after making due reparation; time must show what will come of this. On the 23rd of January ultimo these people made bold to attack the roadstead of Calicut quite unexpectedly with 7 guraps and 23 galvets<sup>3</sup> and caused great damage to the English and Native traders. We sent our ships Popkensburg and 'S Heeren Arendskerk to that place in order to drive the pirates away from our neighbourhood, but before our arrival they had already gone to the north.

They had never before ventured so far south.

<sup>1</sup> Ikkeri was the old capital of the kingdom of Canara or Bednore. A full description of Ikkeri in the time of its splendour at the beginning of the 17th century will be found in Della Valle. From entries in MS. No. 471 it is clear that the abbreviation P<sup>as</sup> stands for "pagoda" a coin worth about 2 rix-dollars or 3½ rupees. Valentijn (1726) gives the value of the Canarese pagoda as 2 rix-dollars = 6 guilders. In 1732 the Dutch reckoned 1 Ikkeri pagoda = 1½ the rix-dollars (MS. No. 184). In 1740 the Tellicherry factors note the price of "Icaree pagodas" as Rs. 348 per 100; in 1744 27 Icaree pagodas = Rs. 96,002.

<sup>2</sup> Sambhaji. Lambasy in the Dutch of volume No. 1 in this series is a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> The Angrian fleets were always composed of *guraps* (English groab, grab, perhaps from Arabic ghorab, raven) and *galvets* (English gallivat, galvat, from Mahratta galbat, ship). Grabs and gallivats are thus described by Orme I, 408: "The grabs have rarely more than two masts, although some have three, and are about 300 tons; but the two-masted grabs are not more than 160 tons. They are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing, however, from the middle of the bows, where they have a prow projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley and covered with a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel, from which, however, it is separated by a bulkhead which terminates the forecabin; as this construction subjects the grab to pitch violently when sailing against a head sea, the deck of the prow is not enclosed with sides, as the rest of the vessel is, but remains bare, that the water which dashes upon it may pass off without interception. On the main deck, under the forecabin, are mounted two pieces of cannon, nine or twelve pounders, which point forward through the portholes out in the bulkhead and fire over the prow; the cannon on the broadside are from six to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row boats built like the grab, but of smaller dimensions, the largest rarely exceeding seventy tons. They have two masts, of which the main is very slight, the main mast bears only one sail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoisted being much higher than the mast itself. In general the gallivats are covered with a spare deck made for lightness of split bamboos, and these carry only "petterarues" which are fixed on swivels in the gunwale of the vessel; but those of a larger size have a fixed deck on which they mount six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders; they have forty to fifty stout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour.—The Tellicherry Diary also refers to Angria's attack on shipping in the Calicut roads in January 1743.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE COMPANY'S PROFITS AND REVENUES.

We now come to the second chapter dealing with the profits accruing to the Hon'ble Company on this coast by the sale of its merchandise, the yield of the Hon'ble Company's tolls, rent of gardens and lands, etc., and also by the purchase of stock merchandise and necessities, etc.

With regard to the first point, the sale of goods, it is certain that, although the Malabari himself does not consume any large amount, a considerable quantity of stock merchandise could be disposed of in this town, as was shown in the year 1739, when the ships "Polanen" and "Ridderskerk" bound for Mocha were stopped here and four ship loads were disposed of without any difficulty, and there was not enough by a long way for the eager merchant.

The following articles I call stock merchandise: sugar, Japanese bar-copper, spices, saltpetre, tin, lead, armozines<sup>1</sup>, country resin, iron, piece-goods of different sorts, cloths, silk stuff, benzoin<sup>2</sup>, camphor, vermilion, quicksilver, assafoetida; of which articles some may be disposed of in larger, others in smaller, quantities.

These goods are mostly fetched away in vessels from Purbander, Sind and Cathai [possibly Ketí port, Karachi district] or are taken to Calicut, where they have their rendezvous.

Native traders bring in much cotton and medicinal herbs of all kinds, but chiefly cash consisting of rupees.

The reasons why the other western factories should have preference as against Malabar are well known; still it would be highly desirable if trade were to improve so everywhere that the Malabar people could take enough stock merchandise at least to make good the expenses of so many garrisons.

Under this heading something must be said of opium and elephants. Opium was formerly one of the chief articles sold by the Hon'ble Company on the coast here, and great profits could be realised, because it was the custom to exchange opium for pepper. But in the time of Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon it was judged that this was a kind of coercion, contrary to mercantile methods; so the practice was discontinued and it was ordered that pepper should be paid for in cash. It was thought that this grain would now flow in in abundance, and indeed this expectation would not have proved unfounded provided we had been willing to pay the market price.

Meanwhile opium had come into such great demand at Batavia that abundant sales were carried on there and the profits were greater than could ever be expected on this coast. So the sending of this article here was stopped. Since that time the English have firmly established themselves in the north and south of Malabar at Talicherry (Tellicherry) and Ansjenga (Anjengo) and have flooded the country with drug of an inferior kind called Baglapourse, which is in great demand owing to its low price; and so the Honourable Company have had no further chance of selling any. We have often reproached the kings and proprietors for permitting this contrary to treaty provisions. They have admitted the violation, but tried to excuse themselves by saying that the Hon'ble Company no longer imports opium. Their Right Worshipfuls again sent twenty boxes two years ago, but as the contents were old and dry and could by no means fetch the Batavia price of 400 rix-dollars, and the merchants could in no way be moved to pay more than the market price, viz., 145 rix-dollars, the boxes were returned.

Of the four elephants sent here recently by the "Opperdoes" from Ceylon, two have been sold at a nice little profit of 2,031-10 guilders (Rs. 1,145) representing

<sup>1</sup> Armozines are commonly enough mentioned in the records, especially in lists of silk cloths. From a price-list of 1734 in MS. No. 137, I find that single armozines were then sold in Holland for 6 to 7 guilders a piece, double for 13 to 14 guilders. In 1779 they were considerably dearer; single armozines 20 x 2 cobidos were then worth 11½ guilders, double armozines, 31 x 2½ cobidos, 13½ guilders (MS. No. 1124).

<sup>2</sup> Benzoin or Benjamin, as it is often called in the English records, is a resin of which incense was made.

a gain of 52.44 per cent. The two bigger animals have been sent on to Barsaloro (Basrur) by the "Wapen van Hooru". If their Right Worshipfuls would be pleased to allow a cargo of small elephants to be imported by the ships which come here empty from Ceylon every year, it would be easy to dispose of them quickly and profitably, because they are in great demand with the people of Malabar.

The king of Cochin claimed the tail-duty—as it is called—of the elephants recently sold. This is rightly due to him on all elephants which the people of Malabar export from or through his country, but it cannot be shown that the same rule applies to the Hon'ble Company, the rather because such a thing has not been the custom and is nowhere provided in the treaties, and besides the ground on which the town of Cochin is built has never been the property of this king but belonged to the king of Repolim from whom the Portuguese got it, and although His Highness has tolls collected in this town, it is no obligation but an act of courtesy on the part of the Hon'ble Company to permit the same, in order to bind His Highness more closely to the Hon'ble Company. However this act of kindness and many others rendered to this Raja by the Hon'ble Company seem to have been forgotten.

The Revenues of the Hon'ble Company's tolls, rents of gardens and lands, and taxes, amounted last year to the respectable sum of 43,484.5 guilders, namely :

*Revenue of the year 1741/42 at Cochin.*

By farm of gardens, islands, lands and salt-pana .. .. .	f. 12,143	3	0
By farms of arrack and toddy tapping and also rent of the town-inn and tobacco .. .. .	9,390	0	0
By dues on legally imported and exported native merchandise. ..	932	18	0
By taxes on slaves exported from this coast .. .. .	81	0	0
By taxes on houses and premises sold .. .. .	547	10	0
By dues on passing vessels at the fort of Oranganore .. .. .	231	15	8
By sale of stamped paper .. .. .	262	10	0
	f. 23,588	17	0
At Cannanore the revenues of arable lands on the hill of Carla, passports and cocoanuts sold, amount to .. .. .	f. 399	7	8
At Coilan revenues of exported areca from the bay and of passports, amount to .. .. .	9,068	3	0
At Chettua by taxes on paddy, toddy and arrack tapping with dues on pepper .. .. .	1,284	1	0
At Paponetty by the farm of gardens and lands, salt-pana and slaves .. .. .	9,14[3]	16	8
Grand total f.	43,484	5	0

With regard to the collection of stock merchandise I put pepper in the first place among the articles that belong to that branch of trade.

*Pepper.*

I put pepper in the first place because the Hon'ble Company maintains its expensive establishments on this coast for the sake of this grain.

If I were to treat of this subject from its very beginning this work would become too extensive and so I beg to refer your Worship to the letters to Batavia and home of eight years ago, because before my arrival a great change had been introduced in this trade. To indicate the connection in a few words I will here note that when the Right Worshipful Hendrik Zwaardcroon (of happy memory) was Commissary of Malabar he ordered that the pepper on this coast should be sold at a premium of 25 per cent., the produce being abundant and cash scarce, with the view that, buyers being able to secure this commodity from the Hon'ble Company at a low rate, there should be no profit left in smuggling it. But as our Hon'ble Masters [*i.e.*, the Council of the Seventeen], according to extract from Home Despatches, dated 27th July 1719 and 17th July 1722 and also 21st July 1725, considered this price too low, the premium was raised to 50 per cent. and in the year 1733 to 100 per cent.

However fully justified the raising of the price was in every respect, still it is at the same time an incontrovertible truth that the greater the premium of pepper the greater are the profits of smuggling. As soon as the Hon'ble Company fixes

the price of any stock merchandise, this price is usually seen to rise still higher in many places, and this is the case with pepper as is clear from the fact that the merchants here offered 100 per cent. premium at a time when the neighbouring factories had great difficulty in contracting at the same amount. If you were to ask me how this is possible, I could give several reasons, but I shall content myself with giving only one here. By way of example : the pepper is sold at Surat at a premium of 100 per cent. ; in places far from Surat the same pepper will of course be sold still dearer by the first buyers and consequently you can easily understand that the Bombaras<sup>1</sup> of Purbander, Cathay and Sind can pay a premium of 125 per cent. or 150 per cent. here and still realise more profit than if they themselves went to get the pepper from Surat direct, because there they would have to buy at second or third hand and they would make no profits on their own goods which they export from their own country and on which they now realise good profits from Bombay to Cochin.

To return to the subject under discussion, as the price of pepper had been raised, it was in greater demand among the smugglers, and the amount collected by the Company began to decrease from year to year. Our endeavours to put a stop to this were by no means small but mostly to no purpose. At last we were convinced that all political and mercantile measures were vain and that no diligence on our part could check the profit-seeking merchant when he is able without danger to make more money elsewhere than with the Hon'ble Company. Then the liberty was taken to lay before their Right Worshipfuls the only two ways that still remained to restore the trade, namely either to follow the market or adopt extreme measures.

Both plans, it cannot be denied, involved very many difficulties : As for the first plan, it would have been unnecessary to conquer Malabar with so much expense and to waste so much blood and money in order to secure exclusive contracts, if we had been willing to follow the market by the side of the ordinary merchant. Moreover to follow the market is well nigh impossible because an ordinary merchant, who has to defray no expenses of any importance, is better off with 25 per cent. profit on pepper than the Hon'ble Company with 100 per cent., inasmuch as the latter has to bear the considerable burdens of so many establishments on this coast.

The second alternative, viz., to compel the Malabar rulers to observe the exclusive contracts by forcible means, is no less hazardous, because the burdens of war are certain but its result is uncertain. And even if we could be certain of a good result, it is still to be feared that these faithless rulers would not keep their word longer than they were compelled to do so by the dread inspired by the Hon'ble Company's arms ; and it is not possible for the Hon'ble Company to be continually under arms here on this coast.

But if on the ground of my long stay on this coast, I were forced to give my opinion as to which of these two bad expedients deserves preference, I should be not a little embarrassed. I am convinced that one of the two plans must necessarily be adopted or the Company's investment on this coast must be withdrawn for the greatest part. Even with time there is not the slightest hope of improvement except by means of the two proposed plans. I would not answer definitely but according to times and circumstances and considering whether peace or war is probable in Europe, and how the Company's interests stand in India. No doubt sometimes it would be better to follow the market provided the Hon'ble Company can count on a profit of 100 or 75 per cent., the former in Europe and the latter in India. However should the Hon'ble Company have a great force at any time in India and occasion permit us to push the matter energetically my opinion would be that it would suffice to make ourselves completely masters of the states of Peritally and Berkencur ; this would be sufficient for the Hon'ble Company together with the supplies which the other states would furnish of their own accord. I say "make ourselves completely masters," because our predecessors conquered the coast only and endeavoured to stop export by sea by numerous fortifications, but at the present day one seldom or never hears that any of this grain is carried by sea ; it is now sent by land to Calicut or else across the mountains. Against this no provision could be made and, as we know too well from experience, written promises to supply pepper to the Hon'ble Company are not worth going to the smallest expense for. However the Hon'ble Company having right on her side should once for all bring those two kingdoms under her sway.

<sup>1</sup> Bombaras : quick-sailing, one-masted native vessels ; see page 218.

No doubt many objections could be raised, but if you enter on this path you will have to make up your mind and make the best of a bad bargain, as the saying is.

If the enhancement of the price of pepper should catch on and be a success, the services of the Lascorins<sup>1</sup> who keep watch at Cherlette and elsewhere should be dispensed with.

As regards this increase for the present year it has been so fully shown that otherwise there is not the slightest chance of securing any pepper for the Honourable Company in our recent letter addressed to our Hon'ble Masters and dated 5th November 1742, that it would be superfluous to make further mention of it here. I refer your Worship to this correspondence and also to the orders which their Right Worshipfuls have kindly issued with reference to this increase in case of necessity in their letters to Malabar, dated 29th October 1703, 22nd September 1705 and 1st October 1706. They clearly lay down that it will be better to follow the market by the side of our competitors rather than be without pepper for the necessary annual return shipment to Ceylon.

For the rest I must here mention also that passes for 100 candies of pepper are annually given to the kings of Coilan, Calicoilan and Porca if the contracts have been completed; otherwise no passes are given. They are not allowed to split up the cargo, but it must be carried to the south and not to the north with one pass and in one vessel.

The king of Cochin gets from the suppliers a toll of 40 Cochin fanams<sup>2</sup> for each candy of pepper of 500 lbs. In Coilan the Hon'ble Company pay 4 fanams or  $1\frac{9}{32}$  rix-dollars according as they are able to agree with the kings; the same is the custom in other places, but in Chettua the suppliers pay half a rix-dollar, half for the Hon'ble Company and the other half for the Payencbery Nairs.

I am adding a note for your Worship's perusal from which you will learn how much pepper has been supplied to the Hon'ble Company since the year 1690 both in this town and in the out-factories. The same is marked No. 3 [missing].

#### Piece-goods.

Let us hope that the collection of piece-goods in Travancore and on the Madura Coast may be so successful as to deserve to occupy the second place.

In Travancore the collection will have to be made at Tengapatnam if peace is made and Cottate [Kottar] for Ceylon and for this commandery in accordance with the regulations laid down on this behalf by the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff, and such stuffs should be bought as will, in your Worship's judgment, find the readiest market.

<sup>1</sup> *Lascorins*: word applied by the Portuguese to native soldiers in their service. When the Dutch took Cranganore from the Portuguese they brought over from Ceylon "some hundred Ceylon Lascorins or soldiers," (Schouten I, 168). Used in these records of native Christian soldiers, but distinguished from topasses or semi-assimilated native Christians and half-castes (see page 90 below and cf. MS. No. 1299 where mention is made of "Lascorins or Mundakars" = Muntikars, the 300, traditionally descendants of 300 Pulayan converts, (see Malabar District Gazetteer, 1908, page 212).

<sup>2</sup> The "400 Cochin fanams" in the printed Dutch transcript of this memoir is a misprint for "40 Cochin fanams". The minting of *Cochin fanams* was carried on in the Dutch town and the Dutch were associated in it with the King. A full account of the matter will be found in Cantor Visser (1717-23), Chapter XIII. The King received 2 per cent. of the value of the coins and the mint master another 2 per cent. which was to cover the expense of minting. The fanam was originally a gold coin. But the Cochin fanam had very little gold in it, only 10 per cent., the remaining 90 per cent. being silver and copper in equal proportions. The metals were supplied by the Dutch Company, of course at a profit to itself. The Cochin fanam was, like other fanams, a little ball. It was worth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  heavy stivers. Strutt (MS. Diary in Fort St. George records) writing in 1714 A.D. says 32 Cochin fanams were reckoned to the rix-dollar (of 48 heavy stivers) and 18 to the rupee (of 27 heavy stivers). Cantor Visser (1717-23) says 4 went to the schelling (of 6 heavy stivers). Valentijn (1726) says (IV. (1), 368) that 24 fanams went to the rix-dollar at Cochin; but he had no local knowledge and is doubtless mistaken. In accounts of the later part of the 18th century the rupee is taken as = 20 Cochin fanams = 30 stivers. As in the case of other coins the account value was however arbitrary and the market value varied; but it is pretty certain that between 18 and 20 Cochin fanams were usually worth a rupee. The Cochin fanam was probably the most debased of the many fanams current on the west coast. "*Raja*" fanam is the name given by both the Portuguese and the Dutch to the fanam of Quilon. In 1654 it is said to have been worth 40 reis (Nunes in 1863 edition of Correa's *Lendas*). Cantor Visser (1717-23) gives its value as  $7\frac{1}{2}$  schellings = 16 heavy stivers. Its value in 1742 may be deduced from this passage: 4 *Rajas* =  $1\frac{9}{32}$  rix-dollars; therefore 1 *Raja* =  $\frac{41}{4 \times 32}$  rix-dollars =  $\frac{41 \times 48}{4 \times 32}$  stivers =  $\frac{123}{8}$  stivers =  $\frac{123}{8} \times \frac{1}{27}$  rupees =  $41/72$  of a rupee. In accounts of 1761 A.D. (MS. No. 1158)

I find the following equivalents: 1 golden *Raja* fanam =  $15\frac{9}{16}$  stivers and  $3\frac{1}{8}$  *Rajas* =  $1\frac{9}{8}$  rupees; which makes the rupee 30 stivers and the *Raja* a fraction more than half a rupee. The *Raja* seems to have been the most valuable of the fanams as the Cochin fanam was the least valuable. The other fanams commonly mentioned in the records are the Travancore *gallison* or *Kalyan* and the *Calicut* fanam, usually referred to simply as the "gold fanam". The first, 6 or 7 to the rupee, is the fanam of the Anjengo district. The second commonly reckoned at 6 stivers (Cantor Visser, MS. No. 367) and between  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to the rupee, is the fanam of the Tellicherry district.

Whether the free transport of cloth from Travancore is to be permitted to native traders or to be prohibited is a matter which I shall not pronounce on here. No doubt it would be desirable to prevent it if it could be prevented, but such a step would rouse great displeasure among the Malabar rulers, and therefore your Worship should await their Right Worshipfuls' orders. It is easy to prevent the transport by sea, but transport by land cannot well be prevented.

Cloths are bought up for this commandery in the Madura country also with the permission of the Ceylon administration and this has been approved by their Right Worshipfuls.

The Merchants Ezechiël and Naga Porbo supply cloths on contract through their representatives there; next they are brought to the residents of the Hon'ble Company and they have them packed up and sent, along with a proper invoice, by the Company's vessels to Cochin. In this place the cargo is handed over to the above-mentioned merchants, who have to pay 20 per cent. premium in accordance with the orders of their Right Worshipfuls contained in a secret despatch, dated 4th July 1740.

Last year the Hon'ble Company paid for those cloths, but now, at the request of the merchants and with the approval of the Ceylon administration, the merchants have been permitted themselves to make payment in order to avoid the loss which they incurred from an inexact calculation of the Madura fanam and also in order to do away with the complaints that they had sometimes to wait rather long for their money. However it will be the rather necessary that the residents should make the price known to your Worship and it should be compared with the invoices of last year to see whether all is straight on this point. If an eye is kept on this business there will be no possibility of any muddling.

Cochin chintzes are painted here within the Company's jurisdiction. In the beginning they were disposed of at a good profit at Batavia, but last year they were sold at a loss. In his report, which may be found in the second bundle of the appendices under No. 4 [missing] the Assistant. Adrian Harsteede attributes this to the bad times at the said head-quarters. Your Worship should for the present stop the work, and the little which is in hand should be disposed of either here or in Persia in compliance with the express order of their Right Worshipfuls to be found in the despatch of 30th September 1742.

#### *Cardamom.*

Cardamom. of the cabessa kind, produced in the country of the king of Cottatte [Kottayam] situated in the kingdom of Colastry [the Cannanore kingdom], has long since fallen into the hands of the English at Tallicherry and of the French at Mahé, who pay such high prices for it that there is little chance for the Hon'ble Company unless the road is entirely blocked by many forts and works. Of the cardamom which is produced in these parts in the country of Coddachery Caimal and Punjatty Perumal, the Hon'ble Company secured in the year 1741, 4,050 lbs. at 70 ducats per candy of 500 lbs. but since that time the price has risen so that the Company has not been able to secure anything for that reason and also on account of the quarrels between the above named Caimals, and Punjatty Perumal was unwilling to make a cardamom contract except on condition that the Honourable Company should secure for him against good payment a small piece of land called Condasider and belonging to the Pagoda of Irmale Cuddy Codavanika. Although this is a matter of small importance and the king of Cochin has been pressed about it we have not been able to succeed, because this ungrateful or rather careless ruler will not take the least trouble. However your Worship should remember this matter in case an opportunity should present itself in the course of time<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Cotton.*

The collection of Surat and Cathay [Keti?] cotton for the use of the Madura weaving establishments, which was recommended by Commissary Hendrik Zwaarde-ooron, and again ordered by secret despatch from Batavia, dated 4th July 1740, has not

<sup>1</sup> The cardamom trade was of little importance to the Dutch Company both because not much of the spice was required for the European market and because it did not yield the enormous profits the Company expected on all articles in which it dealt regularly. So in 1726 (M.S. No. 137) 4,860 lbs. were sent from Malabar to Holland, the invoice price was 5,832 guilders and the price realised in Holland only 7,265 guilders. 70 ducats per 500 lbs. = about 16 stivers a pound. The price in Holland seems to have varied considerably. In 1726-27 it was 32 to 34 stivers a pound according to the price lists (M.S. No. 137), in 1762, 88 stivers in 1769, 84 stivers (M.S. No. 748).

been possible during the last year on account of the excessively high prices due to the large export to Bengal, and the price has as yet gone down very little. However the Company's merchant Naga Porbo has undertaken to supply the 6,250 lbs. that were recently indented for, because the quantity is only a small one, the price to be the same as last year's, viz., 32 rix-dollars. No doubt a good profit will be secured on this supply because the proper price is 50 rix-dollars, but it is impossible for the administration on this coast positively to guarantee it.

#### *Areca.*

The same is the case with the areca of Malabar. Their Right Worshipfuls have ordered 6,250 lbs., to be bought on condition that suitable profits can be secured. Although the above-named merchant had undertaken to supply the same against last year's price, the order has been withdrawn for the present, because the Chinese supercargos have intimated in their letter, dated 28th November 1742, that the market for this product was very bad there and that no profits worthy of the name would be secured. This is in conformity with the express order of their Right Worshipfuls contained in the despatch of the 30th September 1742.

#### *Sandal.*

Sandalwood is purchased in the Kingdom of Canara and sent to Batavia for the China trade. I have no remark to make except that it should be possible to secure large quantities or at least so much that in future the Company's ships need not return empty to Batavia. Sandalwood has also been ordered from Coromandel and a quantity of 15,000 lbs. has been bought, or rather as much as the "Phaar Agnieta" was able to hold. But in future this must be done *via* Ceylon and the Coromandel administration must be requested to order early if there is any further need of this product, because it is not always possible to get it from the north.

Our officers at Barssalore [Basrur] must always be recommended to select large pieces of a yellow colour, because a kind of sandalwood is found there which is brought from Bidrur [Bednore, properly Bidururu, Bamboo-town] and which is of a spurious sort and also costs a great deal less. The best quality called Armany [the court kind from Tamil *aranmanai* or Malayalam *aramana*] comes from Mysore, and the second quality, called Varnally, is largely exported to China.

#### *Cowries.*

Cowries are brought from the vessels which come here annually straight from the Maldives. These vessels are beginning to have a liking to sail to Calicut where these little shells can be sold with more profit. Last year we ordered a king's vessel coming from Calicut to be seized, because it is stated in our letters that those traders are not allowed to come anywhere except to this town, it being assumed that the Hon'ble Company in Ceylon had made exclusive contracts with that king; however the contrary has since been proved from the Ceylon papers, and their Right Worshipfuls having also ordered in their honoured letter of the 30th September 1742 that that vessel should be released, it was set free at once.

Still it will be permissible, if it can be done, to divert the vessels from that voyage by persuasive measures. The Hon'ble Company has, in our opinion, the power to do this on the strength of the exclusive contracts; however it cannot be denied that these refer chiefly to European countries. In the year 1736 a contract was also made with Adiraja [of Cannanore] to supply the Hon'ble Company annually with 500 catties [about 1½ lbs. each] of cowries which are brought there from his Lekker Diva [Laccadive] Islands. In the present circumstances it has been considered useless to press him strongly to maintain his contract, but later on, as soon as circumstances permit, this must be done.

#### *Chanks.*

The Sind chanks<sup>1</sup>, to which a detailed reference is made in our letter of the 14th of December 1733, have since also been taken to Calicut by the merchants because they could not dispose of them here. However, should the trade of the Company

<sup>1</sup> Dutch: Chancoessen; a chank is a large shell prized by Hindus.



again revive and should suitable articles be supplied, there is a good chance to get this sea product again brought here, provided care is taken that the importers are attended to before others, and though there will be little opportunity of sending the same to Bengal direct, it can easily be forwarded to the chief marts in India, because the ships rarely leave here with a full cargo for those places, which they usually visit about the time of the shipment to Bengal.

*Curcuma [Saffron].*

The cultivation of curcuma at Cannanore has been abandoned by order of their Right Worshipfuls, because the Honourable Company can secure abundant supplies of it in Java; but if their Right Worshipfuls should ever be pleased to ask for any again, it will not be necessary to send to Calicut for the same, but your Worship will be able to secure it of just as good a quality and much cheaper in Berkencur here, as has been shown in our respectful letter to their Right Worshipfuls, dated 30th April 1737.

*Indigo.*

The sample of indigo which was sent to Batavia has been found, according to the report of the indigo sorter Jan Pieter Buig, to be of very good quality. Their Right Worshipfuls have asked for a clear statement, as soon as occasion offers, showing the cost to the Hon'ble Company of each pound of that dye including all the expenses of its preparation, to see whether the desired profits can be secured. As for the cultivation of indigo, this plant grows wild all over Malabar; but in most places in no greater quantity than is required by the native for his own use. Moreover in the month of July, when the indigo begins to grow, almost all the untilled fields are being cultivated and sown with natjeny<sup>1</sup> and so indigo cannot grow in any great abundance, but in Calicoilan and the neighbourhood the plant is found in great quantities and the Malabaris prepare it to dye certain garments and for sale.

What I have said above made me suppose that if this plant were properly cultivated, it would thrive here as well as at Surat and on the coast [*i.e.*, the Coromandel Coast, as commonly]. So, with the consent of their Right Worshipfuls, seed was sent for from Surat; it came up well a few times but not afterwards. We have again sent for 50 lbs. of this seed from Surat, but this time it is to be sown in the Mangat country and in the land of the Anjacaimals and endeavours are to be made to continue the cultivation in earnest, but the work must be done by the natives, because it cannot be done by the Company's servants as it would be too expensive and contrary to the intentions of our Hon'ble Masters, as is clear from their honoured letter, dated 14th September 1731.

The seedlings, which were kindly forwarded with some young plants by the Right Worshipful van Imhoff, then Governor of Ceylon, were sown in the year 1737 in the Company's gardens; they sprang up as luxuriantly as ever grass can do. Afterwards some of these plants were sent to the island of Bendurty [Vandurty near Cochin], to Chettua, Paponetty, Cranganore, Varapoly, and in the south they have been divided among the headmen of the Mocquas [Mukhuvas, a fishing caste]. This should be done for one or two years more. The Company's garden produces abundance of small plants for this purpose in the months of July and August.

If this is done, the cultivation will doubtless require no further attention, only you must see to it that the dye roots are properly supplied to the Hon'ble Company. As regards the price which we fixed, following that of Ceylon, at 12 rix-dollars a bhaar of 480 lbs. but is to our thinking too low for the reason given in our recent Home letter, on arriving in Ceylon I will give your Worship further information. Just now a quantity of 113½ lbs. of those dye roots is on the way to Ceylon per ship "Popkensburg<sup>2</sup>".

<sup>1</sup> Natjeny: the English 16th century form is "natchnee"; cf. Forbes, edition of 1834, I, 261 "those who cannot afford rice, content themselves with natchnee, a grain of inferior quality." Natchnee is from the Malabatta "nachani" and means what we now call ragi, the food of the lower classes in the Madras Presidency and of prisoners in the Government jails.

<sup>2</sup> "Bhaar" is from Sanskrit bhara, load, according to Hobson Johnson. The Dutch used the measure rather in the islands than in Malabar, where most articles were weighed by candies. The Ceylon and Batavia as well these records show that the Dutch (as might be expected from their history and national character) tried to introduce new plants wherever they went.



So far we have spoken of trade; we shall now speak of things that are required for use and consumption.

### *Slaves.*

It should be possible to get slaves here in a legitimate manner in abundance did not small-pox, which often rages here, make it difficult to purchase them, and although their Right Worshipfuls have asked for 500 head and the Ceylon administration for 250 head, it was not possible, according to a resolution of the 2nd of December ultimo, to comply with the requisition this voyage because very few of them would have survived. However your Worship will have to send the thirty-seven male slaves and the sixteen girls who are still in the depôt here and have most of them had small-pox, to Batavia by the "Wapen van Hoorn" or by the Surat ship "Domburg".

### *Timber.*

Timber was formerly contracted for chiefly with the merchants of Porca and Calicoilan, at thirteen Cochin fanams a tommeron<sup>2</sup> of the second quality. The timber was brought from the small kingdom of Pandalam situated beyond Calicoilan. But from the time this petty potentate declared himself to be an enemy of the Company and the king of Porca also would not allow anything to be transported through his country, we have been obliged to get our supply from Calicut, where it has been found to be sounder and of a better quality, but it also comes to be a good deal dearer seeing that we have to pay seventeen Cochin fanams for each tommeron. However His Highness the king of Calicoilan has promised at least one thousand southern beams next rainy season; he adds that the number may be somewhat larger if we can see our way to raising the price a little. This request can no longer be refused, because the trees next to the river [backwater] have all been felled; and the trees must now be brought from a distance by elephants, which involves much heavier expenses than were incurred before.

In the east of the country of Maliatura a few beams may be had occasionally, but not many.

Punatur Nambetty also has promised to supply the Hon'ble Company with a load of timber during the next monsoon season, but we cannot rely much on this; however he should be admonished in time to keep his promise.

With regard to the wood for masts, which is found on this coast, I refer you to the accompanying report of our sea and ship experts, dated 25th October 1742, and to be found among the supplements under No. 5 [missing]. Only I must briefly note here that although the timber which was recently sent to Batavia has been condemned by the ship building expert there, still there is no doubt that the same is perfectly suitable for ship building, witness the various neat little ships, yachts, sloops and smaller vessels which have been built here for so many years and are very durable.

The master shipwright has also certified that in his opinion the chief virtue of Malabar knee-timber consists in its hardness, and though it is rather difficult to dress, it gives no real trouble; the same has been confirmed by the report of all the skippers who are at present here, as may be seen in the supplements under No. 6 [missing].

<sup>1</sup> Slavery was not abolished by law in the Dutch possessions in the east till 1860 (Klerk de Rens page 127). When Cochin capitulated to Major L'etie in 1795 and the Dutch asked permission to take their private property including slaves with them, that officer replied with a new found virtue "Granted except with regard to slaves; it is a name unknown in a British country" (Articles of capitulation in Logan's Treaties, p. 236). Agrarian slavery was however not abolished in British Malabar till 1843 (Act V of that year) nor in Travancore till 1855. When the census of 1842 was taken there were 159,000 slaves in British Malabar. The Dutch Company possessed both agrarian slaves, who passed to them with land acquired or conquered, and domestic and artisan slaves; private servants were also commonly slaves. The company owned 1,273 slaves in 1624 (Klerk de Rens, p. 128) and I find from the Batavia diary of 1677 that while the European population of Batavia on the 1st of March of that year was 2,379, the slave population was no less than 17,279. The Company paid 40 to 80 dollars for a slave at the end of the 17th century. They received wages (averager 1 dollar a month, ordinary male slaves half a dollar, etc.), besides their keep and clothes, and could buy their freedom. There was considerable legislation for the protection of slaves and the records of the company show that Europeans might be severely punished for ill-treating them. Valuable material for a history of the abolition of domestic slavery in British India will be found in a blue-book of nearly 1,000 pages ordered to be printed on the 12th of March 1828. It contains (pages 168-171) an abstract of the Dutch regulations on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Tommeron: 1 sandy = 4 tommerons = 24 oubidos = 876 borels (NR. No. 772). The modern Travancore sandy = 24 turadas = about 13 cubic feet. Borel = virul, finger, inob. Cf. page 202 below.

*Lime and Bricks.*

In our letter of the 21st March 1742 we pointed out to their Right Worshipfuls, as in duty bound, the bad quality of the lime and bricks which are supplied to the Hon'ble Company on account of the small price paid, viz., 9 fanams for a candy of 500 lbs. of lime and 28 fanams for 100 $\frac{3}{4}$  cobidos [Portuguese covado] of bricks; accordingly their Right Worshipfuls have been so good as to sanction a moderate increase of price according as necessity requires by their honoured secret letter of the 11th August ultimo, and a contract has been made with the Rajadore of Ailur, Mangalapally Ikoren, and with Parachely Pannical of Peremangalam at 32 Cochin fanams, and for this price they at present supply good bricks. The foreman of the wood-yard and the foreman of the bricklayers must sign the orders for payment, vouching for the quality. The price of lime has been increased from nine to twelve fanams on condition that it must be thoroughly burnt and pure. This increase has been thought unnecessary in Chettua because everything round about there is cheap, and it is chiefly the high prices of food stuffs in this town which have made the increase necessary. As the bricks that come from Peremangalam are of a still better quality than those from Ailur your Worship should endeavour to keep a large quantity of them always in stock to avoid difficulties should this or that repair have to be done quickly. I have given orders to stow away the bricks in future under a shed, because I found that owing to the heavy rains they fell off both in quantity and quality.

*Rice.*

The kingdom of Canara exports rice in great abundance and furnishes therewith many European and other nations. Hence the price has risen from 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  to 24 Ikkeri pagodas<sup>1</sup>.

The worst is that we must snatch this grain so to speak from the fire; one ship by itself runs very great danger at the hands of the Angria pirates; so it has been resolved that the "Wapen van Hoorn" should be convoyed by the galley "Victoria" and this will have to be always done in future in order to avoid mishaps, at least as long as those pirates make the sea unsafe.

It should be possible to secure some rice round about here, but it will not keep at all and must be consumed at once. Now and again we use this rice in order to save our stock when it is low. The rice that is bought here is procured little by little. In the middle of this month there were in this town and in the out-agencies 333 lasts [tons] of rice and 48 lasts of paddy:—

						Rice	Paddy.
At Cochin	..	..	..	..	..	250	20
„ Coilan	..	..	..	..	..	33	..
„ Chettua	..	..	..	..	..	21	22
„ Cranganore	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
„ Cannanore	..	..	..	..	..	23	6
„ Radeatty	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
„ Porottu	..	..	..	..	..	2	..

besides 200 lasts of rice brought from Barsalore by the "Wapen van Hoorn," and again to this quantity will be added a couple of hundred lasts of paddy expected from the Province (Paponetty).

*Coir.*

Coir which is used to make anchor and other ropes is fetched from the lands of Paru [Parur]. For the fine quality 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollars [12 rupees] a candy are paid and for the coarse kind 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollars. In the south round about Coilan coir suitable for common use is produced and your Worship should occasionally order some of it in order to lessen the price of it here somewhat; but for rope-making it is not so good, because the fibre is very loose and the threads are uneven and the coarse kind is mixed with much stubble. The Cochin coir on the other hand is well-woven, close and of a good thread; in former times their Right Worshipfuls used to indent for much rope and cable from here, but now it is ordered from Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> See, Es. 35 to Rs. 84 per last of 2,000 Dutch pounds. See page 83 above.

The Maldivé coir is the best of all, but somewhat expensive.

#### *Fuses.*

Fuses were formerly made in Calicoilan, but last year when that territory fell into the hands of the enemy we had them prepared here and the same have been found as good as the former, the price being as usual 16 rix-dollars per hundred bundles.

#### *Hides.*

Malabar supplies hides in abundance for Ceylon for packing cinnamon and for the armoury here. All the officers at the subordinate factories must be reminded from time to time not in any way to neglect the supply of them. We pay one rix-dollar for a corgie [score] of twenty pieces.

#### *Cocoanut oil.*

The Kingdom of Cochin furnishes cocoanut oil in large quantities, but, as the neighbouring territories are not so well supplied with it, such large quantities are exported that we sometimes pay 38 fanams for a chodena of six kans<sup>1</sup>. But since we resolved never to pay more than one rix-dollar for 10 kans on behalf of the Company, exportation has been prohibited both by sea and by river to Cranganore in the north and in the south to Cheremagalam and Calicoilan Biohur, with the result that the supplier is able to provide this quantity without loss; the King has even promised always to supply the Hon'ble Company with the necessary oil at that price provided export remains free, but very little faith can be placed in his promises.

#### *Salt.*

Salt is at present manufactured in sufficient quantities in Bendurty [Island Vandurti] and several other places; so there is no need to import any from outside.

#### *Charcoal and firewood.*

Charcoal is burnt in Province Paponetty by charcoal-burner Hendrik Claasz: this is of great convenience for the Company's service as our coal is far from sufficient for the work at the smithy, for shipbuilding and other things. Charcoal costs the Hon'ble company 7½ light stivers a parra [about half a rupee a cwt.] paid in cooly wage. Firewood is out round about Cranganore. We pay 3 rix-dollars a pile, a pile being three fathoms<sup>2</sup>. It is then brought here across the backwater in gamels<sup>3</sup>. Your Worship should take care always to have at least 50 piles in stock.

<sup>1</sup> The old Kan or quart in use in the East Indies = 1.6761 litres (Encyclopædie van Nederl-Indie). The Cochin kan may be the old Portuguese "Canada" of which 6 were reckoned to the chodena of 8.4 litres at Cochin in 1564 (Nunes).

<sup>2</sup> The old Amsterdam vadem or fathom in use in the East Indies for measuring wood, etc. = 1.698798 metres (Encyclopædie van Nederl-Indie).

<sup>3</sup> Gamels were a kind of galley, see p. 87.

## CHAPTER III.

*THE COMPANY'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.*

We now come to the Company's domestic affairs and in the first place :

*The True Religion.*

The Reverend Preacher Johannes Scherius is in charge of the religious ministrations on this coast. To my sincere regret I must confess that the Reformed Doctrine has made little progress in spite of all careful forethought and the regulations concerning schools and education of children and the instructions regarding the penetration of popish superstitions. Not to speak of the recklessness and indifference of men in an affair upon which their eternal welfare or ill-fare depends, almost all the children of our European employees married to Catholic wives are brought up in the Roman Faith. Not the slightest improvement can be expected unless church and schools are provided with edifying and efficient teachers who understand the Portuguese language. Though attempts were made to provide for the children by causing them to learn Dutch it was found that the quickest of them after many years of much labour and trouble could only be got so far as to recite something by heart without properly understanding it or being able to listen to discourses with any profit. The state of affairs is the more regrettable inasmuch as I have not the smallest hope of a change for the better, except in the above-mentioned means ; for what can the zeal of a reformed Preacher, whom nobody can understand, do to combat the bustle of the thousand Roman priests on this coast, who are perfectly equipped with the necessary knowledge of the languages ?

However it cannot be said that our work in this matter has been altogether fruitless. Your Worship should take a keen interest in the propagation of God's pure doctrine in the hope that the Almighty may raise up able and zealous men to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord and to work with profit therein. Whatever we have done in this respect may be found in our successive resolutions and letters. It would be well if your Worship were to have extracts collected and bound together in a separate bundle for your Worship's consideration. The long wars have prevented us executing our good intentions in this regard. In a secret letter, dated 11th August 1742, your Worship will find how far our doings in this matter have been approved by their Right Worshipfuls.

*Court of Justice.*

Justice was pretty irregularly administered when I arrived here. The Court of Justice has now been provided with good books, among others the Ceylon Blaffert<sup>1</sup> kindly sent to us from that island by the Right Worshipful van Imhoff. Moreover all extracts from political Council Resolutions and Home and Batavia letters are now communicated to the Court of Justice, and are bound together and properly indexed. By this the work of the members of this court is not a little lightened, if they will only take the trouble to go through the papers diligently.

All sentences not subject to revision or appeal must be confirmed by the Commandeur acting alone, because the members of the Political Council also sit in the Court of Justice. If the Commandeur is of opinion that there has been a manifest miscarriage of justice, or that a sentence is contrary to law and the custom of the country, he may stay execution and communicate his objections, at the first opportunity, to the Supreme Government for the necessary orders.

*The Political Council.*

The Political Council constitutes the governing body. It comprises the Chief of the Settlements, the Second, one Captain and six Under Merchants. The chiefs of the out-settlements when present in this town are also given a seat in Council, provided

<sup>1</sup> A "blaffert" (misprinted "Blappert" in the Dutch original in this series) is a list or register ; here probably of a collection of Batavia ordinances, etc.

that there must not be more than nine votes, the remaining members sitting only in an advisory capacity. All matters of any importance are dealt with in this Council and are settled by majority of votes.

In accordance with instructions, dated the 7th September 1740, Under-Merchants take precedence of skippers and lieutenants. They take their seats not according to seniority in their grade, but according to the date of their appointment to the Council.

#### *Court of Orphans.*

This court is presided over by the Captain and consists of nine members, who are taken partly from the members of the Political Council, the other members being selected from among the best of the remaining employees of the Company.

Inasmuch as the Captain is often away on deputation, expeditions and otherwise it was resolved on the 8th of November ultimo that the presiding member must see that the affairs of this court are not neglected.

#### *Court of Petty and Matrimonial Affairs.*

The Commissioners of petty and matrimonial affairs have also a member of Council for their President. They have power to decide finally small causes which do not involve more than a hundred rix-dollars. If this limit is exceeded an appeal lies to the Court of Justice in this town.

#### *The Ward and Fire Committee.*

The fiscal is always President of the Ward and Fire Commissioners, whom Commissary Hendrik Zwaarderoon, by resolution, dated 26th June 1697, formed into a Committee and provided with a suitable Code of Regulations.

#### *The Church Committee.*

The Church Committee consists of the Preacher, of two Elders and four Deacons. When the Political Commissioner is present—this office is held by the Upper Merchant<sup>1</sup> if he be a member of the Committee, but if he is not a member or if he is of a different persuasion it is held by the Captain or by the member next in order in the Political Council—the Committee must report to your Worship whatever has been decided at the Church meeting in so far as the administration is affected; but the said Commissioner will not be present at any Church meeting at which a "Censura morum" of the members of the community is held.

#### *The Scholarchs.*

The Scholarchs, being the Reverend the Preacher and a member of our Council, examine the Protestant school-children, including the orphans, every six months and submit a report in writing. In accordance with a resolution of the 7th instant the examination will take place once a year in the presence of the Commandeur and Council and in order to encourage the pupils the more a bible will be given as a prize to one of each sex who distinguishes himself most.

#### *The Orphanage.*

The non-resident directresses of the Reformed Orphanage (the duties of which post your Worship's Lady has kindly undertaken together with the wife of Under Merchant and Chief Warehouse-keeper François Terburg) see to the girls there being properly brought up. The present resident matron, Maria Stevens, widow of Corporal Warnar Schouten, is specially well qualified for the work and her services should therefore be retained. We had to dismiss the former matron, widow of Sergeant Meulman, on the reiterated and well-founded complaints of the Deacons. She had

<sup>1</sup> The "Upper Merchant" here means the Second-in-Council, the only member of the Politico-Commercial service at Cochin of that grade.

neglected the care of the children in a scandalous manner and had endeavoured to enrich herself from their poverty. The boys remain under the supervision of the Brother Deacons though the Deacons may well have need of occasional supervision themselves on account of their youth and inexperience, and so it might not be altogether a bad thing to employ two members of council also in that work. Meanwhile I commend to your Worship's care the maintenance of the various good regulations which have been made about this Home, of which not the least important is that the children may not leave it without first making their confession of faith; since it is shameful to find that for many years past most of the inmates have left without having been properly instructed and have immediately gone over from the Reformed Religion to the Romish false teaching. Those who openly profess the latter have been debited with the cost of all that they enjoyed in the orphanage; which makes the rest of them, if not better, at least more careful.

### *The Deacons.*

The same is the case with most of the people maintained by the Deacons. They are seldom or never seen in our church. For this reason it was resolved in Council on the 7th and 8th of last January that if these people will not listen to warnings and if they are not prevented by legitimate causes from frequenting the church, support will be withdrawn from them as being entirely unworthy of it.

The capital of the Deacons was at the end of last December 14,697 $\frac{1}{4}$  rix-dollars besides 8,563 $\frac{1}{4}$  rix-dollars more which they have given out to different people, who are still alive. The revenue of the Deacons has been reduced not a little by our having had to decide to suppress one collecting bag which was handed round in church.

### *Leper Asylum.*

The capital of the Leper Asylum at Paliport having come down to 2,913.29 rix-dollars, we have been obliged to have recourse to the following measure, and with the kind approval of their Right Worshipfuls have imposed a surcharge of 50 *per cent.* on stamped paper, which however according to rough calculations will not bring in more than 59 $\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollars; otherwise these unhappy people would soon have become a burden on the Hon'ble Company. At the end of last January they were eleven in number<sup>1</sup>.

### *Garrison.*

The garrisons in time of peace have been fixed by their Worshipfuls at 678, viz., 800 at Cochin, 99 at Coilan, 56 at Cranganore, 144 at Chettua and 79 at Cannanore. These numbers would be small enough if we were not allowed to have recourse to Ceylon in case of embarrassment as happened in the year 1739, when 158 Europeans and 191 "Orientals" [Malays] were sent by the kindness of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff; with which reinforcement we were successful in two campaigns against Travancore and

<sup>1</sup> The Asylum was erected in 1728 A.D. as an inscription still preserved testifies. Papers of 1725-26 in M.S. No. 148, refer to plans for it, one of 80 rooms (besides the Surgeon's residence) to cost 5,000 dollars, another with 22 rooms to cost 4,800. An asylum was previously maintained at Castello. The site of the new asylum was that of the old Portuguese fortress at Paliport near the north end of the island of Vypeen looking on the backwater. It had passed to the Dutch with other Portuguese *enclaves* when they took Cochin in 1683. From a reference in Iarriens' *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum* (II, 226), 1616, it appears that the site, formerly that of a "Saracen" pirate stronghold was granted to the Portuguese by the King of Cochin in 1600 as a reward for driving out the pirates. The Portuguese built a College there which seems (according to Portuguese custom) to have served also as a fortress. The Dutch found a garrison at Paliport in 1661 when they marched along Vypeen to the attack of Cochin. Something of the old Portuguese fortress may still be preserved in the asylum buildings, which exist to this day. They are of stone and the walls are some four feet thick. In the year 1789 when the Dutch sold several *enclaves* to Travancore, they especially excepted "the leper house at the Paliport with its out-buildings, gardens and other land thereto appertaining" (deed of cession in Resolution dated 29th July 1789 in M.S. No. 1820). The *enclave* (9 acres in extent) passed to the British in 1795 when they took Cochin from the Dutch. It is bounded by Travancore territory on the North, West and East (land sold by the Dutch to Travancore) and by Cochin territory on the South and there is no other British territory except Cochin town (also a Dutch legacy) within 60 miles. In the annual report for 1868 of the Civil Surgeon in charge of the Asylum it is stated that the high walls forming the enclosure beyond which it was forbidden for lepers to wander and which gave place the appearance of a prison were being removed, but otherwise the buildings seem to be those of 1728 A.D. Some fifty lepers are now maintained in the Asylum.

Berkencur<sup>1</sup>; but later on as we were losing men continually without receiving any appreciable reinforcements, we were forced to yield to the superior power of the enemy, to leave him master of the field and to shut ourselves up in our fortifications, which are at present in good condition here on the coast and only require keeping in repair. At Quilon, according to the plan of the Right Worshipful van Imhoff, the broken curtain between the bastions Malabar and Ceylon should be built up again strong and solid and the first of these bastions should be provided with the necessary cannon.

The lining with palisades of the sea front where the water encroaches steadily has not been proceeded with yet owing to want of beams. This work however cannot be delayed any longer since the heavy surf eats away the foreshore every year. Your Worship should cause as many of the beams which have been contracted for with the southern merchants as are required for the work to be sent to Quilon and should then send to Calicut for your Worship's ship-building supply.

#### *Fortifications and Works.*

The fortifications in this town are also in perfect condition if you except the wall between bastions Stroomburg and Overysel, which was built as a blind wall 956 feet long and two bricks in breadth; near the first named bastion it was leaning right over for a length of 156 cobidos [ells]; this portion I had broken right down and rebuilt in the form of a heavy brick wall, the foundation being 12½ feet thick and the top 9 feet.

With regard to the remaining portion of the wall your Worship will have to await orders from their Right Worshipfuls. Although it is still standing and looks well enough it is to be feared that in a short time it will go the same way. My humble opinion is that you should not wait till the wall falls in of itself but should

<sup>1</sup> The diary of the first campaign (18th October 1739 to 8th June 1740) is in the Madras Records and is being published. The Dutch took up arms on behalf of the King of Cayanoulam and Quilon, who was attacked by Travancore. The Travancore lines around Quilon were stormed on the 12th of November 1739 and sixteen guns taken with a loss of only 12 wounded on the Dutch side. There was a slight skirmish at Attor on the 26th January 1740. On the 20th of February there were further skirmishes at the passage of the Attinga river and in an attack on the Attinga palace. At the first of these skirmishes the King of Cayanoulam's 8,000 Mairs were reduced to less than 4,000, the rest flying; at the second to 800 and the king tried to cut his own throat for shame but was stopped. The Dutch casualties were few (40), but they retreated. The enemy's country was plundered and burnt in the course of the campaign, but otherwise little seems to have been effected. By "Orientale" (Oosterlinge) are meant here as elsewhere Malays. Macassars, Rougines, etc., are mentioned in the diary. The diary of the next campaign has not been preserved, but something may be gathered from the volumes of Letters to Batavia, Letters from Quilon, etc. Towards the end of the year 1740 a campaign was conducted in Berkencur with the result that the enemy were beaten in several encounters and driven out of that territory and the Dutch occupied it with four strongholds, "through which we are complete masters of that Kingdom" (Letter to Batavia, dated 8th of January 1741, in MS. No. 335). On the 22nd of November 1740 a small reinforcement of 105 men arrived from Ceylon, on the 27th, 70 more. In January 1741 Colachel in Travancore was occupied with the view of attacking Travancore in his own country (Letter from ship "Marsseken" in MS. No. 317). The idea was to seize the whole country from Colachel to Cape Comorin (where the Dutch had a sub-factory dependent on Tuticorin and at this time a fort and garrison) and make a Dutch province of it "as it is the most beautiful district in Malabar and all the Cloth places are there" (Secret Letter to Batavia, dated 12th of May 1741, in MS. No. 336). It was then still hoped that in spite of the war in Java (described in the introduction) the Company might be able to send troops from Batavia for the reduction of Travancore; Anjicaimal (the Ernakulam district opposite Cochin) and Murta (a small kingdom near Quilon) were also to be annexed and Berkencur, whose king had been declared a "rebel" by the Dutch, was to be retained. These plans came to nothing. In May 1741, the whole field force of the Dutch consisted of 360 Europeans and 460 Malays and only 400 to 500 men could be actually employed in the field. No reinforcements seem to have arrived in 1741, and in the next campaign the Dutch were soon reduced to the defensive. In August 1741, their small garrison at Colachel was attacked by Travancore and surrendered on the 7th, a red hot ball having fired a barrel of gun powder and caused a conflagration in the stockade in which the whole of the rice supply was consumed (Letters from Quilon of 16th August and 9th October in MS. No. 317). This is the incident to which a prominent place is given under the title of the victory of Colachel in Shunchoony Monon's and other histories of Travancore. In October 1741, I find the Malabar administration reporting (Secret Letter to Batavia, dated 26th of October 1741, in MS. No. 335) that the news of the Company's troubles in Java had been industriously spread throughout Malabar by the Company's European rivals and by the King of Travancore and that the Native chiefs thought the time had come "to shake off the Company's heavy yoke and drive it from the Coast." The Cochin administration had not been able to get reinforcements even from Ceylon to whom they had applied for 200 Europeans and 200 Malays, the Governor in Council of Ceylon not being able to spare any troops and "what makes the danger even greater is that Travancore has appointed the deserter, Sergeant Doyvencobot, to be General over his troops." There were "according to our calculations between 300 and 400 of our men in the service of the enemy." The administration proposed to engage "some thousand men from the Pandya country, these being the best fighting men in Malabar," and to enlist all young topassee and lasoorins, their disciplined forces being now reduced to 760 Europeans and 3 to 400 Malays. But without reinforcements of disciplined men they could undertake nothing in the field. The demands of the Malabar administration for European troops from Batavia became more and more pressing (Letters to Batavia of 17th April and 19th May 1742, in MS. No. 336) and they began to contemplate the necessity of "spending the last drop of their blood" in defence of Quilon and Cochin. They asked for at least 2,000 troops for the Travancore war and if the Zamorin also attacked them, as seemed not unlikely, for 5,000, and however deeply engaged the Company might be in Java, they insisted that they must have 100 Europeans at least at once merely for garrison duty. The news from Java had deprived the Company of all its prestige in Malabar. Berkencur, which had been conquered in the preceding campaign, had been evacuated and the few remaining troops were concentrated in the garrisons. In July 1742, the Dutch were actually besieged in their strong fortress of Quilon and Travancore, on Doyvencobot's advice, made various attempts to storm it, in which he is said, according to the Dutch accounts, to have lost 6,000 to 9,000 men (Letter to Batavia, dated 3rd of August 1742, in MS. No. 336). About this time news arrived that the new Dutch Governor-General, Van Imhoff, was on his way to the east with a large fleet and Travancore entered into negotiations for peace with the Dutch who, with Van Imhoff's approval were willing to treat, reserving their ambitious schemes for the more favourable occasion which was never to occur.



complete the work in the same way as I have begun it, at least as far as the river gate. In order to divide up the expenditure somewhat the work may be done in the course of three or four years. Since the collapse of the wall is due entirely to the narrowness of the strip of ground on which it is built between the river and the Slotendyk ditch (inner fossa) it is most necessary to place planks between the masonry lining and the palisade to stop the action of the water which oozes through and gradually carries away the earth.

At Cranganore too all is well except the large gate of the out-works, which has sunk a little, but seeing that the same is not of the slightest use or advantage, there will be no need to spend anything on it.

The fortress at Chettua is without defect as also that at Cannanore, they both having been entirely renewed in my time. Their Right Worshipfuls have issued orders not to break down the old works, until I should have inspected them personally. Owing to the war and other urgent business I have not been able to do so and you will have to await whatever further orders their Right Worshipfuls may be pleased to issue. As for the Residencies on this coast, the one at Tengapatnam is a small mud building worth nothing, which has been broken down by the enemy. We must try to stipulate in the terms of peace that the enemy must replace the building at their own expense. In the recent conferences held at Mavilcarre they did not seem to raise any serious objection to this proposal. The brick storehouse at Peza has remained intact if the reports can be believed. The "Lodge" at Calicoilan has also been destroyed for the greatest part. You will have to await their Worshipfuls' orders before repairing the building. By letter, dated 5th November ultimo, we have made a proposal to construct an ola [palm-leaf] dwelling-house and warehouse on the shore near Great Aivika because the "Lodge" is too far inland and the pepper has to be carried to the ships with great trouble and expense. The brick "Lodge" at Porca was built as recently as 1736 and is without the smallest defect.

The Residency at Panany [Ponnani] is made of mud and must be rethatched every year with new olas. In the terms of peace of 1717, article 9, it was stipulated that the same was to be covered with tiles. However, the Zamorin has never consented to it. In view of the constant expenses the present state of affairs is objectionable; in other respects the matter is of little importance since the only use of the new residency there is to watch the wives of the Court of the Zamorin. In the harbour of Condapur at Barsalore the Hon'ble Company has surrounded the "Lodge" and the warehouse with a wall, which however is getting old and ruinous.

Your Worship has no power to erect new wooden buildings without the express consent of their Right Worshipfuls, but as far as I know there is no need for any here on this coast except a new gun-powder magazine at Coilan. The cost of this building, viz., 4,343-1-8 guilders according to the estimate of our building expert, is being reported to Batavia under express orders. This building is most necessary not only because the powder gets spoilt every year in the damp cellar, but is very dangerously placed there as being under the guard-post of bastion Ceylon and provided with a flooring of common planks. As the matter did not admit of further delay we have fitted the loft above the hall of the chief's house for the purpose, but in time of war this would be of no use, not to speak of elevated places being more exposed to lightning. And so let us hope that their Right Worshipfuls may kindly sanction this urgent work.

Of repairs which require undertaking you will find plenty everywhere with so many fortifications, "lodges" and buildings. Still in my opinion 24 carpenters and 10 bricklayers will be sufficient in future in the town here. This number can always be increased if necessary from among Topass workmen, who may be had here in large numbers for one schelling (six stivers or pence) a day. The work at the church is practically finished. A new floor will be required in the large hall of the Commandeur's house, as the old one is quite rotten and decayed according to the report of the Superintendent and the Foreman of the house carpenters, dated 28th December ulto.

<sup>1</sup> "Logie" is used to denote unfortified as opposed to fortified factories. "Logie" and the verb "loggeeren" are used of residences of the factors of the Dutch Company in the earliest records of the Company (first years of the 17th century). The French afterwards borrowed the word, which does not appear to occur in the French language in this particular sense till the time of Voltaire and Baynal, both again from the Dutch; and French "loges," interesting historical survivals, still exist at Surat, Calicut, Manipatnam, etc. The equivalent in the English Company's records is "house".



Yachts, sloops and smaller vessels for the use of this Commandery and for other settlements are constructed here firm and strong. Their Right Worshipfuls have sanctioned by letter dated 19th October 173 [...] the construction of a new yacht in the place of the "Magdalena" taken by the Angria pirates, and again by their esteemed letter of the 2nd October 1740 they have sanctioned the building not only of a sloop for this Commandery but of a second sloop which will come in useful in order to keep our workmen engaged. Herewith is added a report *sub* No. 7 [missing] for your Worship's consideration on all rowing boats and sailing vessels to be found in this town showing when they were built and in what condition they are now.

Seeing that no more building is required at the out-settlements the number of vessels may well be diminished with no small relief in the heavy burdens which press with special severity on this Commandery.

#### *Seamen.*

Seafaring men are always scarce here and sometimes it is difficult to find the necessary Bosschieters (ship's musketeers), but as we must make a virtue of necessity we have provided the boats with coolies of the muqua [Mukkuva, a fishing caste] caste under a quartermaster. They have become so skilled now that we can dispense with European sailors on the boats, while on the yachts and sloops we place the few seamen at our disposal, in part Moors and Topasses who live round about here and who begin to learn creditably. In this way we paddle with the oars we have, the work is done pretty satisfactorily and the expenditure is greatly reduced. For this reason your Worship's aim should be to make the natives more and more fit for this service. The scale of pay is only

2 rix-dollars each cooly and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rix-dollars Topass and Moor.

With the permission of their Right Worshipfuls your Worship should increase by a little the pay of those who give most satisfaction, to encourage the men and prevent them joining the service of other European nations who already tempt them very greatly by promising better pay.

#### *Indents.*

Indents for merchandise, cash, provisions, and other necessities must be drawn up with careful consideration, approved in Council, and despatched in good time in quadruplicate to Batavia.

When home indents are executed mention must not be omitted of the time when the same were received here in accordance with express desire of our Right Worshipful Masters [the Seventeen], contained in extract from the indent of return freights from India for the year 1741.

#### *Presents.*

Presents must not be given unless they have been judged necessary by the Council of Malabar and moreover the esteemed sanction of their Right Worshipfuls must be sought. The customary presents which are given to rulers and merchants annually or on certain occasions must neither be increased, nor decreased, but you go by precedent except when the interests of the Company absolutely demand a change, in which case their Right Worshipfuls have ordered that we need not stand on a trifle. However, as has been said, the same must be declared necessary and sanctioned in Council. By letter, dated 7th September 1740, their Right Worshipfuls have also been pleased to order on my proposal that the presents given to rulers and to merchants on the occasion of the renewal of the pepper contracts must not be given until after the contracts have been carried out.

#### *Coinage.*

The money formerly circulating on this coast consisted of ducats and Cochin fanams, but as our Hon'ble Masters have been pleased to resolve not to send the former gold coin any longer to this coast, their Right Worshipfuls have provided us with 103,872 Spanish reals which are issued without difficulty at the rate of 10 schellings each, but according to recent orders from their Right Worshipfuls must

for the present not be received at more than 9 schellings each. However it is hardly likely that they will be brought to the Honourable Company at that rate because the trader's loss would be too great and for the present at least he can dispose of them elsewhere. By letter, dated 11th August, we have also been authorised to indent for the necessary pagodas from Ceylon. The Porto Novo pagodas sent to us from Ceylon are in great demand and are issued without difficulty at 2 rix-dollars; but the merchants confess that they would like Nagapatnam (Negapatam) and Paliacat (Pulicat) pagodas better still. With regard to this specie we have explained ourselves at great length in our recent home letter of the 5th of November 1742.<sup>1</sup>

The fanam mint of the King of Cochin was transferred to the town in former times with a good object, viz., that we might not be constantly in difficulties for want of fanams, but still more to prevent the fanams being counterfeited, and with the desired result so far.

#### The Mint.

The Mint Masters are appointed by the King [of Cochin, and the Honourable Company has its own representatives there. In the appendix under No. 8 [missing], your Worship will find what the composition of these coins is, and no alteration may be made in this respect.

The Buseruk mint must be set going every time there is a deficiency of small coins and for this purpose as much lead and tin as may be necessary must be kept in the warehouse. The different denominations will be found enumerated in the report No. 9 [missing].<sup>2</sup>

The supply of gunpowder at the end of August amounted to :

	Lbs.
in this town .. .. .	63,887
in the fortress of Coilan .. .. .	29,950
"    "    Cannanore .. .. .	11,433
"    "    Chettua .. .. .	17,915
"    "    Cranganore .. .. .	12,605
Total .. .. .	135,790
To this has since been added amount imported by ship "Popkenaburg"	
from Batavia .. .. .	50,000
Grand Total .. .. .	185,790

<sup>1</sup> Porto Novo, Negapatam, Pulicat were factoriae in the most important of the groups of Dutch Settlements on the main land of India. The group included also Devapatnam (Cuddalore), Sadras, Masulipatam, Palcole, Draksharama, Bimlipatam, and at one time Golconda and Nagulavams on the way from Masulipatam to Golconda (see Havert, Valentia, etc.). They constituted a Governorship with headquarters first at Pulicat, then at Negapatam. A schelling is 6 stivers or roughly six pence sterling. Reals are the Spanish reals of eight, or silver dollars. When the Dutch first came East they found "trade conducted with reals of eight, halves and quarters which the Portuguese having first enjoyed commerce and navigation in those lands have made known" (Resolution of States of Holland, dated 1st March 1661). In 1662 their value in the East was fixed at 50 stivers (Plakkaat, dated 21st May 1662), but this seems to have been below the real value, a Plakkaat of the 27th May 1668 fixing the value of rix-dollars and reals ("meaning genuine Seville and Mexican but not Peruvian nor Java reals") at 50 stivers. The real was at first the standard coin. It gave way to the rix-dollar, a silver dollar minted in different provinces in Holland instead of in Spain and its possessions. The rix-dollar (48 stivers in the 18th century) in turn gave way to the rupee or Indian standard coin, which was worth 26 to 30 stivers. The ducat was the European, while the *pugoda* was the Indian, standard gold coin. They were of much the same weight, something less than half the weight of a sovereign. The usual value of the pagoda was about 2½ rupees, of the ducat about 4 rupees, of the English pound sterling 8 rupees.

<sup>2</sup> *Buseruk*.—English budrook, Portuguese bazaruco, meaning possibly base metal. Cf. the following passage from Carter Visser (1723), Letter XI. "Buseruks are a mixture of lead and tin melted together and bearing on one side the arms of the Company and on the other a figure resembling a harp. They are melted in moulds, several being stuck together at the side and then cut separate. Sixty of them are equivalent to a Cochin fanam, or one silver and a half, so that if a man were to reckon his capital in this coin he would find himself the possessor of some hundreds of thousands. The Cochin fanam are the common money of that kingdom made use of both by the merchant and by the Company, which pays its servants salaries in this coin. The right of coining fanams appertains to the king of Cochin as supreme authority in the country: but these monarchs are apt to be defrauded by those whom they appoint to strike the coins and the metal has been found to be adulterated both in the assay and composition; consequently the Company have persuaded the king to allow the coinage to take place in the city, reserving to himself the appointment of the mint masters and having his own mark stamped upon the coin, but placing all under the supervision of the Dutch Commandeur who sends commissioners to watch the striking, mixing and assaying of the fanams and to see that they have their due weight and value. There is always a deduction of 4 per cent., two for the king and two for the master of the mint, who pays all the expenses incurred in the coinage. These fanams are composed of gold, silver and copper, 10 lbs. of the metal being made up of 1 lb. of fine gold of the highest test, 4½ lbs. of fine silver and 4½ lbs. of fine Japan copper. This mixture being melted down is then moulded into little balls of the proper weight, and beaten flat with a stamp having certain Malabar characters on either side. The coin is small and very inconvenient to handle. The Company derive a profit from this coinage as supplying the gold, silver and copper material." (Hurry's translation.) This Cochin fanam was locally known as the "potten" or new fanam. Specimens may still be seen. The rough value of the potten was ½ penny half sterling, of the budrook one-tenth of a farthing.

*Gunpowder.*

Your Worship will have to obtain future supplies of gunpowder from Batavia, inasmuch as Ceylon has herself run short of that commodity. We do not send our spoilt gunpowder any longer to Ceylon to be made up again, because the Jewish gunpowder makers do that work here even better; at present they have in hand 3,100 lbs. of gunpowder recently imported from Coilan which had lost all its strength.

*Provisions.*

The Jews bring in provisions from Anjicaimal [Ernaculam district], Repolim [Edapalli] and Paro [Parur]. The sea provides us with abundance of fish, but it cannot be said that provisions are as cheap as in former days; on the contrary the difference is surprising. Formerly the price of victuals was fixed by the Civil Council [Court of Small Causes] every six months and I have several times endeavoured to re-introduce this excellent custom, but I had to give up the idea for fear we should be starved to death. However export of provisions should be prevented as far as possible.

*Drinking Water.*

Drinking water is fetched with "gamels" in casks from Feradalva [Alwaye]; to the great comfort of the Company's servants; for since this has been done, little has been heard of such gross diseases as Europeans were formerly subject to here so long as they had to drink the brackish water from the wells. Your Worship must take care that no improper use is made of the water and that it is not supplied except to those entitled to it. Otherwise the cooly-wages would run up too high; at the same time I think that sufficient precautions have been taken against this by the new regulations which we made at the meeting of the 7th January ultimo with regard to wages, provided they are properly observed, which your Worship should see to.<sup>1</sup>

*Meat and Bacon.*

Meat and bacon are kept in stock here in the town as well as in the other fortresses to be used in case of need. Good care should be taken that they do not go bad. The stock should be inspected every six months by officers who understand the matter and if necessary it should be given fresh pickle. The oldest stock may be supplied to the ships even though they are not in want of it; on condition however that it is still good and fit for use; it is our Right Worshipful Masters' desire that it should not be given out in rations in any other case, but should be thrown into the sea in order of time as will be seen from their esteemed letter to Malabar of this 22nd October 1699. It must be clearly understood that this is only when the provisions have gone bad without any one's fault and only by having been kept too long; otherwise the persons responsible will have to make up the amount. At the same time there is little occasion to distribute these provisions as we have been expressly forbidden to

<sup>1</sup> *Gamels* are small galleys, which could be used as war galleys in the backwater. The following passages from Hamilton's New Account may be compared:—

(1) New Account, 1739, I. 828. "The Dutch at Cochin to prevent that Malady (elephantiasis), send Boats daily to Verapoli, to lade with small portable casks of 10 to 12 English gallons, to serve the City. The Company's servants have their water free of charges, but private persons pay six pence per cask, if it is brought to their Houses; and yet, for all that Precaution, I have seen both Dutch Men and Women troubled with that Malady."

(2) New Account, 1739, I. 324: "About 2 Leagues farther up (than Verapoli) towards the Mountains, on the side of a small but deep River, is a place called *Firdalga*, where the inhabitants of Cochin generally assemble to refresh themselves in the troublesome hot Months of April and May. The Banks and Bottom of the River is clean sand, and the water so clear, that a small Peeble Stone may be seen at the Bottom in three Fathoms water. Every Company makes choice of a Place by the River's side, and pitch their Tents, and drive some small stakes before their Tents, in the River, on which they hang up clothes for Shirts, to hide the Ladies when they bathe; but most of them swim dextrously, and swim under water through the Stakes into the open River, where the Men are diverting themselves, and there they dive, and play many comical mad tricks, till Breakfast or Supper call them ashore, for it is Mornings and Evenings that they bathe and swim; for in the heat of the day the sun scorches. Very often the ladies lay wagers of treats with the Gentlemen, about their swiftness and dexterity in swimming, but generally the ladies win the wagers, though, I believe, if the Men would use their art and strength, they might win the Prize. The heat of the day they pass with a Game at cards or Tables for treats, by which means they fare sumptuously every day some times in one tent and sometimes in another, and at night, every family sleeps in their own tent, on the soft clean sand, Malee and Females promiseously." The Dutch did not confine themselves and their families within the walls of their town. The Commandeur had a garden house outside, where Commandeur Angelbeek entertained the King of Travancore (MS. No. 1299), the handsome British Residency on Bolghatty Island has absorbed on old Dutch house as tradition and a tablet in the hall bearing the date 1744 A.D. testify, and when Anquetil du Perron was staying at the Town Inn at Cochin in 1767, mine host took him to see his country place. Cochin town has not yet in this year of grace 1909 a wholesome water-supply for its 20,000 inhabitants. One proposal is to bring the water by pipes from Alwaye. This would cost, it is estimated, 13 lakhs of rupees or £80,000. Another proposal is to bring it by train. *Feradalva* and *Firdalga* are corruptions of Portuguese *Feira d'Alva*, a name given no doubt on account of the annual fair still held at Alwaye at Sivaratni.

give them out to the garrison here; so that it is clear that in time they will become unfit for use even with the best of care. The best way to get rid of them is to hand over a few casks every year to passing vessels. The year in which they were imported should be marked on them without fail. This I have done in the case of the barrels of powder also; otherwise it is difficult to ascertain their age.

#### *Company's Servants.*

The Hon'ble Company's servants under this Commandery need not be described at any length, as they are known to your Worship. As everywhere they consist of good men and bad, active men and men without zeal, and would that the latter were not in the majority; but as the Hon'ble Company must be served by men, we cannot, it is clear, look for perfection. It is impossible for the Chief of a Settlement to make all the crooked sticks straight; still, for the future, it is committed to your Worship's kind attention to remember the deserving when opportunity offers and to recommend them to their Right Worshipfuls. The undeserving should be kept to their duty by stern measures and should admonition prove of no avail you must get rid of them. It must be remembered, however, that their Right Worshipfuls have forbidden such useless persons being sent on to them merely by way of getting rid of them, but their character should be clearly described in the letters in order that they may be sent home.

With regard to the improvement of the Company's servants their Right Worshipfuls have been pleased to amplify the well known regulations of 1699 by means of considerations of the Right Worshipful Van Imhoff included for that purpose in the Memoir he left behind in Ceylon except the point relating to shipbuilders, which has been modified for this town, as may be seen in Their esteemed letter of the 30th September 1742. As to the numerical strength of the establishments we have always been guided by the regulations of Commissary Hendrik Zwaardecroon. During the war the number has been much increased, but as soon as peace and quiet have been restored your Worship will have to observe the regulations to the letter except as to the point relating to the garrisons.

In accordance with a resolution of the 19th instant, even though a peace should be concluded, the garrisons must be kept on this year in greater force than the sanctioned strength; however, as soon as the times and circumstances permit, your Worship should dispense with the additional forces.

#### *Interpreters.*

With reference to interpreters I must add a note here that the Interpreter Balthazar den Brouwer having died and the head Interpreter Cornelis van Meeckeren having passed his seventieth year, your Worship must not neglect what is necessary to make the three young interpreters Pieter Weits, Willem van der Kaa and Hendrik van der Linden efficient. Otherwise your Worship will often find yourself in great difficulties; and because I think it absolutely necessary that the interpreters themselves should write the olas (though this has never been done here, but a special Malabar writer has always been employed) I have made the young interpreters show me an ola written by themselves every evening, and if your Worship continues this practice we may confidently hope that they will in time become skilful therein.

#### *Deserters.*

In this connection something must be said about deserters. On our proposal their Right Worshipfuls have consented by letter, dated the 7th November 1740, to issue orders that a cartel of exchange of deserters with the foreign European nations on this coast should be established; the same was communicated to the English and French, but both excused themselves on the plea of want of authority, but promised to apply for the necessary authority from their superiors. However when we noticed that the proposal was not to their taste and that the proceedings were being spun out, we took the liberty to request their Right Worshipfuls' sanction in our humble secret letter of the 12th May 1741 to publish a proclamation of General Pardon to all deserters. In their esteemed answer, dated the 6th November 1741, sanction was kindly accorded under the usual conditions and last year a general pardon for a period of six months was proclaimed on the 26th February at Coilan and successively

in all places under the jurisdiction of this Commandery and on the 21st August the time was extended from the expiration of the first period for another six months. This ended in moving the authorities at Mahé to agree to the proposed cartel. But as pending the execution of the cartel the notorious case occurred of the French head interpreter Ignatius Texeida of Coilan and the soldier Frans Harmen O . . . n of Cochin, who took refuge in Cannanore under cover of the Proclamation of Pardon, a full account of which incident will be found in the letters then interchanged, the French declared that they had no mind to maintain the cartel that had been settled. With regard to this you must await the orders of their Right Worshipfuls. As in the meantime we had received no answer from the English, we addressed ourselves direct to the Governor and Council of Bombay, who to our surprise replied that they had no power to settle a cartel, but must first obtain permission from England. This moved their Right Worshipfuls to issue orders that we should pay back those nations in their own coin. It must be added here that in accordance with a resolution of the 14th instant, the Proclamation of Pardon is to be extended for another year. Your Worship may give effect to this after my departure; I was unwilling to do this lest these people, who are very simple for the most part, should imagine that the proclamation ceased to be in force with my departure.

*Native Servants and Subjects.*

The Company's native servants and subjects consist of Topasses, Lascorins and Muquas.

The Topasses come down to us from the Portuguese freed slaves, and possibly some illegitimate children among them. They have borrowed and carefully preserved not only the name but also the character of their old masters. They are particularly haughty, lazy and conceited and though they receive great privileges at the hands of the Honourable Company and cannot expect better treatment under a Roman Catholic Government still it is true that they nevertheless strongly hanker after a change, as was only too clear to us when four years ago the French made a show on this coast with their rodomontades. However a few must be excepted, who behave well, at least outwardly. The majority of them find a living under the Hon'ble Company. Most of the gardens and fields are rented out to them; many of them are employed in the ship-building yard, with the house carpenters and in the smithy, some of them serve as interpreters, others are soldiers and many earn their living by fishing; they alone enjoy the privilege of selling refreshments to the company's ships; many also in this town live by all kinds of crafts and trades; in a word it may be said that all except those who are too lazy to work can find means enough of livelihood on this coast. Nevertheless, there are many and indeed the best of them who leave these parts without permission and take service with the English and French. We have done our best to provide against this by the Regulation published on the 26th September 1739. These people dress in the European fashion, speak the Portuguese language and by common consent stand under the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company. They are not allowed to marry without a letter of consent from the commandeur and their disputes are settled by our Courts of Justice.

As for the head interpreter of the French at Mahé, Ignatius Texeida, who is a born subject of the Hon'ble Company and first of all entered their service, he asked us to inform him whether he could avail himself of the General Pardon which was published on the 26th February 1742. We replied that he could and he found an opportunity to take refuge in the Fort at Cannanore on the 30th May last year, and has been protected by us notwithstanding the many protests of the French, which your Worship will find in the Letter-book of foreign nations together with our answer. With regard to this your Worship will have to await the answer of their Right Worshipfuls, who were respectfully informed of the matter by letter of the 16th July following.

I have also granted a letter of pardon to Domingo Rodrigues, the interpreter of the English at Ansjenga and at the same time of the king of Travancore. He pleaded that he could not come over to us at once on the ground that his small fortune was outstanding among the natives. He assured me at the same time that he would meanwhile discover all secrets to me; to which end I have had a correspondence kept

up with him. At last I discovered that he was a traitor who showed all his letters to the commandant of Ansjenga or to the king before they were despatched and so he must not be allowed to enjoy this privilege (of Pardon). Captain Silvester Mendes is the head of the Topasses. He is a man of good conduct and particularly conversant with the affairs of Malabar. I have made use of him with great profit in the service of the Company.

#### *Lascorins.*

The Lascorins are natives of Malabar, converted from all castes to the Popish faith by the Roman priests. Their numbers increase daily wonderfully because a Malabar losing his caste for a trifle, is a dead man or a slave if he cannot reach a Christian church in time. Being baptised in a Christian church he becomes the subject of the Hon'ble Company and consequently a free man whom no one would dare to molest. Even though this may not be exactly the intention of the Hon'ble Company, still the Reverend Fathers at least have so understood the matter and explained it to the native princes. The conversion of the heathen is in itself a laudable thing and we have no grounds for opposing it strongly, but matters had gone so far that we had ground to fear great difficulties; for it is in fact unreasonable to screen evildoers indiscriminately in this way from the lawful punishments which, according to the law of the land, they should suffer for their crimes. The result is that the displeasure of the native princes falls on the Hon'ble Company, and as to our knowledge such a policy has never been authorized by our Supreme Government, at least in such circumstances, we gave the princes to understand that this abuse has never been approved by us. However the Reverend Fathers none the less continued to exercise their ill-directed zeal and without waiting for any instructions baptised such evildoers and then wanted to help themselves to the church taxes, granted, so they said, by Cherum Perumal. All this caused so much confusion and disturbance that we were obliged to bring the Catholic priests under the jurisdiction of the Company under some control in the matter by means of the Regulations issued on the 7th September of last year. Their Right Worshipfuls' esteemed approval must be awaited.

The above mentioned Lascorins use the Malabar language, laws and dress. Many of them are employed in the service of the Company as soldiers, others find a living in agriculture. In criminal proceedings they are dealt with in accordance with the Company's laws, but it seems to me that in civil proceedings this cannot be conveniently done because in this respect Malabar law has been fully introduced and is in use among them; moreover four courts of justice would not suffice to settle all the disputes of these men, which rarely involve more than three or four rix-dollars, and so the costs unavoidably incurred in our courts of justice would usually be greater than the amount in dispute. At the same time justice must be administered for these people and three rix-dollars is with them a capital on which their welfare depends. To the great satisfaction of these poor people I have settled the matter as follows: If the litigating parties cannot agree each must nominate two of his good friends as good men and true to inquire into the matter and settle the dispute; if these cannot agree among themselves they are allowed to increase their number by adding two more arbitrators and if even then they cannot settle the dispute, I added two of their chiefs or sometimes others and the matter is then decided by a majority of votes. If the loser is not satisfied with the decision he is referred to the Commissioners of Small Causes, but recourse is seldom taken to them. It is true all this gives some trouble to the Chief of the Settlements but in my opinion no other expedient can be discovered.

With regard to the Lascorins I must add that some 300 of them deserted during the last campaign, and many of them took the Company's muskets with them. Those who could be arrested have been thrown into prison until we should hear their Right Worshipfuls' pleasures concerning them, because the judge seemed to make difficulties about punishing them in accordance with the provisions of the Regulations, hoping that owing to the large number their Right Worshipfuls might deal with them in conformity with their usual clemency; otherwise the guilty persons will be forced to seek refuge in far distant places and so the Hon'ble Company would be deprived of so many useful subjects. However the leaders and those who took with them the Company's

muskets should be excepted from this concession in order to make an example for the future. By the common consent of all Thomas de Britto was appointed last year Captain of the Lascorins, but since that time he has become addicted to drink and as we seldom see change for the better among these men your Worship's choice may fall on the Lieutenant of the Lascorins, Francisco de Souza, a brave soldier, a faithful servant of the Company and an honourable man<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Mukkuvas.*

The Muquas (Mukkuvas) or Christian fishermen who live along the coasts of Cochin stood formerly under the Portuguese and afterwards under the Hon'ble Company as appears from the treaty between the Hon'ble Company and the kings of Cochin concluded on the 20th of March 1663; in which in the ninth article it is expressly stated that all the Christians who had stood from of old under the town of Cochin and were living along the coast must remain under the jurisdiction of and stand only under the judges attached to the Hon'ble Company and the Governor of Ceylon on condition however that under a further treaty made with the abovementioned kings dated the 25th of February 1664, they must pay certain taxes to the king as required by old custom. This point being so clearly set forth one would suppose that there is no possible room for dispute, but the ambition of the Malabar rulers is so great that in spite of the treaties the kings of Cochin have often attempted to filch the jurisdiction over the Muquas from the Hon'ble Company. This had gone so far lately that the Nairs of Cochin not only ill-treated these people shockingly and plundered their houses but wanted to drive them away and force them to live in the Dutch town. Seeing that it was not only just but quite necessary to support them on account of the great services which they render the Hon'ble Company, we were obliged to send a couple of companies of soldiers to Manicordi [Manacoram]; the result was that His Highness has repented and promised not only to have the plunder restored, but never more to molest them. In return the Hon'ble Company has promised to see that the Muquas pay their taxes without fail to His Highness.

#### *Coolies.*

The coolies that are daily required in the service of the Company are got by the Press Master from among the Christian Muquas who live along the coast between Cochin and Manicordi. They are paid from one to two fanams per diem according to their abilities. Whenever a large number is required the interpreter must write an ola to the headman of the Muquas who live between Manicordi and St. Andries, who must supply as many coolies as are indented for. The regulations against the abuses formerly practised in this matter are known to your Worship and must be carefully observed.

#### *Roman Catholic Priests.*

The above-mentioned three classes of people belong to the Roman false doctrine which has been introduced here everywhere by a swarm of priests. According to the treaties there must be no Jesuits in Cochin territory, but in some places only there may be Franciscans. The Carmelites, however, again returned to this coast in the year 1701 with the permission of our Worshipful Masters and have established themselves at Varapolly [Verapoly] three (Dutch) miles from this town; they must comply with certain conditions as may be seen in our Masters' esteemed letter of the 8th April 1698, and they have observed them fairly well. The Jesuits also, but without our consent, have returned and have made their nests in the lands of Coddacherry Caimal and Murianatty Nambiar. In spite of our many endeavours we have not yet been able to expel them; which, however, were much to be wished for many weighty reasons.

For the last six or seven years I have not allowed Jesuits in this town nor suffered any of their disciples to be appointed to minister in the parishes which are under the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble Company. These parishes are eleven in number, viz., St. Louis, Sr. Saude, Mattanchery, Baypin, Cruz de Milagre, Paliport, Cranganore,

<sup>1</sup> The Lascorins at Cochin were "an inheritance from the Portuguese": they were descendants of "Shogana and other low castes" (Letter to Batavia of 16th May 1741 in M.S. No. 335).



Balarparty, Anjicaimal, Bendurty, Palurty<sup>1</sup>. This last parish was established by a leprous Portuguese Major and for this reason it stands without doubt under the Hon'ble Company although the king of Cochin maintains the contrary. Whenever a Vicar was required I have chosen persons who have done their course of study under the Bishop at Verapoly, who must ordain them. This has made the Jesuits extremely bitter against me, and they in their turn have endeavoured according to their well-known maxims to bring much harm on me, but this must not frighten your Worship from doing what is in your power to oppose their intrusion because the Company's service demands it and our supreme authorities earnestly desire it.

I could suitably enlarge my remarks on this subject with a description of the Syrian or St. Thomas Christians who, according to the Company's orders, must be protected above all others; of whom a large number have become Romans but have retained the ritual and language of the Syrian Church and who in consequence of their antiquity think themselves far superior to the other Malabar Christians; but my work increases to such an extent owing to the diversity of the topics that I prefer to refer your Worship for further information to the old papers and chiefly to my special letter dated the 16th of May 1741 and addressed to their Right Worshipfuls the High Indian Government at Batavia as I have nothing to add to what I said there<sup>2</sup>.

Next we come to a most important point:—

### *Economy.*

In all your doings your Worship should practise economy if you wish to give satisfaction and reap honour. By economy I understand not a perverse but a proper and well regulated management and carefully thought-out thrift. Indeed the Hon'ble Company would profit little if only for the purpose of boasting greater gains and less expenditure, one were in order to save charges to neglect to have the necessary repairs done to buildings requiring them and to vessels or to refuse to give the native chiefs a present at the right time, by which the Hon'ble Company might gain some considerable advantage, and so on; but both in the management of the Company's goods and in the lessening and pruning of all unnecessary expenses careful consideration is everywhere necessary.

No doubt the burdens will be greatly lightened as soon as the war is over and all the fortifications and other works have been finished, but this goes without saying. Your Worship should, however, endeavour to surpass in this point your Worship's predecessors who lived in peaceful times and who built nothing of importance. To this end I would recommend to your Worship to use as an example and a guide the books of Commissary and Commandeur Marten Huisman of happy memory. To my mind he of all the Commandeurs deserves the greatest praise in this respect and if your Worship would be pleased to look over them item by item it would be easy for your Worship to discover where most abuses are practised and to correct them. It is especially necessary before the accounts of the trade books are closed and before they are read in Council for your Worship to have them carefully checked by two capable persons, because otherwise many abuses are practised in this matter to the great damage of the interests of our Lords and Masters.

The Hon'ble Company has no outstanding debts with the merchants here and it is also entirely contrary to the Company's orders to give occasion for them by supplying merchandise on credit.

However at the request of the king of Cochin cash and ammunition to the value of 7,518<sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub> six-dollars have been supplied to the new ruling Prince of Berkencour for the continuation of the war, as appears from a bond executed by him and dated the 8th of November 1741. His Highness the King of Cochin guaranteed this sum and

<sup>1</sup> There being holes in the original MS. at this point the words Mattanohery and Cruz de Milagre are incomplete; but I have no doubt that I have correctly restored them. Mattanohery is Native Cochin. Cruz de Milagre is Portuguese for the Miraculous Cross; the miracle is still believed and related; it is of the common type of a cross thrown overboard by an irreligious skipper which found its way to shore and bled. I am informed by Father J. Monteiro that the present church of the Senhora de Saude is the third church on the site and was built in 1801. The Vypeen, Cruz de Milagre, Pallipport and Balarparty (Valarparam) churches all exist; the three first lie on Vypeen island. Anjicaimal is Erumulam opposite Cochin on the other side of the backwater and Bendurty is Vandurty island. Compare p. 185-6 of Mevius' Memoir below.

<sup>2</sup> It is a lengthy letter of 46 pages to be found in MS. No. 836.

it may be recovered without difficulty out of his tolls. For your Worship's information I must remark here that His Highness would be glad to get his guarantee cancelled on the plea that he never gave his consent, but the matter is too well known for any doubt to be possible. Not only did we have the money delivered to the king of Cochin by the Company's merchant Ezechiel Rabbi but an agreement was drawn up in our presence between the King and the Prince that the lands of Cavallamangalam situated in Berkencur should be given to the king of Cochin in pledge until this sum should be repaid. Both parties also examined and accepted the aforesaid account here at the Court. So your Worship should feel no sympathy for these unfounded pleas but should continue to withhold the King's tolls and mint dues until the full amount has been paid; nor should you take the slightest notice of the offer of the Prince to pay this debt to the Hon'ble Company himself since you can put little trust in the promises of these Princes and we would never have lent this money had we not reckoned on the tolls of the king of Cochin which safeguard the Hon'ble Company against all loss and risk.

In the same manner a loan of 11,033  $\frac{1}{4}$  rix-dollars has been made to the Signatty on a bond for 6,033  $\frac{1}{4}$  and on good security for 5,000, which will have to be recovered out of his pepper tolls. Appended for your Worship's consideration is a separate memorandum about these two items, No. 10 of the annexures [missing].

#### *Peace Negotiations.*

During this war we have endeavoured to open peace negotiations with the Raja of Travancore every year before the beginning of the campaign but this proud prince has not condescended to reply to our friendly overtures on the subject. Last year he sent some persons to Climanur to treat with us, but his demands were so unreasonable that we could not listen to them. This was all the more surprising as the Company's arms were at that time prospering greatly and we had recently conquered the province of Climanur and were ready to invade Attinga; you may easily judge from this how presumptuous he has become since we have had to leave the field. However on concluding a peace with the Signatty at Manattu in September last, His Highness expressed in strong terms to the kings of Cochin and Tekkencur his great desire to become reconciled with the Hon'ble Company and he requested the above-mentioned kings to effect this by their mediation, adding threats in case they should be found careless on this point. We then flattered ourselves that a reasonable peace might be expected in the near future. But the above-mentioned mediators were by no means anxious to exercise their good offices and in spite of our many requests and exhortations we could not get even so far in three months as to get a place fixed for the negotiations. As it was quite apparent that there would never be any end to this, we resolved to leave those unwilling mediators alone and to address ourselves direct to the king of Travancore. Outwardly he showed himself very willing and sent his representatives Krishna Anavy, the Dellawa<sup>1</sup>, and Cuchu Mussadu to Mavilcarre, a place situated in the little kingdom of DeMartha; Ezechiel Rabbi and the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, were sent to the same place on behalf of the Company. After the lapse of a month, matters had proceeded so far that we were on the point of sending some members of our Council thither to settle the affair finally. But the Travancore Rajadores, with their usual craftiness, all of a sudden and quite unexpectedly declared that His Highness had changed his mind and refused to approve what they had conceded and that it would be necessary to go with them to His Highness at Tirvananda Poram (Trivandrum) to settle these points. Our representatives gathered from various circumstances that if they refused they would be taken by force and so pretended to agree to the proposal and only asked to be allowed to go to Cochin first, to receive further instructions from us. In this way they escaped from the hands of those faithless Malabaris. A full account of all this will be found in the correspondence which has been collected in a separate bundle, and in the papers concerning the peace negotiations with the representatives of the king of Travancore at Mavilcarre and to avoid prolixity I refer your Worship to those documents.

<sup>1</sup> Dalawa. Prime Minister, corresponding with the modern Diwan. This Dalawa's name was Rama Iyer according to Shungoony Menon and Nagam Aiyar. Cuchu Mussadu is given as Talavadi Kunja Mutadu Kariakar by the authorities.

In the meantime we strongly remonstrated against such proceedings with the Raja of Travancore and His Highness seemed to be sorry and requested that the former representatives should once more be sent to the Quilon Paro<sup>1</sup> to reopen the negotiations. Having thought over the matter carefully it was decided in the Council of Malabar that the undersigned himself should go to the coast of Travancore together with the ships and smaller vessels which were on hand, since owing to the distance of the place and the usual dilatoriness of the Malabaris in transacting business there would not otherwise be the slightest hope of settling the matter this good monsoon<sup>2</sup>.

With this view the Captain of the Topasses Silvester Mendes was sent in advance to re-open the negotiations which had been broken off. He arrived at Paro and began again to treat with the above-mentioned Rajadores. In his letter of the 18th of February he intimated that he had no great hopes of success and as a matter of fact on my arrival at Quilon I found the said representatives entirely untractable. Having agreed with them on some point one day they had no scruple about retracting next day and always on the plea that such was His Highness's pleasure, hinting that it was wrong of His Highness to be so changeable. The more concessions I made, the more impertinent became their demands.

However after much trifling, we had proceeded so far that we had hopes again of seeing a satisfactory settlement of affairs before long; but this did not last long. On the third of this month the said Captain of the Topasses came to me with the news that His Highness had made known his final decision viz. that His Highness declines to deliver up the deserters nor will he return the guns, war material, cash and other effects taken in the war, on the ground of a counter account which His Highness had handed in of all the damages he had suffered during the war alleged to amount to fully 3 or 400,000 rix-dollars; the promised pepper would be supplied for not less than 54 rupees a candy; the old contract must be annulled, the Company's merchandise must pay duty in His Highness country; the Hon'ble Company must assist His Highness when necessary not only with gunpowder and lead, but also with cannon, mortars, bombs, bombardiers, gunners and musketeers. The Hon'ble Company must fight the French if they should try to compel His Highness to keep his promises with regard to Colletje [Colachel] and also keep the Armanese<sup>3</sup> out of His Highness country; if His Highness wished to go to war with any one, the Hon'ble Company must bind herself to remain neutral; and similar absurdities; and as the above-mentioned Captain had had some difficulty in obtaining permission to come to me, I did not think it advisable to send him there again, but wrote to His Highness's representatives that their proposals being unacceptable I did not wish to treat any further, but would take my departure. I requested that the baggage of Silvester Mendes might be sent on. The request was granted and with the same messenger four olas arrived, two for the officer in command of the troops and two for the above-mentioned Captain. With their usual craftiness they pretended in these olas that they had not been able to understand why the negotiations has been broken off and asked to be told the reason and made it pretty clear that they would be glad to re-open them. I at once sent them a new draft of several articles so drawn for the most part apparently as they themselves had desired but really cut on an entirely different model and subject to the approbation of their Right Worshipfuls, with the view, as there was little hope of a reasonable peace, that this expedient might at least be looked on as involving a year's truce and meanwhile we could recover our captives and war material and also live in peace until the answer of their Right Worshipfuls should arrive.

Upon this the king at once sent his representatives, who had already returned to him at Atingen, back again to Paro and wrote in very friendly terms that he would endeavour to settle the differences in two or three days and that there were only one or two points which were to be altered, adding that he had not been able quite to understand some things in the draft. I despatched the late Captain of the Lascorins, Isaac Isaacksz (who had meanwhile been sent for from Cochin on account of the ignorance of the interpreter Alewijn) and also the Captain of the Topasses, Silvester Mendes, there to inquire of the representatives what His Highness wished to have changed in the treaty

<sup>1</sup> Parur (Paravur) south of Quilon, distinguished from the kingdom of Parur (Paravur) in the north.

<sup>2</sup> Monsoon here, as commonly = season. The good monsoon is the dry season.

<sup>3</sup> Armanese, i.e., the people of the Armanse (Malayalam) or Armanensi (Tamil) or Court. The Court referred to is doubtless that of the Muhammadan Nawabs who claimed tribute from Travancore.

and to explain to them what they pretended not to understand. Next day these officers informed us in a short letter that there was no change for the better and that in spite of their specious promises all the Travancore proposals were full of craft and ambiguity; and in fact His Highness declared straight out in an *ola* received on the 6th instant that he was not inclined to conclude the treaty of peace subject to the approbation of their Right Worshipfuls nor to forego his unreasonable demands. So we ordered our representatives to return to Coilan. Thus ended the peace negotiations at Pulicarro. All that took place there may be seen in detail in a bundle of papers connected with the peace negotiations at Pulicarro with the representatives of the king of Travancore.

Meanwhile the king of Travancore does not seem to be disinclined to re-open the negotiations once more with your Worship though I cannot quite understand with what object; perhaps he wants to see whether your Worship will show a little more compliance or, being particularly embittered against me, he would rather settle the matter with your Worship. My opinion is that your Worship should not refuse to treat with him, and as I am convinced that there is no chance of a reasonable peace without having a powerful force in the field, there will be no need for hurry but you may take things quite easy after their own fashion and in the meantime you will have peace. It would be more in accordance with the respect due to the Company and safer for their representatives if a neutral place is fixed upon for the conferences.

*The Signatty.*

The Signatty [king of Quilon] paid me a visit on the 27th of February last on board the ship "Popkensburg" and declared that he was more than ever incensed against the king of Travancore. He requested me to assist him on behalf of the Company with men, money, war material and rice. I refused His Highness's request explaining that as His Highness had received (back) most of his lost lands as a present from the Raja of Travancore, he must for the future or at least for the present not think of going to war; his circumstances by no means justify it and the Hon'ble Company is not inclined to permit of such a step being taken at its expense, just to humour the whims of His Highness, who has promised in the treaty of peace lately made to deliver an elephant and the arrears of four years' tribute amounting to 28,000 gallioons to the Travancore Raja next April<sup>1</sup>.

At present he does not seem to be at all inclined to pay although the times and circumstances make it imperatively necessary that he should; else he will run the risk of being turned out of his lands for a second time. However on his repeated and pressing request, we have promised His Highness to assist him as far as possible with powder and lead and if the lines [i.e. Quilon lines] should be again invested also with rice for cash payments. I have also granted His Highness two passes for fifty candies of cotton each, since the Hon'ble Company will make no further purchases of that article this year owing to its excessively high price and the interests of the Company require us to support and shore up this Raja so far as it can be done without injury to the Hon'ble Company. His Highness has also promised to send the beam supplier to your Worship to make a written contract<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Gallioon (kalyan) sunams were, as shown in the note at p. 54 above, about six to the rupee at this time; so that the tribute imposed by Travancore on Quilon was a little over Rs. 1,000 per annum besides an elephant.

<sup>2</sup> The MS. contains a few more pages but they are much mutilated and do not seem to have been of great interest; the movements of certain ships are referred to, and some account is given of the Company's durbars.