

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT AT ANJENGO

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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that this thesis THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SETTLEMENT AT ANJENGO submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by Mrs. P.K. Leena under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any degree before.

University of Calicut,
1-8-1989.



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P R E F A C E

The study of the early European settlements in South India and their evolution into centres of economic and political power has been relatively a neglected area in scholarly circles. The influence that such settlements exerted upon the local society heralded a new era in South India. From the historical point of view, the study of the growth of each one of these settlements is necessary to ascertain the exact nature of the relations between such settlements and the local society. The reconstruction of the history of the various settlements, with an emphasis on their respective regional context, will shed light on the colonial phase of South Indian History. With this object in view I have attempted to study the historical evolution of one such early English settlement known as the Anjengo settlement situated on the south western coast of India in the erstwhile princely state of Travancore. My choice fell on this settlement as no work has hitherto been done on it.

Though the initial rationale behind the founding of the Anjengo settlement and fort was the procurement of pepper to meet the ever-growing demand in European market, later on commercial aims gave way to political ambition which led to the interference of the English in the political affairs of the entire Malabar region. The role played by this settlement

until it ceased to exist and its impact on the local polity and society, which is crucial to Malabar history, have been examined in detail in my thesis.

In order to reconstruct the institutional history of the Anjengo settlement and its impact in the region, I have relied mainly on the original records, documents and old books, available at the various archival centres in India. My stay in Paris for nine months and a trip to London for two months enabled me to consult important source materials at the Bibliotheque Nationale and the India Office Library Records, London.

The pattern of documentation followed in this thesis is mainly in conformity with the Style Guide published by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. It is hoped that there would be no difficulty in following the method adopted here. I have made some departures from the internationally accepted modes of documentation only with the intention of simplifying the presentation. One particular change however, needs special mention here. The Latin abbreviation "Op.cit" has been dispensed with. Instead when a reference is made to a work already cited in the same chapter in an earlier foot-note, the procedure is as follows:

1. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (Madras, 1834) p.200
5. James Forbes, n.1, p.200.

The abbreviation "n.1" in foot note (5) means that the work is the one cited earlier in foot note (1).

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N. Z. M. C.

CHAPTER - I

B A C K G R O U N D

(a) THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

India was known to the western world from the ancient times. Her crafts and arts had acquired wide reputation in the leading markets of the ancient world. The Arabs, the Chinese and the Romans were among the foreign people who had contacts with India. The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 marked the beginning of a new epoch in world history. It contributed to the search for establishing maritime relations with the East by a non-Mediterranean oceanic route.

The historic landing of Vasco da Gama in May 1498 at Kappad or Kappakadavu near Calicut heralded a new era in the history of the Malabar region of south-west India.¹ The era following this event heralded an age of colonial contest among the European powers. This came to be described as the "da Gama epoch" in Asian history.² The emergence of Portugal a small time nation into a powerful maritime nation ignited

1. Kappad is a hamlet 18 kilometres north of Calicut. A memorial stone erected there on 17 January 1939, bears inscription "Vasco da Gama landed here at Kappakadavu in the year 1498".

2. The term is used by K.M. Panikkar in his book Asia and Western Dominance (London, 1953, 1972) p.13. Also see Jan Romein, The Asian Century (London, 1962).

jealousy among the other European nations. The tempting prospects of having a share in the costly spoils of Eastern trade brought Spain, Holland, France and England to the Indian shores.

The origin of the English East India Company was not an isolated or accidental event in history. It was the culmination of a long standing ambition on their part to participate in the trade with the Indies along with other European powers. On 31 December 1600, a body of London citizens secured a charter of monopoly over East India trade from Queen Elizabeth.³ The charter was granted for 15 years in the first instance and it permitted the Company to keep an armed naval force for its protection. Fortified with the charter, the London Company began to lay its foundations of a permanent Anglo-Indian trade.

In the initial phase the Company's sphere of activity was impeded owing to financial stringency.⁴ Capital was scarce. They had to face strong competition from both native and European rivals. Notwithstanding the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, licences were issued to individuals for private trade. As a result the Company suffered serious

3. James Mill, History of British India (Delhi, 1817, 1972) 11 p.14. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, The Rise and fall of the East India Company (Berlin, 1955, 1957) p.65.

4. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, The East India Trade in the XVIIIth Century (London, 1923) p.3.

loss.⁵ But amidst all these vicissitudes and discouragements the Company gradually started factories in India and ultimately reached a degree of prosperity. This Company continued to operate till 1698, when the British Parliament disliked the monopoly enjoyed by the Company and granted permission to another Company to trade in the East.⁶ However in 1708, both the Companies agreed to amalgamate into one society called "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies".⁷ This Company came to be called the English East India Company. After the amalgamation, the acquisition of territory in the East became a salient feature of the new company's policy.

With such acquisitions, the Company was destined to become a major political power in the later years. The trading centres of the Company were known as factories. In the beginning a factory was a compact little nest of buildings which comprised of lodgings of the Chief or President or his subordinates, ware houses, godowns and offices.⁸ Such

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5. Peter Auber, An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company and of the Laws passed by Parliament (London, 1826) p.x.
 6. John Bruce, Annals of the Honorable East India Company (London, 1810) III p.251.
 7. John Bruce, Plans for the Government and Trade of Great Britain in the East Indies (London, 1813) p.11.
 8. P.E. Roberts, History of British India (London, 1938) p.75.

factories were later on fortified for security reasons and were called settlements. These settlements gradually became the centres of territorial expansion for the Company as, according to Queen Anne's charter, the Company was allowed to raise troops for the defence of its settlements.⁹ With the equipment of an army for defensive purposes the Company assured itself the means for future territorial aggrandisement and of independent dominion.

In the first phase of the European penetration, India was at the cross-roads with every local ruler waging war against each other. Although the Portuguese arrived in India at the end of the 15th century, it was only in 1510 that they acquired Goa and by this conquest established their naval supremacy along the south west coast.¹⁰ The Mughals made no attempt to confront the Portuguese.¹¹ They also established settlements at Goa, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Bombay, Santhome and Hughli.¹² By the dawn of the seventeenth century the Dutch and the English merchant adventurers had organised themselves and found their way to India.¹³ They soon

9. James H. Gense, Indian History 1525-1920 (Trichinopoly, 1923) p. 175.

10. W.W. Hunter, A History of British India (London, 1899) I pp.126-127.

11. W.H. Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb (Delhi, 1923, 1972) p.9.

12. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, n.3, p.59.

13. Peter Auber, n.5. p.ix.

established factories at Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Chinsura (1653), Cassimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapatam (1659) and Cochin (1663).¹⁴ The Dutch settlement of Nagapatam became their principal settlement on the Coromandel coast. Supplanting the Portuguese the Dutch practically maintained a monopoly of the spice trade in the East throughout the 17th century.

The English did not lag behind. With the defeat of the Portuguese squadron in 1612 at Swally, a place near Surat, on the west coast, at the hands of the English, the prestige of the English Company rose in the eyes of the Indian rulers. In January 1613, Captain Best received an imperial firman (royal charter) from the Mughal emperor, granting the English Company permission to open trade at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya and Goga.¹⁵ This was the beginning of the Company's relation with India. Surat held a unique place as the first English factory in India. By February 1619 the English East India Company had established

14. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, n.3, p.108.

15. Ibid., p.95. William Hawkins was first sent by the Company to the Mughal court of Jehangir to open trade with the sub-continent in 1608. Pursuing his plans for three years Hawkins persuaded the emperor to grant permission to trade at Surat. This grant was cancelled under the influence of the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries and Hawkins was expelled in 1611. Maurice Collins, British Merchant Adventurers (London, 1942) p.16.

factories at Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach.¹⁶ All these were placed under the control of the President and Council of the Surat factory.

Meanwhile the Danes also founded their East India Company at Tranquebar on the South eastern coast and extended to Bengal.¹⁷ In the year 1623, the Dutch overthrew the English from the spice archipelego.¹⁸ Therefore the rivalry between these two powers in India became very intense. On the other hand, the treaty of Madrid terminated hostilities between the English and the Portuguese. Finally by the treaty of July 1654, Portugal fully accepted the rights of the English to the Eastern trade and later the treaty of 1661 enjoined the English to support the Portuguese in their actions against the Dutch in India.¹⁹

The English were thus on the road towards expansion. In the year 1633, a factory was opened at Balasore and another at Hariharapur (25 miles south east of Cuttack).²⁰ In the

16. See details in William Foster ed., The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of Great Mogul-1615-1619 (Nandeln, 1899, 1967) pp.93-100.

17. John Bruce, n.6, I p.136.

18. Brian Gardner, The East India Company (London, 1971)p.39.

19. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, n.3. p.99.

20. Richard Burn, ed., The Cambridge History of India (London, 1937) IV p.73.

year 1639, they obtained the lease of Madras from the ruler of Chandragiri. There they built a fortified factory which came to be later called Fort St. George.²¹ This settlement was eventually raised to the rank of a Presidency in the year 1653.²² This was also the first territory which the English secured in India.²³ In the year 1651 they opened their first commercial house in Bengal at Hughli twenty five miles north of Calcutta. Soon others were opened at Patna, Bihar, Cassimbazar in Bengal.²⁴ In 1661, the English settlements in India were reorganised. As a result two independent governments (President and Council) were set up at Surat and Madras. All the settlements in Bengal, Bihar were made subordinate to the Presidency of Madras.²⁵

In the latter half of the 17th century, the English East India Company acquired the island of Bombay.²⁶ Bombay

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21. Edward Thornton, History of British Empire in India (London, 1841) I p.73.
 22. Factory Records-G, India Office Library Records, p.49.
 23. J. Talboys Wheeler, A History of English Settlements in India (Calcutta, 1878) p.48.
 24. Richard Burn, n.20, p.306.
 25. Ibid., p.306.
 26. A.B. Keith, A Constitutional History of India - 1600-1935 (London, 1841) I p.73. Bombay was initially a Portuguese settlement but it was ceded in the year 1661, to King Charles II of England as part of the dowry for marrying the Portuguese princess Catharine. In 1668, the King handed it over to the East India Company on payment of an annual rent of 10 pounds - Factory Records-G, India Office Library, London, p.5.

became so important and prosperous that in 1687 it superseded Surat as the chief settlement of the English on the west coast of India. Headquarters of the English were shifted from Surat to Bombay during the residency of John Child in the year 1687.²⁷ On the eastern coast with the destruction of the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates in the Bengal waters, the English were able to found a settlement on the Hughli in Calcutta. In 1696, a fort was built there which was named Fort William.²⁸ It was raised to the rank of a Presidency in 1709.²⁹ Thus by the end of the 17th century, the English Company had laid the foundation of the three Presidencies, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. In these settlements they were bestowed with the political responsibility of defence, maintenance of law and order and municipal administration.

Another important European power, the French established a factory at Surat in 1668.³⁰ In 1674, the French agent Francis Martin acquired the village of Pondicherry which later on became the headquarters of the French in India.³¹ They

27. George Forrest, ed., Selections from the despatches and other state papers preserved in Bombay Secretariat - Home series (Bombay, 1887) I p. xxii.

28. Factory Records-G, India Office Library, London, p.13.

29. Ibid., p. ix.

30. Ishwari Prasad, India in the Eighteenth century (Allahabad, 1973) p. 65.

31. Ibid.

also founded trading posts and forts at Chandranagar in Bengal in 1690, Mahe on the Malabar coast in 1725, and Karaikkal on the Coromandel coast in 1739.³² India thus became a theatre of conflict between the European powers. Of these powers, it was the English who eventually managed to embark upon an era of political expansion in the Indian sub-continent. This was facilitated primarily by the decline of the Mughal empire in India.

(b) POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE 'MALABAR'

European implantation: The western coast of India was generally known by the popular name Malabar. Duarte Barbosa used the term to denote the geographical region inhabited by the Malayalam-speaking people.³³ The land of Malabar says Barbosa "begins from Cumbola near the mountain Dely and ends at Cape Conmery".³⁴ The traditional bounds of Malabar (or Kerala as it is known presently) were Gokarnam in the north and

32. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

33. Duarte Barbosa, The Books of Duarte Barbosa (Trans. M.L. Dames) II (London, 1621) pp.1 and 6. Barbosa was the secretary of the Portuguese factory in the Malabar port of Cannanore from 1500-1517.

34. Duarte Barbosa, A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar (Trans. Henry E.J. Stanley) (London, 1767) p.101.

Kanyakumari or Cape Comorin in the south.³⁵ The Ghats were its eastern boundary, the Ocean its western. Its entire length amounts to more than 120 leagues.³⁶

The Malabar region constituted a single geographical and cultural unit. The peculiarity of its customs and its social organisation had marked it off as a unique entity in India from time immemorial. Malabar had from the earliest times been in contact with the sea-faring people of the West. One of the most productive regions of India, it had trade links with foreign countries from very early times. At the advent of the Europeans in India, the entire Malabar region was divided into small principalities. The principal rulers were, Queen of Attinga, the Prince of Chenganata, the Queen of Martinga, the King of Calliquilone, the King of Porcat, the King of Cochin, the Zamorin, the Prince of Tellicherry, the King of Peritally, Kingdom of Tekkenkur, the Kingdom of Badakkenkur.³⁷ However Jacob Canter Visscher in his book published in 1862 has mentioned that there were four

35. R. Francis Burton, Goa and the Blue Mountains (London, 1851) p. 186.

36. Fra Paolina Da San Bartolomeo, A Voyage to the East Indies (Trans. William Johnston) (London, 1800) p.102.

37. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Simon Cowse, Angengo to the Court of Directors, June 1704, p.3.

principal royal houses in Malabar: Travancore, Cochin, Zamorin and Colastri.³⁸

As mentioned earlier, the Portuguese were the first to arrive on the Malabar coast. They established settlements at Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore.³⁹ They had garrisoned and fortified Fort Manuel at Cochin and Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore. In Attinga or Attingal in the south of Malabar they "possessed a college of Jesuits and a number of Christian churches."⁴⁰ Portuguese influence however did not last long in India. They preached to the natives "to obey Pope in spiritual matters and the King of Portugal in temporal matters".⁴¹ When the Dutch Company sent its fleet under Steven Vander Hagen to Calicut, the Zamorin welcomed him and entered into a treaty "to expel the Portuguese from the territories of His Highness and rest of India".⁴²

The Dutch however had to wait for over a century to outwit the Portuguese. In 1653, they captured Cochin. This

38. Jacob Canter Visscher, Letters from Malabar, (Madras, 1862) p. 57.

39. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (London, 1813, 1834) I p. 187.

40. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.37, p.5.

41. Ibid.

42. Alexander P.C., The Dutch in Malabar (Annamalai, 1946) p.4.

is an important land-mark in the history of the Dutch because they managed to wrest Cochin from the Portuguese and ousted them from there.⁴³ They founded settlements in Travancore in the southern Malabar region such as Porca, Eddawa, Calliquilone, Quilon,⁴⁴ Karunagappally, Tengapatam.⁴⁵ The princes of these states did not offer any resistance to the Dutch. Instead they entered into exclusive contracts with them by which all strangers were denied trade in pepper, cassia lignum, spice, timber and teak which the Dutch called "prohibited goods".⁴⁶ The Dutch concluded a treaty with the Kolattiri Rajah that gave them the monopoly of exporting pepper and cinnamon and importing opium. They seemed to have maintained their settlement mainly for pepper trade. They were not interested in extending their dominion. However, the English, frustrated in their attempts to get a share of the spice trade of the Eastern Archipelago by the Dutch a few decades earlier, were inclined to secure the upper hand in the pepper trade of 'Malabar'. This inaugurated an era of severe competition between the Dutch and the English.

43. Nagam Aiya, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) I. p.306.

44. James Forbes, n. 39. p.212.

45. Nagam Aiya, n. 43. p. 306.

46. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n. 37. p.5.

The pioneer English man to visit the coast of Malabar was Ralph Fitch who arrived at Cochin as early as 1588. It was in fact from Ralph Fitch, that the London merchants received first hand account of the resources of Kerala and the possibilities and prospects of trade with her.⁴⁷ But the real contact of the English with this coast began with the arrival of Captain Keeling at Calicut, with three ships on his way from Surat.⁴⁸ The English also established factories on the Malabar coast.⁴⁹

Side by side with the English, the French also made attempts to establish factories in Malabar. They established a settlement at Mahe in 1725. Subordinate to the settlement of Mahe they had a settlement at Tellicherry.⁵⁰ The French had come to Kerala very late. Their role here was very marginal unlike in other parts of India.

Social conditions: The Malabar people had always been heterogenous in character. The society itself was sharply divided on the basis of caste and also religion. During

47. R.C. Prasad, Early English Travellers in India (Delhi, 1965) p. 26.

48. It was on this voyage that Sir Thomas Roe came as an Ambassador to the Court of Jehangir - for details of his embassy see William Foster, ed., The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to Court of the Great Mogul 1615-1619.

49. See Chapter-II

50. S.P. Sen, The French in India (Delhi, 1971) p.36.

this period of European penetration into Malabar, the various strands of indigenous beliefs and customs collectively known to the Europeans as 'Hinduism' was the principal faith of the majority of the people. They were divided on a hierarchical caste basis. The highest place in the hierarchy was occupied by the Namboodiris (Malabar Brahmins). It is believed by some that they devised a well framed system of maintaining superiority over other castes in order to keep these latter in a state of stupidity and ignorance.⁵¹ The Malabar Rajahs, like their counterparts in other parts of India though they wielded immense power, were but subordinate to the Namboodiri. They especially the Rajah of Travancore spent large amounts of money for the support and comfort of the Brahmins.⁵² The next in the hierarchy were the Sudras. In Malabar they were the Nairs. They were originally the lowest of the four true castes, but in Malabar as there were so many divisions below them and as they were numerous and influential they were regarded as the high caste people.⁵³ They were the militia of the state and owned "very large part of the land".⁵⁴ They

51. James Hough, The History of Christianity in India (London, 1839) II p.226.

52. E.H. Nolan, The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East from the Earliest Times to the Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1859 (London, N.D.) 2 Vols. p.160; In the famous 'Hiranyagarbhadanam' ceremony and 'Tulapurushadanam' ceremony money was spent lavishly and after the function money was given to Brahmins. For details see Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1878, 1984) I pp.55-57.

53. Samuel Mateer, Land of Charity (London, 1871) pp.34-35.

54. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.37, p.6.

were subdivided into Menon, Menoki, Muppil Nayar, Pada Nayar, Kuruppu, Kaimal, Panikkar, Kiriyaatta, Mullar ore, Kidavu, Kartavu, Eradi, Nedungadi, Vallodi, Mannadiyar, Menavalom.⁵⁵ The Nairs' strength lay in their being recognised as the martial class of Malabar. However, the English had poor opinion of the indigenous military system. In English records we often come across mocking statements of the Malabarais. For instance they wrote that they have only small guns "fit only to scare the Malabarais".⁵⁶

The next caste in the social pyramid were the Thiyyas. They were called by different names. In the far south on both coasts they were called as Shanars, in Central Travancore as Ilavars, from Quilon to Paravoor as Chogans, in Malabar as far as Calicut as Teers or Tiyars and still farther north as Billavars.⁵⁷ Tradition says that they did not belong to Kerala but that they migrated to Malabar from Ceylon.⁵⁸ They

55. William Logan, Malabar (Trivandrum, 1887, 1981) p.12.

56. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.37, p.1.

57. Samuel Mateer, Native Life in Travancore (London, 1883) p.83.

58. Francis Day, The Land of Perumals (Madras, 1863) p.319. They were supposed to be aboriginal tribes who derived their designation from the Sanskrit word "sevagum" which means servant which later must have become Chagowns. The other term 'Ilavar' is supposed to have come from Ceylon which was called 'Izoowem Dirpa' or 'Izoowen' island from where they are believed to have come.

were a class of people who cultivated coconut trees.⁵⁹ This caste was the most numerous of the section of the Hindu population. The lowest rung in the social scale was occupied by the Parayas and the Pulayas or Cheruman. They were the absolute property of the master and were employed in any work as their master pleased.⁶⁰ These people enjoyed no privilege and lived in abject poverty.

The notions of caste were stretched to the extreme in Travancore. Distance between man and man was rigidly measured.⁶¹ The way of dressing, manner of speech and gestures during conversation and right way of behaviour when members of different castes met were dealt within the elaborate caste code of Malabar and any lapse was punished with severity and even death.

59. Jacob Canter Visscher, n.38, pp.127-128.

60. Francis Buchanan, A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar (Madras, 1870) p. 67.

61. P. Thomas, Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan (London, 1954) p.9. "The distance a Nayar had to keep from a Namboodiri was arms length. The artisan castes were untouchable to the Nayars and unapproachable by twenty five paces to the Nambudiris. The Panchamas or aborigines were unapproachable by ten paces to the artisans and twenty to the Nayars. English Records stated "if the poor wretch who till the soil and reaps the grains happen accidentally and ignorantly to cross a Nair in his path, the master draws his sword and kills him on the spot with impunity". - Foreign Secret Department 1804, Macaulay, Travancore to Bombay, 25 July 1800 p. 336.

The status of the Malabar women was deplorable. The women who did not yield to the wishes of the same or superior castes was looked down upon. They were not allowed to cover their breasts.⁶² Generally, chastity was not the hall mark of the Malabar women. A Nair girl generally resided with her brother and took many lovers.⁶³ She also enjoyed a certain position in the society because of her amorous connection with the Brahmin. The English records state that "in this country no one enquires who the father of the child may be, neither is it considered of any consequence all that is looked to is the mother".⁶⁴ However, as in many parts of India, a widow was looked down upon in the whole of Malabar. The society held that the widow who re-marries was no better than a whore.⁶⁵ "But she that continues to mourn the death of her husband till she dies will obtain eternal happiness".⁶⁶

62. Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, Kerala Charithrathile Iruladanja Edugal (Kottayam, 1953, 1957) pp.160-161.

63. Ward and Conner, Geographical and Statistical Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States (Travancore, 1863) pp.70-71. The Nair custom with respect to marriage was licentious in character. A Nair woman marries before the age of ten. Her husband never cohabits with her. But the marriage sets her at liberty to cohabit with any person that she chooses of equal or higher rank. - Buchanan, n.60. p.411.

64. Foreign Secret Department, 12 December 1809, p.48.

65. Mr. Philips, Account of the religion, manners and learning of the people of Malabar in the East Indies (London, 1717) p.28.

66. Ibid.

Apart from the various Hindu communities, there were in Malabar, the Christians⁶⁷, the Muslims⁶⁸ and the Jews.⁶⁹ Natives mostly from the lower tribes of Malabar were converted to Christianity.⁷⁰ Large sections of the Muslim population were also converts. They became a major power to be reckoned within North Malabar during the period of Zamorin of Calicut.

(c) ECONOMIC CONDITION

The narrow coastal belt of Malabar attracted foreigners for a number of reasons. The chief product of the area especially Travancore was pepper. It grew in such abundance and good quality that this country may justly be styled as "the mother of pepper".⁷¹ It was the principal article of

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- 67. The members of the Christian community in Malabar were called 'Nazranis' denoting their religious affinity with Nazraeth - P. Thomas, n.61, p.9.
 - 68. Muslims of Malabar were called Mappila, Mappilla or Moplah. They were even called as Jonakas - Roland E. Miller, Mappila Muslims of Kerala (Madras, 1976) p.30.
 - 69. Jews are supposed to have come to Malabar coast to escape from religious persecution at home. - Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History (Kottayam, 1967) p.100.
 - 70. The navy of Zamorin of Calicut was manned by Muslims. The admiral of Zamorin's fleet, Kunjali Marakar, is a legendary hero of Malabar whose dare-devilry and reckless exploits against the Portuguese occupied a very important place in the history of Kerala - for details see Roland E. Miller, - Mappila Muslims of Kerala.
 - 71. Jacob Canter Visscher, n.38, p.153.

trade of the East India Company. The reason why pepper figured so largely on the Company's import list was due to certain factors. Pepper was an article of consumer use, it could be retailed in very small quantities, and was within the grasp of even poor people, and it was also used in Europe, for preserving meat.⁷² The easy availability of pepper in the Malabar and the ready market it had in Europe, made pepper the prime article of trade of the English East India Company. | Besides pepper this region was the home of other rare spices like cardamom and clove, "a sort of Cinnamon known as Cassia Lignum or a bastard sort of Cinnamon."⁷³ However the olive trees and the Silk Cotton tree were found in abundance in the Travancore area.⁷⁴ The cotton produced from this tree is said to be very delicate. The natives employed themselves "in weaving diverse sorts of cloth such

72. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Commemoration Volume (Madras, 1936) p.233.

73. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.37, p.5. "The Cassia resembles the bay-tree of which it is a species, it is called Cassia Lignum to distinguish it from the Lawrus Cinnamon or true Cinnamon, to which it is very inferior. The finest Cassia sometimes possess the peculiar properties of that valuable spice, but is in general of a coarser texture and less delicate in flavour. The real Cinnamon seems indigenous to Ceylon. There are some trees in the Company's garden at Anjengo as a curiosity". - James Forbes, n.39, p.211.

74. James Forbes, n.39, p.221. "Olive tree bears a fruit in shape, size and taste like the olive and the oil is rather pleasant. But the leaf and character of the tree is altogether different and far more beautiful in landscape than the grey tint of Italian Olive. The Silk cotton tree (Bambax X Cerba Lin) grows luxuriantly in those districts, it produces beautiful cotton but of too delicate a texture for manufacture".

as they make upon the costa de Pescaria".⁷⁵ Next to pepper, cloth was the principal trade commodity of the English. Moreover, the natives also traded in betelnut, coir, lemon grass, and coconut.⁷⁶ "Lemon grass oil is distilled in the Travancore hills,"⁷⁷ and the "coir yarn manufactured is said to be superior to that made elsewhere on the coast".⁷⁸

Rice was the staple food of the people. Agricultural production was mainly intended for local consumption. It is with the arrival of the Europeans that pepper production, in the Malabar gained momentum and was meant more and more for external markets. Until the implantation of the Europeans, pepper and spices seem to have not been cultivated in a systematic manner with an eye on the foreign market. This development was just accidental.

The economy of the country during this period had become gradually more and more dependent on trade with the Europeans. It had become the habit of the native rulers to grant trading facilities to foreigners in return for the

75. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.37, p.5.

76. Ibid.

77. Jacob Canter Visscher, n. 38, p.153.

78. Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Ed., C.D. Maclean, (Delhi, 1893, 1982) pp.33-34.

payment of customs duties and the offering of presents.⁷⁹ However, the economic conditions of those people placed in the lower ranks of the social scale seem to have been quite appalling, due mainly to the rigid caste system, which had given rise more or less to a form of slavery, though in a restricted manner. During famine parents used to sell their children into slavery.⁸⁰ Thus the sources of slave supply were numerous. Slaves were divided into two types: agrestic and domestic. In Travancore slaves were exclusively agrestic. Owing to the untouchability prevailing in the society, slaves were kept away from the house of their master.⁸¹ The price of an able-bodied slave "is not more than six rupees".⁸² During famine parents sold their children for the sake of sustenance to any one who appeared able to support them.

James Forbes who visited Anjengo stated that even when there was no famine, numerous people came to Anjengo to sell themselves or dispose of their children. "Many were

79. Bombay letter copy books outwards - Bombay letter received - 1694, John Brabourne, Betture, to John Gayer, Bombay 29 July 1694. pp.6 and 7.

80. James Forbes, n.39, II p.228.

81. Francis Buchanan, n.60, p.67.

82. Samuel Mateer, n.57, p.302.

weekly brought down from the mountains to be sold on the coast."⁸³ He even had occasion to purchase two slaves at a price which he felt was very moderate.⁸⁴ He was horrified at the cool way in which the peasants sold their children. This led him to think that the Malabar peasants had no feelings and that "they did not appear to think it so great a hardship as we imagine".⁸⁵ Sometimes children were kidnapped by gangs of Moplas who sold them to the super cargo of European vessel. The poor children were trapped and carried away to spend the rest of their lives in hopeless slavery.⁸⁶ Homeless children without owners were "ordered to be sold at public outcry".⁸⁷

The foregoing survey reveals the process of European expansion as well as the social and economic conditions in the Malabar region of south-west India. European influence increased or decreased corresponding to changes in the local

83. James Forbes, n. 39, II p.228.

84. Ibid., I p.251, "Malabar children are greatly a cheap commodity. At Anjengo, at the end of the rainy season when there was no particular scarcity in the interior country, I purchased a boy and girl about eight or nine years of age as a present to a lady at Bombay, for less money than a couple of pigs in England".

85. James Forbes, n.39, II p.228.

86. Francis Day, n. 58, p.183.

87. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1696, 2 July 1696 p.85.

environment. The fragmentation of Malabar into petty principalities with their mutual jealousies and conflicts coupled with a caste-ridden society facilitated the Europeans to promote their ambitions in the region. The English were eventually successful in influencing the Malabar region, more than any other European power.

The products of Malabar were in great demand in Europe. Malabar economy was intent to be self-sufficient and generally production was not intended for external markets. The economy was quite stagnant. No drastic changes ever took place. The ports were lying inert. This stagnation was suddenly disturbed by the advent of the Europeans. The coastal world reacted favourably to the penetration of the Europeans. They were swept off their feet at the sight of the Armada of ships converging on the ports seeking pepper and spice. The native rulers had no liquid money. The sudden appearance of the foreigners with money and the profound demand for pepper induced the natives to keep pace with the increased demand by procuring and supplying pepper to the best of their ability. The Malabar rulers welcomed the Europeans with open arms and gave them facilities and concessions of trade, with the intention of making quick money.

Europeans especially the English who came to the Malabar country with the specific intention of procuring pepper entered into treaties and agreements with the native rulers and established settlements. Thus they laid the foundations which gradually had its impact on the indigenous social, economic and political conditions. It is precisely on one of these settlements, located in the southern part of Malabar that I intend to concentrate in the following chapters in order to trace and understand its pattern of growth and evolution and its influence and impact on the various aspects of the local society. This settlement was founded in 1694 at Anjengo situated in the kingdom of Attingal.

CHAPTER - II

ATTINGAL AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT ANJENGO

The Kingdom or Attinga or Attingal was situated in South Malabar. It was a small principality along 60 miles of coast.¹ It was bounded on the north with the territories of the Prince of Chenganatta, the south with those of the King of Travancore, on the east with those of the King of Peritally and the mountains of Gata and on the west by sea.² Its utmost length was about 80 or 90 miles and its breadth 15 or 20.³

In this kingdom woman had always been the rulers. No male members became sovereigns because it was a female swaroopam. Therefore it was called Sree Bhagam or sacred portion where only the woman had the right to rule.⁴ The

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1. John Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India two hundred years ago (London, 1907) p.271
 2. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Simon Cowse to Court of Directors, June 1704, p.5. Prince of Chenganatta was also known as Prince of Desinganad or Quilon.
 3. Ibid. —
 4. Samuel Mateer, Native Life in Travancore (London, 1883) p.123.

Rani of Attingal during the year 1677 A.D. was Aswati Tirunal Umayamma⁵. The kingdom itself was situated between the kingdoms of Travencore, Berriata and Peritally, whose rulers "acknowledged the Queen of Attinga's supremacy".⁶ In 1693, the adjoining kingdom of Peritally for want of heirs was incorporated into the Attingal Kingdom.⁷ The Queen of Attingal had more authority within the Attingal kingdom than in Travancore and Berriata. The Attingal kingdom was comprehended under the following Cantons. "Attinga the Chief residence of the Queen, Capi, Travendevarong, Vavendevarong". Each of these four Cantons had a poola or noble man in charge of it. These Cantons were further subdivided into many districts. Each district was under a Rejadore (magistrate). They were Cherenga, Anjenga, Mompoly, Baccon, Capi, Irvor, Illure, Baccala, Betture, Travendevarong, Brinjohn, Ruttura, Permadura, Pullecoreach, Vavendevarong, Pallichal, Cunjerata, Permadura and Tonnipondet besides numerous other villages.⁹

5. Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1878, 1984) I. p.100. She was referred to as Queen Ashure by Europeans.

6. Anjengo Factory Records, n.2 p.5.

7. Ibid., p.6.

8. John Wallis, A Short Treatise by way of essay of Attinga 1727, 7 September, 1727, p.10. This treatise is not found in any of the Archives in India. The present researcher located it from India Office Library Records, London.

9. Ibid.

The Rejadores who were the district magistrates were answerable to the Poolas. They were chosen by the community as their representatives in all matters relating to state affairs. Besides the above two officials there was another called Annavey whose work was to carry messages to and from the poolas and the neighbouring foreign powers.¹⁰ The administration of the country was carried out by the Queen with the help of the Poolas, the Rejadores and the Annavey. However the Queen's power was not absolute. Of the four Poolas, Vanjamutta poola, Cuddamon poola, Barreba poola and Mandacca poola,¹¹ the first two were very close to the Queen and wielded considerable power so as to even veto the Queen's decision. They were referred to as the great poolas by the Company.

Generally the Queen's orders were respected and carried out not only by the poolas of Attingal, but also by the twelve madembees of Travancore and the two potas of Peritally.¹² In fact, the Attingal kingdom was the maternal house of the Rajah of Travancore and therefore the Rani of

10. Ibid., p. 12.

11. Ibid. 

12. Bombay letters received 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 August, 1697, p.8. Madembees and Potas were noble men of Travancore and Peritally respectively who were sometimes referred to as poolas too.

Attingal was entitled to give heirs to the Travancore kingdom. It is said that the eldest son of the Queen of Attingal was the heir apparent to the throne of Travancore¹³ and her eldest daughter was supposed to succeed her to the throne of Attingal. Any failure in the direct female descent required the selection¹⁴ and adoption of two or more females usually from Kolathnad to assure her succession.

It was supposed to be against the law for the Queens of Attingal to marry in the real sense.¹⁵ However she could choose two men for amorous relationship. It was customary to take one husband from the Brahmins attending the temple and the other being one of the four poolas.¹⁶ Such a custom was not regarded as a crime. The eldest daughter of the Brahmin or adopted husband was the rightful heir to the throne of Attingal.¹⁷ Henry Grose in his account on the Ranis of Attingal stated that in order to have a successor

13. Edward Ives, A Voyage from England to India (London, 1773) p.192.

14. Maclean's manual of administration of the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1938) p.36.

15. John Henry Grose, A Voyage to East Indies (London, 1757) p.386.

16. John Wallis, n.8. p.10.

17. Ibid., —

to the throne, the Queen chooses "whom and as many as she pleases to the honour of her bed. The handsomest young men about the court generally compose her firaglio"¹⁸. We have stated earlier that the Rani of Attingal provided the male heir to the throne of Travancore. Years later, after the amalgamation of the Attingal kingdom with Travancore, Colonel James Welsh wrote "I observed near the throne several naked Brahmins. Two of whom only good looking men were clothed in chintz and stood directly behind the Queen. These proved to be the husband of one of the former taumbratee, the other of the present Rani. In this family the boys of the elder women are always heir ... these men though fed and kindly treated in the palace have no authority nor are they permitted to sit in the Rani's presence in public. In addition to which she may change them whenever she is tired of one by sending him away and selecting another, but only from amongst the Brahmin which very clearly proves that women bear the sway in Travencore".¹⁹ The preceeding views of the English

18. John Henry Grose, n. 15, p. 386.

19. James Welsh, Military Reminiscences (London, 1830) II pp. 144-146. Alexander Hamilton had also written about the promiscuous behaviour of the Queen. "In Anno. 1685, when the present was sent, a young beautiful English gentleman had the honour to present it to her black majesty, and as soon as the Queen saw him, she fell in love with him and the next day made proposals of marriage to him but he modestly refused so great an honour. However to please her majesty he staid at court a month or two and it is reported treated her with the same civility as Soloman did the Amazonian Queen and satisfied her so well that when he left her court, she made him some presents" - A New Account of the East Indies (London, 1728, 1930) p.184.

authors clearly brings out the polyandrous nature of the Ranis of Attingal, where the husbands were mere figureheads with no power over the Queen.

The Ranis of Attingal were not answerable to the Rajah of Travancore till 1740.²⁰ The Dutch writer Galletti went one step forward when he stated "towards the end of the 17th Century the Rajah of Travancore was the vassal of the Queen".²¹ Later Nagam Aiya upheld "that the tamburattis (Ranis) of Attingara possessed the sovereignty of Travancore from remote antiquity".²² However in the early years of her reign it seems that she was answerable only to the poolas²³ especially to two of them who controlled very large part of land.²⁴ Taking note of the polyandrous nature of the Queen and that the poolas were amongst her consorts, it is quite possible that the poolas who had influence over her were her lovers. After 1740, the Queens authority was abolished by Martanda Varma, the Rajah of Travancore.²⁵ However in the light of the English factory records dating before 1740,

20. See English Factory Records - 1690-1740.

21. A. Galletti, Dutch in Malabar (Madras, 1911) p.53

22. Nagam Aiya, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) I p. 306.

23. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1949, n.2, p.6.

24. Ibid. —

25. for details see Chapter-V.

and the statements of the authors quoted above, it is difficult to accept the contention of Velu Pillai that the Queen of Attingal had no political power and whatever power she had "was nothing more than delegated powers delegated to her by the lawful Karanavan of her tharawad, the Sovereign of the state",²⁶ for the period until at least 1740 when the Queen's authority was abolished.

By the second half of the 17th century, the Malabar coast had become the cynosure of all the European powers who came to India for trading activities. More than anything else this was due to the fact that the coast was the world's largest supplier of pepper.²⁷ The kingdom of Attingal, though it produced large quantities of pepper, was any way less productive than Peritally and Quilon and also inferior in this article to Porca and Cochin and by the best calculation seldom yielded more than 500 or 1000 candies in the most plentiful season.²⁸ The greatest quantity of pepper in the Attingal Kingdom was produced in its southern parts, while the northern districts of Eddava, Baccala and Bettura yielded

26. Velu Pillai, The Travancore State Manual (Travancore, 1940) I p.299. Jacob Canter Visscher wrote, In All Malabar "there is no Queen who possess so much influence in public affairs as here" - Letters from Malabar (Madras, 1862) p. 58.

27. Manohar Malgonkar, Kanhoji Angrey (Bombay, 1959) p.150.

28. John Wallis, n.8, p.66.

no pepper. Whatever pepper found in the latter northern districts were the products of Perittally or Chenganatta's country.²⁹ The king of Perittally and that of Chenganatta were responsible to a great extent for the availability of a large quantity of pepper in Attingal for purposes of trade.³⁰ The Dutch and the Danes had already established themselves at Paru and Eddava respectively and commanded all pepper coming from the North to Attingal.³¹ As early as 1659, they entered into a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, by which they obtained exclusive monopoly of spice trade at Quilon.³² In the year 1663, they had also concluded a treaty with the Rajah of Purakkad for the delivery of pepper and ginger and obtained permission to build a factory at Purakkad.³³

On the other hand the English, having earlier lost the spice trade of the Eastern Archipelego to the Dutch and wanting to find an alternative source of spice supply, sent probing missions to ascertain the feasibility of establishing trade in various parts of the Malabar country. However, here too the English had to contend with the Dutch to obtain

29. Ibid., p.67.

30. John Wallis; n.8. p.70.

31. Ibid., p.71.

32. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History (Kottayam, 1967) p.240.

33. Galletti, n.21, p.35.

a share in pepper trade. Exclusive possession of pepper became a fixed point in the Dutch policy and they were reluctant to allow the English any part of it. They tried their best to depress the English trade wherever possible.³⁴ The growing rivalry of the Dutch and the English put an end to the state of comparative peace in the Malabar especially in Attingal. The English would have probably wanted to establish a settlement at a place abounding in pepper and out of Dutch influence. This would have led them to choose the Attingal kingdom which was known to produce the finest pepper in the world.³⁵ During this period the Queen Aswati of Attingal was a monarch in her own right.

Until the arrival of the English the Queen had no other alternative except to deal with the Dutch, who held a monopoly of Malabar spice trade. On account of the high-handedness of the Dutch, the Queen was quick to catch hold of the opportunity provided by the English to find a new opening to dispose off her pepper knowing fully well that the English were at loggerheads with the Dutch. Thus the trade policy of the Queen underwent a change which was favourable to the English. Consequently in the year 1678,

34. John Bruce, Annals of the Honorable East India Company, (London, 1810) III p.194.

35. Manohar Malgonkar, n.27, p.150. Owing to the abundant supply of pepper the Rani of Attingal was called the "Pepper Queen".

the Queen of Attingal sent an invitation to the English to open a factory in her territory.³⁶ Negotiations took place, but it could not make much progress as the Company had to face Dutch opposition. Nevertheless in 1679, the English factory broker Verdaman Beca was sent to her country, but since the prospect was found to be precarious, the idea was abandoned.³⁷ Again in the year 1681 similar report was sent.³⁸ According to the letter written to London the reason for abandoning the project was that they had "to contend with those great and mighty princes which might soon obstruct our trade and ruin us".³⁹ The Company however decided to keep "a fair correspondence"⁴⁰ with the Attingal kingdom.

In 1684, John Child ordered the Company to procure as much pepper as the Queen could supply, and the Queen welcomed this encouragement.⁴¹ The sudden interest of the

36. Surat Factory Records - 1678, Calicut to Surat, 6 February 1678, pp.64-65.

37. Sir Charles Fawcett, The English factories in India, Bombay, Surat and Malabar Coast (London, 1954) III p.xii.

38. Ibid. —

39. Collections of papers received from the India Office for Bombay Gazette work. Letter to London, 15 March 1681, p.10. The great and mighty princes might probably have been the poolas.

40. Ibid. —

41. Sir Charles Fawcett, n.37, p.xi. John Child was the President or General at Surat and Governor General of the Company's possession in the East.

English in the Queen of Attinga's country, and the Queen's positive attitude towards them was viewed with suspicion by the Dutch at Cochin. They warned the English to keep away from Attingal as they claimed to possess exclusive trade contracts with not only the Queen of Attingal, but also with the Rajah of Travancore and other Malabar princes.⁴²

However, the English were not prepared to back out of Attingal. So, the Dutch denied passports to the Queen's subject and deprived them of commerce,⁴³ with the hope that

42. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Rt. Honble. Governor General of Neatherlands Company, India to Daniel Acworth and Clebat Travers, Officers of the English East India Company, 25 August 1685, p.10. "We have thought good hereby to insinuate and make known to your worshipful that the Rt. Honble. Neatherlands East India Company hath not only made firm and exclusive contract of merchandize with the Queen of Attinga but likewise with the Raja at Travancore and other Malabar Princes by force of which obligations and bond none may drive any trade in their country's except the Rt. Honble. Neatherland Company and their servants for the Queen of Attinga and the King of Travancore have promised and agreed by their written bonds as appears by the third articles of the said contract.

That noe Europe nation..withier Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, French, English and Danes Sweeds or other none excepted, shall come into their highness country, there to dwell and drive trade and likewise in the 4th article that all the pepper which the said country produces (the Rt. Honble. Company alone having power to trade in it, is to be delivered at Ceylon".

43. Anjengo Factory Records - 1705-1749, n.2. p.6. Portuguese introduced the system of issuing passes. Movements of trading vessels without these passes were strictly prohibited.

the natives would become wary of the English and force them to leave the country. But the Queen had other ideas in her mind which went against the Dutch expectations, while she sent a request to the English to settle in her country. The English reported this invitation to the Surat Council.⁴⁴

Though the offer was tempting, yet the English had to countenance Dutch claims and their stiff opposition had the possibility of compromising peace in the region and peace was essential to carry on trade profitably. However, the Dutch were determined to leave no stones unturned to oust the English from Attingal. Few months later the Queen once again sent signals to the English factory at Calicut desiring a settlement.⁴⁵ Two English men Daniel Acworth and Travers were sent to the Queen who promised them protection and free trade.⁴⁶ They purchased pepper and decided to construct a warehouse in the territory of the Queen. A warehouse was very essential for purchase and conservation of pepper.

44. Sir Charles Fawcett, n. 37, p.365.

45. Ibid., The Presidency at Surat had established two other factories at Calicut, and Tellicherry in North Malabar lying outside Attingal Kingdom. Tellicherry factory was established in the year 1683. Factory Records General, India Office Library Records, London, p.137.

46. Anjengo Factory Records, n.2, p.7.

According to instructions from Bombay, they were ordered to keep in store 1000 or 1500 tons of pepper always in readiness to ship home.⁴⁷ During the year Thomas Mitchell, the Chief at Calicut "shipped off 1200 candies of pepper and expended about 300 dollars in presents upon the Queen".⁴⁸ The Queen in her turn was supposed to have given him permission through a written guarantee to build a factory or fort in her dominion.

In 1688, two places Retorah or Brinjohn in the territory of the Queen were selected as factory sites.⁴⁹ Daniel Acworth was appointed Chief of these two factories. These were the earliest factories of the English in the territory of the Queen. Of the two Brinjohn was the most impregnable for it was considered by the English as the most ideal place for carrying on trade from Cochin to Cape Comorin.⁵⁰ However the Dutch who were determined to maintain their control

47. Despatches from England - 1687, Public Department, Court of Directors, London to Bombay Castle, 3 August 1687, p. 152.

48. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2, p.7. From the very early days of their trading in India, the English introduced the system of carrying presents to the ruler. The idea behind this gesture was to get maximum privilege from the ruler.

49. Despatches from England - 1687, Public Department, n.47. Retorah was also referred to as Ruttera, and Rettora by the English officials. It is identified as "Vettoor" and Brinjohn is identified as "Vizhinjum".

50. Factory Records - Miscellaneous - 1693, John Goldesborough, to Daniel Acworth, Attingal, 29 July 1693, p.43.

on the coast prevented the English Company to erect their flagstaff at both the factories.⁵¹ They were particularly against the settling of the English at Brinjohn due to its strategic importance on the coast. On account of the obstacles raised by the Dutch, it became a necessity to fortify these factories in order to safeguard the entire settlement. However, fortifications could not be carried out by the settlers themselves without the help and sanction of the Bombay Castle, as the control of all the Company's possessions in India was transferred from Surat to Bombay in the year 1687.⁵² The Madras Government in a letter written to Retorah expressed the hope that the Bombay Government would sanction the fortification of the settlements of Brinjohn and Retorah.⁵³ The permission to fortify had to be obtained from Bombay Government and this involved lot of time. Meanwhile the Dutch realising that plans were afoot to fortify the two English factories renewed their hostility against

51. Ibid., 26 July 1693, p.31. Shafat Ahmed Khan described Retorah factory as a "mean slight house made of cadjans that half dozen men could pull down to the ground in an hour" - East India Trade in the XVII Century (London, 1810) p.76.

52. Factory Records - General, India Office Library Records, London, p.129.

53. Letter from Fort St. George - 1689, Fort St. George to Retorah 30 April 1689, p.25.

the English. They seized all the English ships going to shore for pepper and declared that in four years time there shall not be one English in India.⁵⁴ This was a crucial period for both the English and the Dutch in their attempt to become the masters of the trade with Attingal.

However, fortification was being delayed due to a number of reasons. As the English were busy with the wars with the Mughals, the fortification of Retorah could not be carried out. In England too there were internal problems. The Prince of Orange became the King of Great Britain and there was a great change in the administration of the government. In Europe the English and the Dutch had entered into an alliance, therefore in India also the Dutch "began to deal tenderly with the English".⁵⁵ Daniel Acworth repeatedly wrote to Madras about the great advantage that was bound to accrue to the Company as a result of a settlement in the Queen's country.⁵⁶ He knew that any more delay on their part would make the Queen change sides, and perhaps she might become inclined towards the Dutch. Acworth insisted that in case they failed to settle the matters by November 1690,

54. Collections of papers received from the India Office for Bombay Gazette work 1684-1685, p.41.

55. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2, p.7.

56. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1690, January 1 to December 30, 1690, p.32.

then the Dutch will definitely have an upperhand.⁵⁷ The Company servants did not have any powers to take any major decision. The orders as in the earlier period had to come from Bombay. The English Company officials in the meantime wrote to the Queen assuring her that in a short time the place would be fortified and that she should remain heedless to the false reports and insinuation by the Dutch.⁵⁸ So much were the English Company officials in their settlements in Malabar dependent on Surat and later Bombay that they were unable to proceed in their dealings with the local powers on their own accord, whether it be on the question of trade or on the necessary arrangements like fortifying the factories to carry on trade smoothly. This in spite of the fact that the Company officials in these settlements had a better knowledge of the local conditions and the prospects of trade in the area. Such a situation where important decisions were delayed by the head quarters, not only created a climate of uncertainty amongst the English settlers and the local powers but also contributed to the unfavourable conditions in which the officials had to deal with the Queen of Attingal and the Dutch.

57. Ibid.,

58. Ibid., p.82.

In 1691, the Madras Government decided to send money to various factories in Malabar. Ten thousand pagodas were sent for fortifying Retorah.⁵⁹ Here again, before the factory was fortified, John Child expired. After his demise, the Court of Directors at London made an evaluation of his work in India. It was found out that one of the mistakes committed by Child was in "not fortifying Rettura in the Queen of Attinga's country and not supplying the place plentifully".⁶⁰ They warned the Company servants "not to neglect that important place Rettura but to strengthen it all that possibly you can for that at one time or other we may most probably be forced to contend sharply for our security there".⁶¹ The findings of the Court of Directors proves that the delay in fortifying the English settlements in Malabar was also due to the indecisive or negligent attitude of higher officials like John Child. However, as far as Retorah was concerned, John Child appears to have not sanctioned its fortification due to the Company's then financial stringency.⁶²

59. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1691, 16 July 1691 p.31, Pagoda is a name given to gold coins of about the value of seven or eight shillings - Edgar Thurston, History of the coinage of the territories of the East India Company in the Indian peninsula (Madras, 1890) p.11.

60. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Copy of a clause of the Rt. Honble. Company's general letter, London, 25 September 1691, p.11.

61. Ibid. —

62. Ibid. —

In the year 1691-1692, the court appointed Captain (afterwards Sir) John Goldesborough to be the Commissary General and Supervisor of South India and vested with him authority to frame regulations giving greater consistency to the future proceedings of the Presidency.⁶³ In 1693, Sir John Goldesborough was elevated to the post of Commissary General in India with residence at Fort St. George and Sir John Gayer was appointed as Lieutenant General to succeed him.⁶⁴ It was decided then to fortify Retorah as soon as season would permit.⁶⁵ Now when everything was settled Daniel Acworth who had hitherto persistently appealed to the home government to fortify the place had a change of heart and he declared "Retorah is no place to defend, therefore not to be fortified".⁶⁶ The statement coming from Daniel Acworth who was the chief of the factory of Retorah dampened the plans of Sir John Goldesborough. Daniel Acworth was now keen on fortifying Brinjohn factory because that place was the best for fortification as it had good drinking water. Much time was lost with the indecision of the Company officials who were undecided as to which factory was to be fortified,

63. John Bruce, n.34, p.109.

64. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2, p.7. John Bruce, n. 34, p.138.

65. Letters from Fort St. George - 1693, Sir John Goldesborough, Fort St. George to Daniel Acworth, 22 June 1693, p.31.

66. Letters to Fort St. George - 1693, Daniel Acworth, Retorah to Fort St. George, 31 May 1693, p.20.

Retorah or Brinjohn. However, they finally succeeded in erecting a flag-staff in the factory and quarters were constructed for the Company servants.⁶⁷ These two factories played a very important role in the early period of their settlements in Attingal. Since both of them were situated near the sea coast incoming and outgoing ships touched at these factories to collect pepper. In 1693, the Company purchased Brinjohn from the "Queen for 6000 fanams or 1400 rupees and Acworth bought all the coconut trees on that hill."⁶⁸ Retorah and Brinjohn continued to hold the status of factories until 1779, when heavy floods swept them away.⁶⁹ Besides these two factories, the English had two other factories at Betture and Kalliquille or Mangatee in the Attingal kingdom.⁷⁰

In 1693, Sir John Goldesborough arrived at Madras bringing with him positive orders to build a fort in the

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- 67. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Dutch Governor, Cochin to Stephen Law, Bombay, 12 March 1740, p.180.
 - 68. Factory Records - Miscellaneous - 1693, Sir John Goldesborough to Daniel Acworth Retorah, 29th July 1693, p.42.
 - 69. Anjengo Factory Records - 1779, John Torpess Anjengo to William Hornby, Bombay, 22 November 1779, p.138.
 - 70. Bombay letter copy books outwards: Bombay letters received, 1694, John Brabourne, Anjengo, to John Gayer, Bombay 20 March, 1694, p. 31. Betture factory was burnt down by the natives in the year 1720.

Queen's territory.⁷¹ As the Dutch had renewed their harassment of the English Company servants without the Queen's knowledge it was considered absolutely necessary to fortify the factories to ward off the Dutch menace.⁷² Goldesborough conscious of the fact that the Dutch were not only a menace to the English but also to the natives due to their uneasy relationship with the Queen, tried to put across his argument in favour of fortification before the Queen by raising the point about the Dutch insolence which threatened the liberties of her country and the protection of her people.⁷³ Instead of directly approaching the Queen to conclude a trade treaty that would give them monopoly of spice trade by keeping out the Dutch, it seems that Goldesborough was convinced that he could attain the Company's objective of fortifying the factories and all that it implied to English trade only by drawing the attention of the Queen to the Dutch threat to her and her country. At this juncture, Goldesborough's calculations and diplomacy from the English point of view, were apparently flawless and unquestionable.

Unable to produce the treaty and agreement entered about nine years back by Thomas Mitchell for a settlement to

71. Anjengo Factory Records 1704-1749, n.2, p.6.

72. Factory Records - Miscellaneous - 1693, John Goldesborough to Daniel Acworth, July 26, 1693, p.32.

73. Ibid. —

be made in her country,⁷⁴ Goldesborough, thinking that direct meeting with the Queen would bring quick results, appointed John Brabourne under the title of Chief Captain or Commodor and Daniel Acworth to be second-in-command to "wait upon her majesty to enter into amicable treaty with her and conclude upon conditions to settle firmly in her country".⁷⁵ Brabourne was asked to confer with the Queen's two secretaries⁷⁶ who, it was found, "have a share in the government"⁷⁷ and to conclude a treaty enabling them to have full liberties of trade on all sorts of commodities in her country and to fortify on the hill called Brinjohn.⁷⁸

Brabourne was asked to procure coolies and materials for construction and other privileges thereof for ever "as long as the sun and moon endures in the name of the Right Honourable English East India Company".⁷⁹ Brabourne.

74. Factory Records - Miscellaneous - 1693, John Goldesborough, to Daniel Acworth, Retorah, 27 July 1693, p.38. On enquiry it was found that the above treaty was carried "from thence to Calicut from thence to Surat by Mr. Mitchell and since his death cannot be found".

75. Ibid., John Goldesborough to the Queen of Attingal, 26 July 1693, p.35.

76. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1693, 20 June 1693, pp.109-110. The secretaries were probably the poolas.

77. Factory Records - Miscellaneous - 1693, n.74, p.38.

78. Ibid., p.39.

79. Ibid., p.41.

requested Madras Government to send him soldiers, four masons, two goldsmiths and a Gunner having good judgement in fortification.⁸⁰

Under such a treaty they demanded the right to trade in the Attingal country free from all duties, the right to travel in any part of Attingal to merchandize or buy provision for the Company servants without any molestation from any of the Queen's subject, the power to impart justice in their factory sites and the power of coining any sort of money that existed in Attingal. Further they insisted that the Queen's Rejadores or Governors should have no jurisdiction in the limits of their settlements nor in any part thereof so that they were absolutely left free to be governed by themselves by their own laws without being accountable to the Queen or her governors in any manner whatsoever. They also wanted the people to sell all the pepper of their country only to the English Company. Besides they insisted that the Queen should come to their assistance with her powers to ward off any attack on them by anybody.⁸¹ The treaty was supposed also to assure the Queen that the Company would buy all the pepper at a reasonable or stated price.

80. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1693, n.76, pp.109-110.

81. Factory Records - Miscellaneous 1693, - John Goldesborough, to John Brabourne, 27 July 1693, p.41.

Apart from this, Brabourne was also instructed to acquire any other privileges or liberties that might be necessary for the Company from the Queen.⁸² However, the Company unsure of the Queen's decision about the various clauses and conditions of the proposed treaty considered it prudent to caution Brabourne to be content with whatever the Queen might grant them even if it might not mean a lot, so that they could embark upon fortification immediately.⁸³

The intentions of the Company in their quest to conclude this treaty with the Queen were revealing in many ways. Though the Company's immediate objective was fortification by any means, yet it was not devoid of long term objectives which had serious implications to the entire Malabar region. The Company's desire to govern their factory sites by their own laws without the interference of the Queen or her subordinates and their wish to have the power of coining and the power of imparting justice in their settlements proves beyond doubt that they wanted to establish themselves in the Attingal country in their own right independently of the Queen's jurisdiction. In fact they were asking for independent political existence in the region through the proposed treaty. Though the Company offered protection to the Queen and her subjects

82. Ibid. 7.

83. Ibid. 7

against the Dutch yet their overall policy in their dealings with the Queen was not different from that of the Dutch. Both the English and the Dutch wanted the monopoly of the spice trade at the expense of the other and to achieve this objective they vied to improve their political and military importance before the eyes of the Queen. However the English were not still sure of their relative strength to impose a treaty on their terms upon the Queen which obliged them to caution Brabourne to accept whatever the Queen might agree to, in the belief that once the fortification was over, they could press for amendments in the treaty.⁸⁴ In any case, the fact that the Company ever devised such a treaty for the Queen's approval reveals the relative weakness of the latter in her dealings with the Europeans.

Even before acquiring the grant, Brabourne was given instruction in the sort of fort to be constructed. The fort was supposed to be "a square fort as Madras (but not so big) with 4 bastions and Flanckers, each bastion to contain 6 pieces of cannon and 4 pieces in each Courtin, will be in all 40 guns".⁸⁵ Moreover, Brabourne was given 2000 pagodas to

84. Ibid. 7,

85. Ibid., p.43.

be spent on the Queen, her Secretaries and Rejadores⁸⁶ to accomplish the Company's mission. John Brabourne arrived at Attingal in November 1693.⁸⁷ But he was perplexed because he met with nothing that answered his expectations, for instead of finding the Queen an absolute ruler who was highly desirous of the English trade in her dominions, and who had sent invitations to the English several times to settle in her country, and with whom Daniel Acworth had prepared all matters, he found a powerless Queen who had hardly any power in the government but who was under the control of the poolas.⁸⁸ This was the first impression that Brabourne got about the political situation in Attingal.

The Queen influenced by the poolas regretted having invited them to her country. However, she was aware that they have come to Attingal from far, incurring heavy expenses with express orders for fortification in Attingal.⁸⁹ She was therefore ashamed to totally reject their offers. But the poolas were not in favour of any forts in their dominion. Their contention was that if trade was the motive for the English, then a factory rather than a fort will suffice.⁹⁰

86. Ibid., Earlier the Queen had accepted Rs.14000/- from the Company.

87. Anjengo Factory Records 1704-1749, n.2, p.7.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

Brabourne got a further jolt when Couche Mauden Poola, one of the Queen's main poolas, sent word to Verdamon, the broker, that he desired a private conference with Brabourne. The poola informed that the Queen would never consent to the Company fortifying Brinjohn because "who ever is master of that place commands the only passage between the kingdom of Attinga and Travencore and also because Her Highness has a right only to one third of the customs of Brinjohn".⁹¹ Therefore he advised Brabourne to accept any other place between Rettura and Eddawa where they may reside and fortify with the Queen's consent.⁹² He himself pointed out another convenient place known as Anjengo, saying that it was a very good place because the Dutch had formerly besought them for it rather than Brinjohn."⁹³

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the Queen and her main poolas had considered the strategic implications of the fortifications of Brinjohn before refusing it to the English. The main poolas's influence and role in the refusal of Brinjohn was of striking importance for it revealed the fact that though the Queen was the monarch yet her decisions were not independent of that of the poolas.

91. Bombay letter received - 1694, John Brabourne, Betture to John Gayer, Bombay, 29 July, 1694, p.5.

92. Ibid..⁷

93. Ibid..⁷

Unable to confer directly with the Queen regarding the Company's initial aims in Attingal, due to the poolas interposing themselves between him and the Queen, Brabourne could not assess correctly the power of the Queen over the poolas and vice versa. The proposal of granting Anjengo to the English was the result of intense premediation by the Queen and the poolas. The very fact that they had refused to give away Brinjohn to the English mainly for strategic reasons would imply that the Anjengo site was not as important as Brinjohn strategically. The settlement of the English at Anjengo would also be more favourable to Attingal from the trade point of view than anything else. However the consent of the Queen for the fortification of Anjengo which was against the initial wishes of the poolas as mentioned earlier proves beyond doubt the influence that the Queen exercised over the poolas. Nevertheless such influence seems to have been borne more out of negotiations and discussions between the Queen and the poolas rather than her power alone. |

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The proposition of Anjengo was something that Brabourn never expected. Desperate in his desire to conclude a treaty with the Queen and not being in a position of sufficient strength to impose the Company's wishes on the Queen and the poolas, Brabourne was obliged to accept the terms of the

Queen. The very acceptance of the fortification of Anjengo by the Queen was a comforting point to Brabourne. Not wishing to delay any more and having no intention of going against the Queen's wishes, Brabourne visited Anjengo and "found it to be conveniently situated both for making a small fortification and trade for it is a small hill between the sea and fair river, which does almost encompass it, leaving only two very narrow passes to come at the fort, the river is divided in many branches and spreads itself through all the country".⁹⁴ So, Brabourne accepted the Queen's proposition. Verdamon went alone to Rettura to confer with Attinga Annavy, the Queen's Chief Rejadore and favourite who took an oath to befriend the Company throughout the negotiations with the Queen.⁹⁵ Brabourne conveyed through Verdamon his new terms of agreement to the Queen. He wanted for the Company the hill of Iouges in Anjengo with a convenient distance of ground on each side of the hill to build warehouses and dwelling houses for the Company's officials and the right to fortify and govern the place according to their convenience.⁹⁶ Secondly Brabourne wanted the monopoly of pepper trade for the Company in the Queen's territory alone with the right to

94. Ibid..[?]

95. Ibid..[?]

96. Ibid., p.6.

prevent others from trading in the area. He further stipulated that the Queens officers will receive the customs only after the pepper was weighed into the godowns to be shipped off wherever they chose to do so.⁹⁷ Besides the Queen was expected never to enhance their customs and not to lay claim on an English ship wreck. Moreover under the terms of the agreement, the Queen's vessels would be issued with English passes which would guarantee them against robbery by the Dutch.⁹⁸

Brabourne had to dilute and modify many of the points of Goldesborough's terms of agreement in order to suit the prevailing conditions. Consequently Brabourne did not insist upon having absolute territorial rights and the right to coin money and to impart justice, instead the primary aim of Brabourne this time seems to have been to obtain the maximum trade rights and concessions. After few days Brabourne received an ola from Verdamon, Couche Mauden Poola and Attinga Annavy that the Queen had promised to grant all the substantial part of the Company's desires and that she desired Brabourne to meet her at Manganatta to confirm the articles.⁹⁹

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., p.6. Manganatta and Mangala seemed to be the same place.

On 2nd June 1694, Brabourne accompanied by 35 officers and soldiers arrived at Quilon, where they were kindly entertained by Padre Emanuel Pereira and on the 13th they arrived at Mangala where they met with the messengers from the Queen bringing word that Her Highness was still at Cottaracara.¹⁰⁰ On 15 June they were met by Attinga Annavy and Verdamon who said that the Queen had already given orders to the poolas to prepare the article of agreement. He presented Attinga Annavy with 50 Chequeens, some part of silk, sandalwood and rose water.¹⁰¹ The same afternoon the party visited the Queen with a present consisting of 250 Chequeens, some velvet cloth, rich silk, lackered ware, arms and spices.¹⁰² The party was received very kindly by the Queen "according to the customs of this court".¹⁰³ The Queen in turn presented Brabourne "a very handsome maneila, and another of the ensigns that commanded the soldiers."¹⁰⁴ and asked them to accompany her to Killequilee and Perenata where the poolas would draw up and conclude the article of agreement.¹⁰⁵ The only explanation that could be given for the Queen's delayed meeting with Brabourne was the possible fact that the Queen as a monarch in her own right preferred to deal with foreigners who were just after all representatives or messenger servants of the

100. Ibid.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

East India Company, through intermediaries like the poolas and Annavys.

Unfortunately for the English, the differences of opinion between the Queen of Attingal and the King of Chenga-natta which led to an open war added to the delay in the obtaining of the grant from the Queen.¹⁰⁶ Brabourne wisely avoided being implicated in the war on behalf of any local power, though the Queen sought for help from the Raja of Travancore.¹⁰⁷ The Queen also approached the English for a loan of 10,000 fanams¹⁰⁸ knowing fully well that the Company could not refuse it to her for they were in dire need of coming to a settlement with regard to Anjengo. Perhaps the Queen might have needed this money to meet the expenses of the war. Anyhow it seems that the Queen had embarked upon a policy of extracting the maximum money from the English before signing the agreement. This was obviously one of the reasons for which the Queen and the poolas delayed to come to an agreement. On the other hand Brabourne thinking that only financial inducements could obtain the assent of the Queen for his project lent her 350 Chequeens amounting to 7,350 fanams.¹⁰⁹ He did not stop with that. "The great poolas

106. Ibid., p.7.

107. Ibid., 7,

108. Ibid., p.8.

109. Ibid., Verdamon accounted to Brabourne only for 3,000 fanams which implied that the remainder 4,350 fanams was taken by the Queen gratuitously.

(probably Vanjamutta) was presented with 20 chequeens, Couche Mauden poola with 50 chequeens, Curriche Pota with 50; Cunjee Mauden poola with 10, Cujee Rambuttre poola with 10 chequeens".¹¹⁰ Servants were also sent to the Rajah of Travancore at Cottarricarree with a present of 50 chequeens, arms, silk, cloth and 5 chequeens for his servants.¹¹¹

In spite of all these lavish expenditure incurred by the Company, Brabourne was unable to obtain an agreement. He was so disgusted with the delay that he refrained from rendering visit to the poolas or the Queen but constantly maintained contact with them through Verdamon and linguist.¹¹² Finally to his great relief the latter brought the copy of an ola which was prepared for the Queen's signature, but when it was translated the articles did not correspond at all with what the Queen had promised,¹¹³ for the Queen reserved the right to give licence unto whomsoever she pleased, to export pepper.¹¹⁴ However by now Brabourne had understood that it was again a ploy of the Queen and poolas to extract more money from him on the pretext of further amending their ola. As Brabourne was determined to obtain the agreement,

110. Ibid.?

111. Ibid. .

112. Ibid., p.9

113. Ibid.?

114. Ibid. .

it was agreed that at the signing of the agreement with the necessary amendments, Couche Mauden poola would be given 50 chequeens, Attinga Annavy 100 chequeens, i.e., 50 to be given at the signing of the ola and 50 after the possession of Anjengo by the Company.¹¹⁵

Even at this juncture when an agreement was in sight, the Queen informed Brabourne that she had refused 50,000 fanams promised to her by the Dutch to break the agreement.¹¹⁶ So, she desired the English Company to visit her once a year with 250 chequeens as the Dutch did at Quilon and that she should have "half of the prize of pepper taken by the Right Honourable Company when any was exported."¹¹⁷ Desperate to clinch the agreement, Brabourne on behalf of the Company agreed for 100 chequeens i.e., 75 chequeens for the Queen and 25 for the Annavy.¹¹⁸

On the 2 July, the Queen went to Quilone, and Brabourne followed her. After further expenses in presents, the Queen finally signed the ola on the 9th day of July, but she insisted on putting the date as 29 June as "her priest said

115. Ibid. }

116. Ibid. }

117. Ibid. }

118. Ibid. /

it was a fortunate day".¹¹⁹ It was only on 27 July that the Company got possession of Anjengo and hoisted the King's flag.¹²⁰ Thus Brabourne managed at last to obtain the historical grant from the Queen of Attingal.¹²¹

Brabourne had achieved his objective of finding a place to fortify in the Attingal country where they could rule themselves without any impediments on the condition that they were obedient to the Queen. He had also obtained the monopoly of the pepper trade. However to conclude the agreement Brabourne incurred such a heavy expenditure¹²² that he was later criticised for it by the higher authority.¹²³ The Queen on her part managed to obtain considerable financial advantage in return for the trade and territorial concession. On the whole the wordings of the grant proves beyond doubt

119. Ibid. ?

120. Ibid., p.10.

121. See appendix.I. This grant is not referred to in any book. It is surprising that even English factory records of later period, does not mention about it, thinking it was lost. Anjengo Diaries 1808, A.W. Handley, Resident Anjengo to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, 10 May 1808 pp.304-309. The grant is located by the present researcher in India Office Library Records, London, as well as National Archives, Delhi, in micro-films.

122. Bombay letters received 1694, n.91. p.10.

123. For details see Chapter-III.

the authority of the Queen in her dealings with the English East India Company. Actually the grant was a favour done to the English due to their obedience to the Queen, as pointed out in the grant itself.

However, the Court of Directors were not pleased with this grant,¹²⁴ as it had a number of drawbacks. It was true that they were conferred upon with the monopoly of pepper trade, yet they had to pay the Queen custom duties for every candy of pepper purchased from her country, apart from the original value of pepper. Besides the custom duties, they had to pay 2½ per cent custom on any goods embarked or disembarked from her port.¹²⁵ Over and above all this once every year before they weigh pepper they had to pay 75 Chequens to the Queen and for service rendered while weighing, they had to pay money to the natives. Before weighing the pepper they had to officially visit the Queen with presents.¹²⁶ These clauses of the grant made pepper trade at Anjengo very expensive to the English. It made them realise that all Malabarries were not cowards as they believed them to be.¹²⁷

124. John Bruce, n.34, p.205.

125. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2, p.12.

126. Ibid. 7

127. Ibid., p.4.

As mentioned earlier, the grant for the fortification of Anjengo was accorded on 9 July 1694. However, many earlier authors had not subscribed to this date of origin of the factory and fort at Anjengo. According to Walter Hamilton¹²⁸ the year was 1684 when the East India Company received permission from the Queen of Attingal to fortify Anjengo.¹²⁸ Samuel Mateer gave the year as 1684 when the English received permission to settle at Anjengo.¹²⁹ George Smith stated that at Anjengo the East India Company had a factory from 1684.¹³⁰ William Logan the author of the official Malabar Manual was of the opinion that it was in the year 1684 that the English obtained from the Attingal Rani a sandy spit of land at Anjengo.¹³¹ Nagam Aiya, the author of Travancore State Manual, maintained that the grant was made in the year 1684.¹³² In the Macleans Manual of administration of the Madras Presidency it is stated "the English first settled in Travancore in 1684 at Anjengo."¹³³ The Glossary of the Madras Presidency stated that in 1684 the English Company

128. Walter Hamilton, The East India Gazetteer (London, 1828) I p.54.

129. Samuel Mateer, Land of Charity (London, 1871) p.11.

130. George Smith, The Student Geography of India (London, 1882) p.393.

131. William Logan, Malabar (Trivandrum, 1887, 1981) I p.389.

132. Nagam Aiya, Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) II, p.578.

133. Maclean's Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1938), p.35.

obtained permission from the Rani of Attingal to occupy the site for the purpose of trade.¹³⁴ Velu Pillai, the author of the Travancore State Manual stated "in the year 1684, the Rani of Attingal gave permission to the Company to build a fort at Anjengo."¹³⁵ According to Sreedhara Menon, it was "in the year 1690 they obtained permission to build a fort at Anjengo"¹³⁶. On the other hand Ibrahim Kunju in his article "Umayamma Rani" wrote that "Anjengo factory records are destroyed by fire and that the English factory records so far published do not give any clue to the establishment of Anjengo factory."¹³⁷ All the above authors except Sreedhara Menon and Ibrahim Kunju had specified the year 1684 as the date of origin of the factory at Anjengo. Nevertheless in the light of the documentary evidence collected it is quite obvious that Anjengo factory did not come into existence before 1694. It is baffling as to how such a serious error cropped up in regard to the year of the grant. In fact, the place Anjengo had never figured in the English Company's correspondence before the year 1694. It is true that at Retorah and Brinjohn factories were constructed. But nowhere

134. Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Ed., C.D. Maclean (Delhi, 1893, 1982) p.33.

135. T.K. Velu Pillai, Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1948) IV, p.620.

136. Sreedhara Menon, n.32, pp.298-299.

137. Ibrahim Kunju, "Umayamma Rani", Journal of Kerala Studies-II, March 1975, Trivandrum, p.23.

do we find the Queen giving permission to fortify Anjengo in the year 1684. The very idea of giving permission to the English to fortify at a place called Anjengo occurred only when John Brabourne visited her in the year 1693.

Thus the historical grant of 1694 was instrumental in bringing out Anjengo, an obscure corner of the Attingal kingdom to the limelight of Malabar History. Anjengo lies in (Lat 8. 37' N Log 76 53 E)¹³⁸ and was situated on a point of land at the mouth of a small river, it is rounded on the North and South by Travancore State, East by Anjengo back-water and West by the Arabian Sea.¹³⁹ The original Malayalam name of the place is Anju-Tengu, which means "five coconut trees". According to Jacob Canter Visscher "Anjengoo, Anjintenga is corruption of two tamil words Anju Taynkul or five coconut trees".¹⁴⁰ It is also claimed that when the place was first occupied by the English there stood five coconut trees on that spot.¹⁴¹ But it is difficult to believe such a claim, as Anjengo being a coastal country was always full of coconut trees and not just five¹⁴² and it is highly

138. Walter Hamilton, n.128, p.54.

139. Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, n.133, p.33.

140. Jacob Canter Visscher, Letters from Malabar (Madras, 1862) p.31.

141. Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala (Ernakulam, 1924) I, p.350.

142. See illustration No.1.

doubtful whether five coconut trees standing together would excite so much curiosity to name the entire country after them. Therefore the origin of the name Anju Tengu is a matter of speculation.

However among the natives of Anjengo there are many beliefs about the origin of the name. According to one version Anju Tengu is derived from the word of Anju-Tangi or 'five porters rest'. It was believed that 'the five porters rest' were constructed on the sea shore in front of the fort to enable the coolies to rest their headload on them while carrying the loads to and from the fort.¹⁴³ The sea in those days was quite far from the fort, so the porters needed to rest their wares while carting them from the fort to the beach where the commodity was transferred to small boats which carried them to the ship.¹⁴⁴ Thus from Anju-Tangi the word Anju-tengu was believed to be derived. However the remnants of the porters rest are not to be seen at present.

A second version was that the toddy-tappers of this place were given the privilege of free tapping from five

143. Interview with Advocate Pereira, in-charge of the dilapidated fort of Anjengo.

144. Ibid. —

trees in each house¹⁴⁵ to cater to the need of foreigners who came in ships which always anchored at Anjengo for brief spells for provisions, water etc.¹⁴⁶ As five coconut trees were allowed for free tapping, this region came to be called Anju-tengu. It is quite probable that this version may be the correct one, but in the absence of any written records it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion about the origin of the name.

Anjengo seems to have been the pleasantest of all the settlements of the English in Malabar. It was situated on the bank of a river which flows rapidly between the wooden banks forming islets. This district was also famous for its fertility and beauty.¹⁴⁷ "The entire country was so thickly wooded, that a horse man can hardly pass through them".¹⁴⁸ James Forbes who visited the place had written in glowing

145. Interview with Pereira, Anjengo.

146. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (London, 1813, 1834) I p.216.

147. E.H. Nolan, The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East from the Earliest Times to the Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1859 (London, N.D) 2 Vols. p.159. "The river formed picturesque islets which were crowned with the luxuriant verdure of a land of perpetual summer. The pretty town was surrounded with gardens glowing with bright attire of tropical floral beauty.

148. Anjengo Factory Records, n.2, p.4.

terms about the beauty of this settlement.¹⁴⁹ In spite of the breathtaking beauty of Anjengo, it possessed a number of defects. There was "no drinking water within a league of Anjengo,"¹⁵⁰ the water there being brackish and unwholesome. Therefore the women had to go daily to the red cliffs of Boccoli to bring the water which they sell at Anjengo.¹⁵¹ Besides this, the anchorage of Anjengo under 10 fathoms was a foul rocky ground but outside that depth the bottom was sandy and full of shells. The river was also choked up with sand during the greatest part of the year, therefore the ships could not anchor and there was "great surf on the

149. James Forbes, n.146, p.218. While taking a trip through the river he wrote "We glide through the narrow devious channels between steep craggy rocks with woody summets, where the branches uniting over the stream from a verdant canopy, impervious to the tropical sun from these dark recesses, We suddenly emerge into an extensive lake pure as the expanse of heaven again we enter a romantic scence of rocks and woods or pursue the serpentine course of a broad gentle river fringed by odoriferous plants encircling many verdant islands. Some inhabited others woody and wild".

150. Alexander Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies (London, 1728, 1930) 2 Vols., p.332. Alexander Hamilton was a traveller who visited Anjengo in the year 1721. But by the year 1808, according to the Resident of Anjengo the settlement had good drinking water. "The water is on the contrary of a very good quality and so great plenty, every fleet I have loaded since I was Resident has regularly filled up their water here as well as the ship of war which we have conveyed them, the whole of the inhabitants drink no other water than what they draw from the two wells close to the fort" - Anjengo Diary - 1808, Handley, Resident Anjengo to Francis Warden, Bombay 10 May 1808, p.304.

151. Ibid.,

shore".¹⁵² These drawbacks were however less in magnitude when compared to the havoc the monsoon created in Anjengo. It commenced with great severity and continued for six months from the month of May to October.¹⁵³ In fact, Anjengo, however pleasant it might have been, was but an isolated corner of the Attingal kingdom possessing only a single outlet to the mainland. From the foregoing it could be ascertained that Brabourn⁴ while concluding the treaty with the Queen had not taken into consideration in detail all the pros and cons of the establishment of a factory and fort at Anjengo. It seems that he had clung to the first opportunity that presented itself to obtain a settlement. All these natural drawbacks added to the disadvantages pointed out earlier in the trade and territorial clause of the treaty.

Yet Anjengo had some advantages to its credit. Isolated and being surrounded by sea and back water on three sides, the protection of Anjengo in case of aggression was not a

152. Ibid.⁷.

153. James Forbes, n.146. pp.215-216. He stated that during the violent monsoon, the tempestuous ocean roll from a black horizon a series of floating mountains heaving under hoary summits until they approach the shores, when their stupendous accumulations flow in successive surges and break upon the beach, every ninth wave is observed to be generally more tremendous than the rest and threatens to overwhelm the settlement. The noise of these bellows equal that of the loudest cannon and with the thunder and lightning, so frequent in the rainy season is truly awful. In that gloomy season no vessels approach the inhospitable shore. In the fair months their boats cannot attempt passing through the surf but wait at a distance for the coming off the light canoes called Toneyes to bring in shore the goods and passengers who never landed without trouble and are often exposed to danger".

difficult task, because only the outlet to the main land need to be protected. The fortified Anjengo could naturally offer the best security to carry on the pepper trade unhamp-ered. Over and above the security that this place offered, the most important advantage that accrued from this place was that Anjengo backwater held water communication by the Vamanapura river with the Peritalli kingdom, the largest producer of pepper in South Kerala which produced about 1500 candy of pepper each year.¹⁵⁴ Besides all this, there was a short cut route to the Nayaks of Madura country which produc-ed plenty of cloth.¹⁵⁵ It was also a vantage post from where sea traffic could be regulated. According to John Le Courtier, this place also affords splendid opportunity for watching the motions of the enemy who are at Ceylon.¹⁵⁶ How-ever when the English valued the pros and cons of the settlement, they somehow were determined to go ahead with their plans of fortification, in spite of the fact that the overall disadvantages, outweighed the advantages. Although the contract was not well accepted by the Home government,

154. Anjengo factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2., p.7.

155. Ibid., 7.

156. John Le Courtier, Letter chiefly from India containing an account of the military transactions of the coast of Malabar during the late war together with a short description of the religion, manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Hindustan (London, 1790) p.104.

yet in the prevailing circumstances this was the best that could be obtained from the Queen.

Immediately after obtaining the grant, the English constructed a factory at Anjengo along with a warehouse and godowns made of cadjan leaf.¹⁵⁷ The Dutch at Cochin, alarmed by the progress made by the English, once again tried to expel them from Anjengo. In the year 1695, they brought about 1800 or 2000 soldiers to Quilon from where they sent ambassadors to the Queen and demanded the expulsion of the English.¹⁵⁸ On knowing this, Brabourne sent a letter to the Dutch at Cochin stating that all these years when the Dutch contracted with the prince of Malabar, the English had not obstructed them and that now they had obtained exclusive contract with Her Highness for all the pepper produced in the country,¹⁵⁹ and the proprietary of trading in the commodity was wholly transferred to the English. Under such circumstances it was wrong of the Dutch to obstruct their trade, as the Dutch had no right to trade in these parts. The Dutch were also asked to refrain from troubling the Queen of Attingal unnecessarily.¹⁶⁰

157. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, November 1697, p.23.

158. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.2. p.7.

159. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to the Dutch, Retorah, 30 January, 1695, p.14.

160. Ibid., }

To the above letter the Dutch replied that although the English had contracted with the Queen for exclusive pepper trade, they cannot pretend ignorance to the fact that by the conquest of this coast, they too had the same right and prerogative in commerce.¹⁶¹ They contended that they had also obtained firm and authentic contracts with the Queen.¹⁶² When the English asked them to reproduce the contract, they were unable to do so. The Dutch however assured that "neither is it our resolution or interests to prevail with the Queen of Attinga to turn the English out of the country."¹⁶³ They also denied of having any inclination to attack the English as they respected the treaty concluded at London in 1679 between the King of England, Scotland, France, Ireland and Neatherlands.¹⁶⁴ On the whole, the peace that prevailed in Europe between the English and the Dutch prevented the Dutch from taking to arms against the English or sabotaging their settlement.

One of the most important features of the English East India Company in their trade in India was their power of

161. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Dutch, Quilon to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 12 February 1695, p.15.

162. Ibid. }

163. Ibid.

164. Ibid. :

endurance to survive against all sorts of odds. Neither the Dutch protest nor the wavering attitude of the Rani deterred them from their preconceived target of establishing factories in the Malabar for pepper trade. The securing of the Anjengo grant can be attributed on the one hand to the local political and economic conditions and the financial necessities and shortcomings of the Queen of Attingal and on the other to the persistent overtures of the Company to establish a settlement in the Malabar.

The establishment of the factory indicates the importance and the development of trade in the area. In the early days the factories were only compact little nest of buildings made of cadjan leaves consisting of warehouses, godowns and lodging for their chief.¹⁶⁵ The initial rationale behind the buildings of factories was only to purchase and store the commodities till the arrival of ship.¹⁶⁶ But in due course when the factory enlarged the scale of operation they incurred heavy expenditure and also became susceptible to external aggression. Therefore the necessity of a fort became the order of the day. Thus fort evolved out of a factory. The development from factory to fort was not only an economic necessity, but it also laid the foundation for

165. P.E. Robert, History of British India (London, 1938) p.75.

166. Ian Bruce Watson, Foundation for Empire English Private Trade in India - 1659-1760 (Delhi, 1980) p.15.

the English military and political history in the Malabar as elsewhere in India. In the case of the English at Anjengo, the need to establish a fort to protect their trade was conceived as a defensive measure in the early period of their history. However in the course of time, the settlement enlarged its scope through its influence and role in the political and military vicissitudes of the Malabar region.

CHAPTER - III

THE FORTIFICATION PHASE AND AFTER

In the early days of the European trade with India, fortification of their settlements had become a necessity due to the various conflicting trade interests that converted all commercial activity into aggressive ventures. K.N. Chaudhuri had rightly pointed out that force was an implicit part of the European trade with Asia, the reason being that profits from armed trading were higher than in the case of peaceful commerce.¹ The very fact of fortified settlements which was an overwhelming economic need at the initial stages implied also a new sphere of power and influence in and around the area where the forts were situated. This was nothing but the logical outcome of the short-sighted and not well calculated policies of the local rulers in their dealings with the Europeans. In Attingal the Queen gave permission to the English to fortify at Anjengo due mainly to the economic advantages that she could derive from the English. She never gave thought to the possibility that a fortified settlement, even though located in a remote and isolated

1. K.N. Chaudhuri, The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company - 1660-1760 (Cambridge, 1978) pp.113-114.

corner, could possess a certain dynamism and could create in all probability an alternative source of authority within her territorial limits itself in the course of time.

As soon as the historical grant was received, steps were taken to commence the work of fortification at Anjengo. Since the laws of the country prohibited all persons from building with stone or brick except the royal family,² the Company found it tough to obtain artifices.³ This in spite of the fact that the Queen in her grant had granted them the right to use the stones for fortification. Therefore Brabourne, the Chief of the settlement, asked Bombay castle to send them masons, stone-cutters or some workmen who were well versed in fortification.⁴ For the construction, stones were to be obtained at a reasonable price, even though it had to be brought by a river from a hill about four or five miles off.⁵ It was difficult to get Chunam though it was available in plentiful at Quilon and Tuticorin due to the

2. Bombay letters received - 1694, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 29 July 1694, p.11.

3. Ibid., ?

4. Bombay letters received - 1694, n.2. p.11.

5. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Court of Directors, June 1704, p.8.

Dutch influence there.⁶ Besides, Cape Comorin where chunam was also available was 75 to 80 miles away.⁷ Therefore Brabourne asked Bombay government to lade chunam in ship and send it. They even asked for "two timber munchuas, some paterros or Rentackers".⁸

As per the plans of Brabourne, the fort was intended to cover a space of ninety yards square on which 60 to 70 guns were to be mounted.⁹ By the month of November 1694, they temporarily fortified with pallisades and earth.¹⁰ According to the estimate of the gunner of the fort, the cost of fortification would be around 7000 pounds.¹¹ By December 1695, The Company managed to procure 70000 stones,

6. Bombay letters received - 1694, n.2, p.11.

7. Anjengo Factory Records, n.5, p.8.

8. Bombay letters received - 1694, n.2, p.11.

9. Bombay letters received - 1695, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay castle, 19 June 1695, p.59, see also John Bruce, Annals of the Honorable East India Company (London, 1810) III p.195.

10. Bombay letters received - 1694, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, 24 November, 1694, p.82.

11. Bombay letters received - 1695, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay castle, 20 March 1695, p.26.

but chunam was still scarce.¹² More than 100 coolies were employed daily in digging the foundation and levelling the ground.¹³ Judging the foundation, it was found necessary to sink it deeper as the ground in some places was much lower than in other places, and for this cut stones were required.¹⁴ Stone cutters, bricklayers, carpenters and smiths were sent overland from Madras.¹⁵ Coolies, labourers, topasses, soldiers and slaves came from Bombay.¹⁶ In the beginning the first batch of twenty one professional workers were sent on the ship Josia Ketch with a promise to send more workers.¹⁷ As the present garrison consisted of 34

12. Bombay letters received - 1695, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay castle, 14 December, 1695, pp.13-14.

13. Bombay letters received - 1696, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay castle, 11 March 1696, p.85.

14. Ibid., 13 December 1696, p.34.

15. Fort St. George Records - 1697, Fort St. George, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 21 May 1696, p.102.

16. Secretariat outward - 1697, Bombay castle, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 9 April 1697, p.48.

17. Fort St. George Records - 1696, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 13 August 1696, p. 113.

The list of the first batch of workmen sent from Madras were:

Bricklayers: Mootepa, Sidoo Venconquellem, Nella, Narrain, Murregan, Nellaina, Terumlop, Pormanee, Najncapa, Andeapoo, Sheva Shungunny, Milapore, Arralapa.

Carpenters: Chingee Ninapa, Tenapa, Grupa.

Smiths: Vincatapulie, Peramunde, Vencatctana.

Stone-cutters: Braminde, Vencatapula.

Europeans and 75 topasses,¹⁸ which was not enough to defend the place, Madras government promised to send more soldiers with money for initial expenses.¹⁹

A sum of Rs.21,820 besides 250 dollars were sent from Madras towards fortification expenses.²⁰ Though workmen were sent from Madras and Bombay, the Chief of Anjengo also tried his best to procure as many coolies as possible from the locality itself. But the attempt proved not very successful, as the locals did not approve of being trained in skilled workmanship by the masons and stone cutters from Madras. In fact the Company found them to be "very untractable, obstinate, and lazy for they think beneath them to be taught by the Madrasmen and will not come to work before 10 or 11 O' clock and if scolded they immediately repair to their house and leave".²¹ The work of the fort progressed very slowly and continued by fits and starts for five years. At every stage they had to face several obstacles especially lack of finance and disapproval of the Court of Directors.

18. Bombay letters received 1694, n.2, p.11.

19. Fort St. George Records - 1696, n.17, p.113.

20. Fort St. George Records - 1696, Fort St. George, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 17 October 1696, p.136.

21. Bombay letters received - 1696, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay Castle, 27 August 1696, p. 166.

Even before the construction of the fortifications had begun, the Court of Directors sent instructions to John Brabourne asking him to buy as much quantity of pepper as possible since there was a heavy demand for the commodity in the West and its price had shot up. The rate of pepper in England was 10.1.6 per pound.²² However owing to financial and other difficulties, Brabourne could not meet the demands of the home government. In January 1696 he represented to the Company his inability to fulfil the contract with the Queen of Attingal on account of the absence of a stone fort.²³ In the absence of strong fortifications, it was difficult to buy and store large quantities of pepper in the warehouse inside the fort. There was also the risk of pepper being robbed from the insecure warehouse thatched with palm leaves. This being the situation, the contract with the Queen was not honoured. The Queen in dire need of money sold off the pepper to the Danes.²⁴ Brabourne was convinced that if the English had a strong fort at Anjengo, the Queen would not

22. Fort St. George Records - 1696, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 26 December 1696, p. 147.

23. Fort St. George Records - 1696, Nathaniel Higgins, Fort St. George, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 17 October 1696 p. 136.

24. Public Despatches to England - 1696, Fort St. George to England, 31 January 1696, p. 48.

have dared to sell the pepper to the Danes or any other power in violation of her original contract with the English Construction of fortifications at Anjengo thus became an imperative need.

The foundation stone of the fort was laid in the month of October 1696.²⁵ Barely two months of work had been done when the home government made its displeasure clear on the terms of the contract.²⁶ Since they did not specify as to which clause was unacceptable to them, Brabourne was in a dilemma whether to continue the work or not.²⁷ In London the consideration of the settlement was placed before the Parliament but they could not arrive at any conclusion as they were distracted by other emergencies like the sudden discovery of a plot against His Majesty's life in England and also by the vigorous persecution of wars at home.²⁸ The attention of the Directors was diverted and therefore the confirmation of the settlement could be had only in the

25. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.5, p.8.

26. Ibid. |

27. Ibid. |

28. Lord Acton, The Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge, 1906) III, p.555. James the King of England had ordered the banishment of the priests which resulted in a Catholic conspiracy known as the gun powder plot, for the destruction of the King, Lords and Commons by means of an explosion of materials to be placed under the House of Lords.

succeeding session.²⁹ Thus a number of construction holiday were enjoyed by the workers while working on the jinxed fort. The Madras government, however, often obliged Brabourne with money and workers. But for this they were rebuked by the Home government who wrote "you sent them stores, workmen and about 5000 pagodas in money and again 4153 pagodas besides soldiers but not one word what pepper is procured".³⁰

The Court of Directors were more interested in pepper than anything else and in the light of the scarcity of the produce, they were not enthusiastic. Apart from this, the expenses of the fort were increasing by leaps and bounds. It was difficult for the auditors because juggling the balance sheets to keep the costs of fortification within limits acceptable to the Company whose survival was dependent on the pepper and cloth trade was a herculean task. The Court of Directors accused Brabourne of "lavishing away our estates in stone walls and fortifications without any benefit".³¹ An order was passed stopping any more money to be sent to Anjengo for fortification. However by February 1697, they hoped to build the walls to 9 or 10 feet above

29. Fort St. George Records - 1696, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 26 December 1696, p. 113.

30. Despatches from England - 1696, Court of Directors to President and Council, Fort St. George, 16 January 1696, p. 38.

31. Despatches from England - 1697, Court of Directors, London to President and Council, Fort St. George, 26 January 1697, p.36.

the ground by the middle of May.³² Brabourne appealed to Bombay government to spare him Engineer Mons Van Duran who was on board Chamber Frigate, who had good knowledge of fortification, besides servants both factors and writers.³³ By March 1697, the walls of the fort and three bastions were raised to eight feet above the ground.³⁴ But any further endeavour to continue with construction was affected due to the lack of coolies because of small-pox which caused large number of casualties among the labourers.³⁵

Brabourne again appealed to the Madras government to send one hundred coolies. He informed the Madras government that if they were unable to send them "our masters and superiors must have patience till we complete our fortification".³⁶ The Bombay government did not care whether the fort was completed or not as long as they got pepper to be sent to England.

32. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 4 February, 1697, p. 37.

33. Ibid. ?

34. Fort St. George Records - 1697, Fort St. George, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 18 March 1697, p. 53.

35. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 13 April 1697, p. 54. Small-pox was dreaded by the natives more then plague.

36. Ibid. ?

Thus even after the Queen had given Brabourne the permission to construct the fort he had no immediate means to complete the fortifications. He was constantly dependent on either the Bombay or the Madras government for financial aid and the procurement of skilled workers and coolies which naturally delayed the construction work. The cost of the construction work had shot up to 10,000 pounds which exceeded the previous calculation of 3000 pounds.³⁷ While Brabourne tried to convince the Bombay government that he could not complete the work at a cheaper rate, he had to contend with fresh hurdles from the indigenous powers.³⁸ Though the construction of the fort progressed slowly, yet the poolas were becoming increasingly uneasy as the work advanced. They constantly visited the fort sites and ship and tried to obstruct the work. Brabourne was obliged to spend more money on them to keep them at bay and in good humour.³⁹

37. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 21 August 1697, p. 37.

38. Ibid., Brabourne wrote "if we were to reckon all the extraordinary charges we are forced to be at in giving more than double pay to the Madras workmen who otherwise would not leave their own country, in procuring chunam and jaggery from distant places, and in paying coolies who work and play as they please, in bearing with the knavery of the poolas of whom it was necessary to buy our stones, it cannot be thought strange that the expenses amounts to more than we first judged".

39. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 4 February, 1697, p. 38.

To make matters worse misunderstandings on money matters had developed between the Company and its broker Verdamon. It was the habit of the Company to pay custom duties etc. to the Queen through Verdamon though such an indirect payment was not stipulated in the grant. According to the Company's version Verdamon used to borrow money from the Company which he never returned.⁴⁰ Verdamon was accused of swindling the Company's money and not making the payments due to the Queen, though he had received money for it from the Company. Finally the Company decided to stop giving money to Verdamon, which according to the Company's version infuriated him, who "like a man suddenly awakened began to use his utmost endeavours to sett the Queen against us, complaining that having spent his own money in the Right Honourable Company service, we refuse to allow his account by which means he was unable to pay his debt to the Queen."⁴¹ Verdamon had convinced the Queen that the English were pirates. He accused the English of having plundered the Portuguese and Chinese ships etc.⁴² He further apprised the

40. Ibid., 21 August 1697, p. 39.

41. Bombay Letters Received - 1697, n. 37, p. 41.

42. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 4 June 1697, p. 57.

Queen that the English were "exceedingly wicked people who plundered our own servants".⁴³ Brabourne himself was portrayed by Verdamon as a pirate whom he blamed for having instigated the burning and plundering of his ship in the Red sea.⁴⁴ This was the reason that he gave for his inability to repay the Queen's debt, convincing her at the same time that he had given huge amounts as presents to the English.⁴⁵

It may be stated that the Queen's suspicion about the English being pirates was not entirely baseless as from the first days of European enterprise in the East, the coasts of India used to swarm with them. There was no peace on the ocean. The sea had been a vast no-man's land where every man who was strong enough could take his prey. As early as 1692 authority was given to the Company's Commanders to seize pirates but this measure was of no effect as the pirates were sea-men who knew the sea well and who outsailed and outsmarted and at times even fought with the Company's ships.⁴⁶ The

43. Bombay Letters Received - 1697, n. 37, p. 41.

44. Ibid., ?

45. Fort St. George Records - 1697, n. 42, p. 57.

46. John Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago (London, 1907) p. 15.

piratical activities of Captain Kidd who was sent to erase European piracy from the surface of the ocean increased the suspicion of the Queen of Attingal.⁴⁷ The Queen and the natives viewed the English activity with distaste. They suspected the real character of the entire English population at Anjengo.⁴⁸ An undercurrent of hostility developed towards the English.

Moreover, the Queen began to fear that once the fort was completed, the Company might take measures to recover the money they had given to the poolas and refrain from paying customs to her.⁴⁹ She realised that she would then not be in a position to extract money from the English. Whatever may be the truth or untruth of Verdamon's accusations against the English, the Queen realised though belatedly the threat to her authority in the Attingal country posed by the English fortification. Verdamon served only to ignite the Queen's suspicions which hastened her thoughts and actions against the English. Therefore she made a resolution to bring the fortification to a halt. She requested Brabourne to come to Retorah to adjust some accounts on customs.⁵⁰ But Brabourne suspecting foul play excused himself from going on

47. Ibid., p. 48.

48. Ibid., 7.

49. Bombay letters received - 1697, n. 37, p. 41.

50. Bombay letters received - 1697, n. 37, p. 42.

grounds of ill-health.⁵¹ Then the Queen pressed for the payment of customs on pepper. She refused to heed to the Company's version that they had already advanced the money through Verdamon. The Queen further retorted that "Verdamon had not accounted with her for it, and that she expected her money of the Commodore and if there was any account between the Company and Verdamon, they did not concern her."⁵² She once again expressed her desire to meet Brabourne at Retorah, this time to answer the complaints of Verdamon who according to her was unjustly used by the Company and was unable to pay his debt to her.⁵³ Brabourne however refused again to meet the Queen on the basis of the information that the Queen was resolved to come to Cherringhee a town nearby and use her force and endeavour to destroy the half finished fort.⁵⁴ This prompted Brabourne to hasten the fortification. But as coolies were not readily available, officers and soldiers were asked to work on the fort. Guns were mounted on the newly built walls of the unfinished fort to scare away the natives.⁵⁵

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n. 5, p.8.

Very soon the Queen sent a message to the fort that she was going to Cherringhee, a town about a mile and half from Anjengo, that she wished to meet Brabourne personally to express her affection and that she did not give any credit to the stories of them being pirates.⁵⁶ Her overt act of friendliness only increased the suspicion of the Company servants of the Queen's designs. They imagined that these extraordinary signs of love tended only to ensnare the Commodore. Nevertheless, in order that the Queen might not have any cause to think they disrespected her,⁵⁷ a messenger was sent with an ola "written in very humble and respectful language that if the Commodore were in health, he would wait on Her Highness at Cherringhee otherwise he would send somebody else in his place."⁵⁸

The Queen coming to know that Brabourne was simply evading her by false excuses went back to Cherringhee with the poolas and called on the heads of the Nairs and declared her intentions to them to drive the English out of Anjengo.⁵⁹

56. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 24 September 1697, p. 171.

57. Bombay letters received - 1697, n. 37, p. 43.

58. Ibid.,

59. Ibid., p. 44.

The Nairs who had always been against the construction of the English forts near their abodes, and the Queen realising the impossibility of undoing the English who had mounted guns on the fort decided to starve out the English off the fort.⁶⁰ Accordingly orders were published "that no goods or provision of any sort should be sold to the English, that who ever was known to have any communication with them should be slain and who ever killed any of the English people or set fire to their houses would be rewarded by the Queen."⁶¹ Moreover the Queen sent a warning to them "to be gone with all speed out of this fort"⁶² for she resolved that "no thieves dwell in her country".⁶³

The English were undeterred by her threats. The Company servants who went out to fetch provision were beaten up and nobody dared to bring the provision to the fort.⁶⁴ However they had no intention of leaving the country. On

60. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.5, p.8.

61. Bombay Letters received - 1697, n. 37, p.44.

62. Ibid.

63. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 24 September 1697, p.171.

64. Bombay letters received - 1697, n.37, p.44.

knowing this, the Queen began to harass them. She knew they would not be able to survive for long without provision. During that time of the year it was not possible for any vessel to approach the coast with relief. The natives were also encouraged to rob the English factories under the order of the Queen.⁶⁵

As the Queen was thus poised to oust the English from her territory, the poolas had embarked upon a power struggle as they expected the Queen not to survive for long due to her old age. As she had no legitimate heiress,⁶⁶ this struggle became acute. The English were quite aware of this. The 'great' poola Vanjamutta and Cuddamon poola were the main competitors for power in the Attingal country. Cuddamon poola the weaker of them sided with the Queen against the English,⁶⁷ perhaps with the ulterior intention of getting the upper hand in the Attingal kingdom in the event of the Queen's demise. On the contrary Vanjamutta "holding correspondence with those of Travancore that have thrown off their obedience to the Queen"⁶⁸ was bent upon foiling Cuddamon's design.

65. Fort St. George Records - 1697, n. 63, p.172.

66. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 August, 1697, p.8.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

This being the situation the Queen tried to starve the English in the fort "forbidding all manner of goods to be brought to the fort".⁶⁹ But the great poola Vanjamutta did not side with the Queen and it is stated that he even surreptitiously took two or three boat loads of provision to the fort. When the Queen came to know of this, she ordered some of her soldiers to kill the merchants for violating her standing orders and taking provisions to the English.⁷⁰ The soldiers looted their houses and abused their women. Vanjamutta in his turn plundered the Queen's people.⁷¹ The Queen entered into an alliance with the Queen of Kalliquilone and the Prince of Chenganata to ward off the threat posed by Vanjamutta and his allies, the Madambees of Travancore.⁷² She even contacted the Dutch.⁷³

The English benefited from the misunderstanding between the Queen and Vanjamutta. That Vanjamutta needed assistance of the English in his designs against the Queen was proved

69. Ibid. }

70. Fort St. George Records - 1697, n.63, p. 172.

71. Ibid. }

72. Bombay letters received - 1697, n.66, p.9.

73. Ibid. }

by his willingness to supply the English with provisions. The English could not have wished for anything better. At this juncture the English needed the support of Vanjamutta more than the latter's need of them. Though it is not clear from the existing records that the English actually exploited the misunderstandings between the Queen and Vanjamutta to their favour, yet they did not let go the opportunity provided by Vanjamutta to defy the Queen's authority. Vanjamutta was after all being used by the English in their designs to fortify Anjengo and prolong their stay in the Attingal country, though the latter as the records prove seem to be quite ignorant of all these implications. Certainly, if Vanjamutta too had sided with the Queen, the English would have been put into a very precarious situation.

Realising that an attack on the fort was imminent, the English asked the Madras and Bombay governments to supply them with soldiers, guns, ammunitions, provisions and stores. The Bombay government was unable to send them relief quickly; nevertheless they managed to send them topasses and slaves and whatever ammunitions they could obtain at Anjengo.⁷⁴ The Queen watched the arrival of slaves and

74. Letters from Fort St. George - 1697, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 15 November 1697, p.21.

soldiers in ships to Anjengo. She was incensed at her own poola for aborting her measures to drive the English out of the country. She was conscious that in front of the superior military power of the Company she was helpless. Therefore she decided to obtain help from the Dutch. She sent for the Dutch linguist and sought their help in case of war with the English. They, however, refused to intervene.⁷⁵ Undeterred by their refusal, the Queen decided to act on her own. In the month of October she sent about "three or four thousand men to assault the English".⁷⁶

The English had prior intelligence about this intended assault. From the rampart of the fort it was difficult to have a clear view of the countryside as the trees obstructed their vision. They therefore started clearing the ground in front of the fort which was densely wooded.⁷⁷ But the Dutch had a cottage near the fort of Anjengo, within three hundred yards of it, which was occupied by a black man who was a

75. Fort St. George Records - 1697, n. 63, p. 172.

76. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n. 5, p.8.

77. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to Commodore Neatherland East India Company, Quilon, 22 October 1697, p.17.

servant of the Dutch. When the English were clearing the trees in front of their fort, the black servant claimed that "thirty palmera"⁷⁸ trees near the house belonged to the Dutch, so they should not be cut. The English agreed to this demand even though the trees blinded the fort.⁷⁹

The country people of all castes except Vanjamutta "assembled themselves together and came with the intention to take the fort of which they were so assured, that they agreed amongst themselves about the division of our guns, arms and money".⁸⁰ They hid themselves under the walls of some houses and fired at the fort. The Company soldiers were shocked at the audacity of the natives. In a letter to Fort St. George they stated that the Nairs were so "bold to come within two bow shots of the fort".⁸¹ The natives then threatened to seize and burn the Company's warehouse which contained four to five hundred candles of pepper.⁸²

78. Ibid., The Dutch referred to this cottage as their factory.

79. Ibid.

80. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 December 1697, p.67.

81. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Nathaniel Higgins, Fort St. George, 14 November 1697, p. 173.

82. Ibid.

The English acted quickly. They sent Ensign Lindsay, an officer with thirty six of their best soldiers, who assaulted the insurgents with "musquett shotts and Granadoees so furiously that on the first shot they killed their Chief Nair Captain".⁸³ They drove them "till they came to the further part of the Moors town and sett the whole town in a flame".⁸⁴ The natives were so frightened that they "thronged over the bridge which broke under them".⁸⁵

After this the country people came on the further side of the river, but on being fired at fled and took refuge in the Dutch house.⁸⁶ In the exchange of fire five servants of the Company were severelly wounded. In retaliation the English threw hand grenades inside the Dutch house where the insurgents were hiding, by which the house was set on fire.⁸⁷ In the stampede that followed the English did not bother to extinguish the fire. The Dutch cottage was thus completely

83. Bombay letters received - 1697, n.80, p.67.

84. Ibid., p. 68.

85. Ibid. 7.

86. Fort St. George Records - 1697, n. 81, p.173.

87. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Commodore, Neatherland East India Company, 1 December 1697, p.21.

guttled to the ground.⁸⁸ The English however, retreated triumphantly "without loss of even one man".⁸⁹

This was the first open confrontation between the natives and the English in Travancore. The attack was successfully repulsed by the English. This proved the superiority of the English military over the indigenous striking power. Though the English won, this incident contributed to the acute friction between them and the Dutch.

The Dutch held the English responsible for their guttled cottage and accused the English for their inability to sniff out the fire. They wrote that the English did have time to "break open the door and plunder the goods in our house" but "had no time to quench the fire".⁹¹ To this, the English sent an apologetic letter to the Dutch Commodore at Cochin giving details of the incident which resulted in the burning of their cottage. On the 20 October "Indians came in great number against us"⁹², they took refuge in the Dutch

88. Ibid., 22 December 1697, p. 12.

89. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book - 1697, 14 November 1697, p. 134.

90. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n. 87, p. 20.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to Commodore, Neatherlands East India Company, Cochin, 22 October 1697, p.17.

house from where they "began to annoy us with shotts and arrows".⁹³ The Company sent soldiers to dislodge them and in the skirmishes the Dutch house was unfortunately "set on fire which in the fury of flights our soldiers had no time to quench".⁹⁴

On receipt of this letter the Dutch at Cochin sent a bitter protest to Brabourne stating that he was culpable of the fire, pillage, destruction, damage and dishonour done to the Dutch Company and that "you know you are to answer for all inconveniences",⁹⁵ and that the English must pay 2,290 fanams as reparation for the damage done to their building. Besides, they had to reconstruct the damaged factory and "introduce our servants publickly into the new factory by persons expressly appointed for this purpose".⁹⁶

After this incident the English became extremely apprehensive of the Dutch. They knew that they had unintentionally made an enemy of the Dutch. They had moreover to

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid., Hendrick Decroom, Commander Neatherland East India Company, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 2 December 1697, p. 19.

96. Ibid.

contend with the fury of the natives who had for the time being been defeated. They realised that they had also wounded the feelings of the Queen of Attingal by their action. It was apprehended that the Dutch and the Queen would gang up against them. But they felt that the Dutch would not dare to break the peace existing between the two nations at home. This was some consolation. Nevertheless, the half finished fort had become a headache to Brabourne. The Court of Directors refused to release any more money. At the same time they accused Brabourne for the incomplete fort.⁹⁷

However, Brabourne continued in his efforts to maintain peace with the Queen of Attingal. But all his attempts at reconciliation were frustrated. The failure of the assault convinced the Queen that it was not a joke to defeat the English. She smouldered under the insult. She went away to Quilon proclaiming that she will never return to Anjengo "till every stone in our fort be tumbled down".⁹⁸ She was furious with her poola Vanjamutta for interfering in her plans of starving the English out of their fort.⁹⁹

97. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n. 5, p.8.

98. Fort St. George Records - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Nathaniel Higgins, Fort St. George, 27 December 1697, p. 173.

99. Ibid. —

When all efforts failed,¹⁰⁰ Brabourne in desperation asked the English to seize all the boats belonging to the country merchants.¹⁰¹ He thought that under such circumstances, the country merchants who were discontented with the Queen's attitude to the Company would pressurise her to make peace with the Company. The confiscation of country boats with commodities would affect their trade adversely. The Queen would thus be under pressure to listen to the country merchants. The English thus started confiscating the boats of the merchants, whereupon the merchants made a great clamour at the palace declaring that by this unprofitable war they were utterly deprived of all their trade.¹⁰² But contrary to their expectations, instead of seeking peace she sought the help of the Dutch. She asked them to issue passes for the ships and boats.¹⁰³ However the Dutch help was not forthcoming this time too, due mainly to the peace existing between the two nations at home.

On the other hand, the great poola Vanjamutta persuaded the Queen that it would be better to make peace with the

100. Ibid.,

101. Ibid.,

102. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 December 1697, p.68.

103. Secretariat Outward letter book - 1697-1699, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, June 1698, p.92.

English so that the trade may go on rather than continuing the unprofitable war.¹⁰⁴ It was even pointed out that it was impossible to take the fort or stop provisions reaching the fort because the sea was open.¹⁰⁵ Vanjamutta regularly supplied the English with wood and provisions and even promised them that if the Queen did not make peace with them "he will cause the merchants to sell as much pepper as we want to us".¹⁰⁶ So, actually the English were not in want of anything, except the right to go up and down the country.¹⁰⁷ Meanwhile 30 soldiers with arms had already arrived at Anjengo, which alarmed the natives who thought there were many more coming.¹⁰⁸

The Queen taking stock of the situation, finally decided to make peace on the condition that she was paid amply. Perhaps the Queen required this payment as compensation for the expenses that she incurred because of the war. Anyhow she should have been under financial pressure due to the war, which would have compelled her to claim for more

104. Bombay letters received - 1697, n.102, p.69.

105. Ibid.

106. Bombay letters received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 28 January 1698, p.42.

107. Ibid.

108. Bombay letters received - 1697, n.102, p.69.

money from the English in return for peace. The Company in their turn offered 500 dollars upon condition that a durable peace might be concluded with aspects of the original grant amended in their favour.¹⁰⁹ The English decided to re-negotiate once and for all which would prevent the Queen from extracting money from them now and then on some pretext or the other.

The Queen and the Company were in the process of exchanging messengers to finalise an agreement. The English wanted the original contract to be amended as follows:

- "1. All the strands between the sea and river extending to the Southward as far as river mouth to northward as far as farthest end of the Moor town which is about a mile and $\frac{3}{4}$ should be totally under our obedience.
2. The pepper and other goods taken out of Ruttera house should be restored.
3. That the Company on those conditions should upon the arrival of the first Company's ship pay the custome of pepper or shipped on board the East India merchant the annual present due for 2 years and 5000 fanams over all which would amount to about 15000 fanams".¹¹⁰

However before a settlement could be arrived at Queen Ashure passed away at Retorah of a distemper in the

109. Bombay letters received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 29 February 1698, p.53.

110. *Ibid.*, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 31 August 1698, p.139.

month of July 1698.¹¹¹ This piece of information came as a shock to the Company and thwarted their ambition of obtaining further privileges. There was confusion and chaos in the state.¹¹² The Queen did not leave a legitimate heiress to succeed her.¹¹³ The demise of the Queen removed from the Malabar political scene a formidable opponent to the designs to the English. The Company officials awaited the installation of a new Queen. However, the dowager Rani was soon followed to the grave by the elder of the two adopted Ranis. After the death of the adopted Rani, Junior Rani was the only surviving female of the royal family. She became Attingal Moothathampuran.¹¹⁴ The English feared that even if a Queen was officially declared it was doubtful that she would command the respect of the people as she was a "foreigner with few dependents"¹¹⁵ and it was clear that the power would

111. Ibid.

112. Secretariat Outward letter Book - 1697-1699, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, July 1698, p.94.

113. Bombay letter received - 1698, n.110, p.140.

114. Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1878, 1984) I, p.106. Adoption to the throne of Attingal had already taken place in the year 1688. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, A History of Kerala (Coimbatore, 1965) p. 286. The eldest Rani was called Attingal Moothathampuran, the next as Attingal Elaya Thampuran, and the next as Attingal Moonammura.

115. Bombay letter received - 1698, n.110, p.140.



rest with the two poolas. Brabourne henceforth became very cautious in his dealings with the poolas. He decided to wait and watch the developments in the Queen's court.

The Company officials anyhow looked forward to the installation of the new Queen. At this time, when the natives were all nursing their wound, Brabourne, thinking that it would not be advisable for him to visit her court, asked Bombay Castle to send a new man to succeed him who could visit the Queen without fear.¹¹⁶ Finally by the month of November 1698, the poolas and Madambees agreed to establish a new Queen and intimated Brabourne about it.¹¹⁷ Brabourne wrote a letter to the Lords or rulers of the palace that the Company desired to have a good understanding with the government, whereupon, the poolas insisted upon sending Verdamon to negotiate with the Company to which the latter agreed. Accordingly Verdamon along with the Refadore met the Company servants to discuss the treaty of peace.¹¹⁸

Bombay Castle, meanwhile, advised Brabourne to lay hold on all opportunity to procure maximum benefit to the Company as to "secure the limits of three miles of the East

116. Bombay letter received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 17 September 1698, p.169.

117. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 3 November 1698, p.177.

118. Ibid.

side of the fort if possible".¹¹⁹ Brabourne was asked to be cautious of Verdamon and not to trust him but "to make Couche Maudom poola your friend without too much expenses and to obtain better articles of agreement".¹²⁰ He was asked to insist upon scraping the earlier clause about sharing the spoils in case of ship wreck.¹²¹ This was necessitated due to the forethought of the Company. They knew, when the fort was completed, there would be a flurry of activities on the sea and shore, and there was the likelihood of ships getting wrecked on the coast especially owing to the dangerous surf on the sea. If the original contract was adhered to, then in case of shipwreck the spoils would be divided between the Queen and the Company. In fact, the Queen would demand half the share of the wreck. This would result in heavy losses to the Company. In view of the fact that there were also some ships which came loaded with gold and silver to be distributed to all the subordinate factories for their monthl

119. Secretariat Outward letter Book - 1698, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 4 November 1698, p.184.

120. Ibid., 14 November 1698, p.207.

121. Bombay letter received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 14 November 1698, p.178.

expenses, and if such ships get wrecked and if the Queen demanded half the spoils, the Company was sure to incur enormous loss. The incoming ships laden with treasure and the outgoing ships laden with pepper and cloth were both valuable to the Company. Bombay government therefore ordered this clause to be scrapped keeping in mind all these probabilities.

Other articles of amendments were as follows:

- "1. That the Queen shall with the consent of the poolas grant the Company absolute dominion of the strand between the river and the sea as far as "our guns will reach".
2. That she shall not demand customs for any goods embarked or disembarked within the Company's jurisdiction.
3. That the Company may coin fanams or any kind of money in the fort.
4. They shall not yield protection to any debtor or servants belonging to the English but upon demand shall deliver them to the fort.
5. That the Queen shall not administer any refreshment to pirates on the coast or suffer them to trade in her country"¹²²

As there was still confusion about the installation of a new Queen, the treaty was not concluded immediately. Eventually a new Queen was installed by the poolas.¹²³ By

122. Ibid., pp. 181-182.

123. Bombay letter received - 1699, John Gayer, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 16 September 1699, p.30.

January 1700, Verdamon informed the Company that the new Queen and the great poolas were inclined towards peace.¹²⁴ But as they seemed not interested in finalising a treaty of peace, the Company did not broach the topic any further.

Fortification which was stopped half way owing to the death of the old Queen was resumed. Even the pepper trade had come to a standstill, but to appease the home government considerable pepper investments were made.¹²⁵ However, pepper trade was almost extinguished owing to the depredation of the pirates. Every letter written from Anjengo brought accounts of the pirates and the losses occasioned by them.¹²⁶ Captain Kidd was proving to be a headache for the Company. Earlier he was well treated by the Queen and the natives of Anjengo¹²⁷ which was not liked by the Company servants. For all the depredation committed

124. Bombay letter received - 1700, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 21 January 1700, p.44.

125. Fort St. George Records - 1698, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 12 August 1698, p.136.

126. For details refer to letters from Fort St. George - 1697-1698.

127. Bombay letter received - 1698, n.121, pp.181-182. It was owing to this reason that the Company decided to add the clause that "she shall not administer any refreshment to pyrates on the coast or suffer them to trade in her country".

by Captain Kidd the Company of Anjengo was asked reparation. Further in April 1698, Sedgwick coming from Anjengo reported to Madras about their plight at the hands of Kidd and also the Dutch pirate Chivers.¹²⁸ Thus, owing to the piracies on the coast the pepper trade was affected. John Brabourne was in a fix as the pepper trade was not picking up and to top it all stood the unfinished fort of Anjengo.

The work of the fort, however, commenced laboriously and by the month of September 1698, four bastions, ramparts of the courtins and a store and warehouse were completed.¹²⁹ They needed more money for removing lot of earth on the sides of the fort.¹³⁰ But orders came from Madras prohibiting to lay any more money on the fort till further orders.¹³¹ Therefore Brabourne sent back all the Madras bricklayers and stone cutters.¹³² This was the third order which was received by Brabourne since the commencement of fortification. The reason given by the Madras government for stopping the construction work was that "there was a wide difference between

128. Letter from Fort St. George Records - 1698, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 5 April 1698, p.37.

129. Secretariat Outward letter book - 1698, Bombay Castle to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 14 November 1698, p.207.

130. Bombay letter received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 17 September 1698, p.205.

131. Secretariat Outward letter book - 1698, n.129, p.207.

132. Bombay letter received - 1698, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 17 September, p.168.

what you first advised the fort would cost and now".¹³³ For further constructions, they required more money, they had to build a magazine and a "walk to the courtins for the gun to run upon which ought to be made with arched work 20 feet broad covered with earth to resist the force of bombs and dwelling house for the soldiers etc."¹³⁴

Soon the Madras government had a change of heart and sent money and soldiers to Anjengo with a request to speedily complete work on the fort. The fort was nearly completed by the beginning of 1699. It was a regular square with four bastions. The distance from one part of the bastion to another is 261 feet. Each bastion had eight guns mounted and each courtin had six or seven guns; besides these there was a line of 20 guns pointing towards the sea. In all 56 to 60 guns.¹³⁵ The foundation was laid six feet deep and twelve at bottom and seven at the top, the parapets was six feet high and six feet thick. The bottom of the foundation to the top of the bastion was 28 feet.¹³⁶

133. Secretariat Outward letter Book - 1698, n.129, p.207.

134. Anjengo factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Court of Managers for the United Trade of the Company, London, 9 September 1704, p.1.

135. Ibid.,

136. Ibid.,

The subordinate factories were usually named after the country of its origin. Therefore this fort in the dominion of the Queen of Attingal came to known as the Fort of Anjengo. The fort when completed commanded a line of batteries.¹³⁷ It was situated in picturesque surroundings. From the strategic point of view, the fort was highly secure. Westward it was bounded by the sea and eastward it was protected by the Vamanapura river which originating from the main range of western Ghats¹³⁸ and descending in a course from the north-east washed the bottom of the factory garden before it emptied into the sea.¹³⁹ Along this river only country boats could ply, not big ships. The avenues to it from northward and southward were very narrow. There was no highland near it. It was difficult for ships to ply in the backwater. Strange ships with no proper knowledge of the dangerous coast were apt to sink dangerously. The fort was naturally defended by the sea and backwater. If enemies attacked the fort, the attack could come only from the land, which was amply defended by 60 guns on the fort. In case

137. Ibid.,

138. T.K. Velu Pillai, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1940) p.62.

139. Edward Ives, A Voyage from England to India (London, 1773) p.192.

the attack came from the sea, it could easily be detected from the flagstaff of Anjengo which had a spyglass attached to it to detect enemy ships which frequented the coast.¹⁴⁰ In later years when the spyglass broke, desperate messages were sent to England to send a new one at the earliest opportunity.¹⁴¹ The expense of the entire fortifications came to Rs.56,425/-¹⁴² which was indeed an enormous sum two hundred and sixty years ago. The garrison of the fort consisted of about four hundred Europeans and 70 to 80 topasses. The charge of the garrison amounted to approximately four thousand and five hundred dollar a year and of the factory about two thousand. Overall the charges of the fort amounted to roughly 7000 dollars a year.¹⁴³

The date of the completion of the fort has been a matter of controversy among the scholars. William Logan, the author of the official manual has not given any specific year.¹⁴⁴ According to him in the year 1684, the English

140. Anjengo Factory General - 1804, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 9 March 1804, p.135.

141. Ibid.,

142. Political Consultation - 1812, Resident, Anjengo to Chie Secretary, Fort St. George, 29 December 1812, pp.4026-40

143. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.5, p.8.

144. William Logan, Malabar (Trivandrum, 1887, 1981)1, p.389.

obtained from the Rani of Attingal a sandy spit of land at Anjengo and the place was fortified some years later.¹⁴⁵ Alexander Hamilton wrote that the fort was built in the year 1695.¹⁴⁶ Padmanabha Menon maintained that "the fort was completed in the year 1695".¹⁴⁷ According to the Glossary of the Madras Presidency it was in the year 1695 a factory with fortification was erected.¹⁴⁸ In view of the sufficient documentary evidences cited above, it is highly probable that the Anjengo fort was finished only in the year 1699. The year 1695 as stated by the preceding authors is erroneous as the foundation for the fort was laid only in the year 1696 and the Anjengo fort itself was finished only in the year 1699.¹⁴⁹

Following the completion of the fort, there was brisk trade in pepper and calicoes. But Captain Kidd continued to be a menace for John Brabourne.¹⁵⁰ In November 1701 a

145. Ibid.

146. Alexander Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies (London, 1728, 1930) p.18.

147. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala (Ernakulam, 1924) 1, p.336.

148. Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Edited C.D. Maclean, (Delhi, 1893, 1982) pp.33-34.

149. Secretariat Outward Letter Book - 1699-1702, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 6 December 1699, p.11.

150. Fort St. George Records - 1699, Thomas Pitt, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 5 December 1699, p.63.

despatch from Anjengo to Fort St. George reported about a pirate whom Captain Fye chased having taken a rich ship of Abdul Gopers of Daman.¹⁵¹ In the same year another letter mentioned the pranks the pirates played on the coast of Anjengo with the assistance of the Dutch.¹⁵² Captain Woeley, Commander of the frigate Pembroke was captured by pirates,¹⁵³ but he was released after they took whatever they pleased.¹⁵⁴ In the same month another letter mentioned about the pirates who lay near Cochin where they captured a Madras ship and plundered 600 pagodas value in sugar.¹⁵⁵ The menace of the pirates was so great that all the western powers, the English, the French and the Dutch decided to put an end to it. They agreed to act together to suppress it from the Kerala Coast. As a result Captain Kidd was caught and executed and thus for sometime there was some relief on the seas from the pirates.¹⁵⁶

151. Letter from Fort St. George - 1701, Fort St. George to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 November 1701, p.79.

152. Letter from Fort St. George - 1701, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 15 December 1701, p.169.

153. Records of Fort St. George - 1703, Diary and Consultation Book, 30 December 1703, p.87.

154. Letter from Fort St. George - 1703, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 8 December 1703, p.1.

155. Despatches from England - 1704, Fort St. George to England, 28 December 1704, p.8.

156. John Biddulph, n.46, p.61.

In the year 1704, a very unfortunate incident occurred near the coast of Anjengo. A ship named Neptune commanded by Captain Leslie, fully laden with treasure bound for Madras was drowned on 21 June 1704 at Mannacurra near Cape Comorin.¹⁵⁷ All the crew escaped except one. The ship had carried 30 chests of silver and one chest of gold in addition to a large amount of treasure. It "was stowed upon the ceiling on each side of Kelson".¹⁵⁸ Besides it carried most important boxes of letters containing instructions to all the forts and factories of the English and invoices and Bill of Lading of goods laden at Mechelipatam. Retrieval of these goods were of intrinsic value to the English.

The Captain of the ship was confident of retrieving the treasure since the ship had sunk near the shore, "about twenty or thirty yards and the bottom of the ship was not above nine foot of water".¹⁵⁹ They decided to start work on the wreck after the monsoon was over, which would be by the month of September and October when the sea also would recede and the work of retrieving the sunken goods would be made easy. John Brabourne sent Simon Cowse, the second-in-charge

157. Letter to Fort St. George - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Governor, Fort St. George, 1 July 1704, p.113.

158. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book - 1704, 20 July 1704, p.63.

159. Ibid., 20 October 1704, p.87.

of the fort to the vicinity of the wreck to explore the chances of the retrieval and also to try and recover whatever came ashore.¹⁶⁰

By the immemorial custom prevailing on the coast and also by the written covenants with the English and the Queen of Attingal, in the event of shipwreck, the spoils were to be divided "half for the Company and half for the Queen."¹⁶¹ Actually the ship had wrecked in the province of the Rajah of Travancore and not in the dominion of the Queen. The reigning Rajah was Ravi Varma ¹⁶² who was not a strong ruler. John Brabourne realised the danger to the Company if the treasure fell into the hands of the poolas. In such an exigency, the only way to retrieve them would be to "over run the country with fire and sword".¹⁶³ This idea was not very appealing in view of the good relations existing between the Queen and the Company. Another nagging thought was the danger they may face if the confidential letters fell into the hands of the Dutch and the French. This, they wanted to avoid at all costs.

160. Ibid., 20 July 1704, p.63.

161. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.134, p.1.

162. Shungoonny Menon, n. 114, p.106.

163. Letters to Fort St. George - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Governor, Fort St. George, 1 July 1704, pp.114-115.

John Brabourne sought assistance from Fort St. George. He asked them to send him 500 Europeans and topasses because when the sea receded, then it would be a tough task to dig up the ship. For this, he required labour force. He also asked for 5 guns.¹⁶⁴ When Cowse arrived at the spot, he was surprised to see that the country people had carried away all the goods that had come on the shore.¹⁶⁵ The poolas who were masters of these region had even placed guards about two miles on each side of the place of the shipwreck. They managed to take away some money which had loosened from the ship, two guns and two anchors which had disentangled itself and floated towards the shore from the loose cabin of the ship.¹⁶⁶ After lying in water for few days some of the goods had loosened themselves and was floating on the water. Cowse was told that the natives were in possession of a few letters which had come floating. He used his utmost endeavour to recover the box of letters which contained vital informations and instructions for Madras.¹⁶⁷ Cowse made repeated requests

164. Fort St. George Records - 1704, Simon Cowse, Cariapatam to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 28 July 1704, p.229.

165. Ibid.

166. Letters to Fort St. George - 1704, Simon Cowse, Cariapatam to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 28 July 1704, p.117.

167. Letters to Fort St. George - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Fort St. George, 17 July 1704, p. 132.

to the natives to hand over the letters as it was of no use to them. All that he got were few pieces of torn letters and some pieces of torn invoices of the goods laden at Metchelepata^m.¹⁶⁸

Brabourne now realised that unless force was used the chances of getting any goods from the ship were remote. He therefore sent a warning to the poolas that forces were coming from Madras,¹⁶⁹ and that if they did not adhere to the covenant by which the English were entitled to half the share of the wreck, they should not expect the English to take any notice of the covenant,¹⁷⁰ when the forces would arrive. Brabourne had to take this stern step because at the rate at which the poolas were guarding the treasure it was doubtful if the English would get any share in the spoils, not to speak of half the share. The poolas however refused to yield. Their contention was that in former times also when the Portuguese and the Dutch vessels had sunk in these parts, the Queen had the benefit of the entire wreck. They did not want to change the customary practice.¹⁷¹

168. Ibid.

169. Ibid., John Brabourne, Anjengo to Simon Cowse, Caria-patam, 31 July 1704, p. 238.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid., Simon Cowse, Cotata to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 2 August 1704, p.135.

Brabourne realised that all his pleading had ended in failure. He therefore asked Madras to send again "200 firelocks, Muskets, 12 or 14 Blunderbuss, 200 bayonets, 200 Cartouch boxes, 50 Granado pouches and a competent quantity of salted provision".¹⁷² He got ready for a war with the natives. He knew if he did not strike the blow first, there was the likelihood of the natives striking the blow at them because the natives were hand in glove with the poolas who were guarding the shore.¹⁷³

The Company was asked to save the treasure by all means. Brabourne even asked for a person skilful in fishing upon wrecks and adept at making instruments fit to lay hold of and raise the sunken things. He wanted the man to bring with him "long spokes made of Iron 10 or 12 feet long, one end of which is made into screw, somewhat resembling a cork-screw, these being screwed into a chest may serve to raise the treasure".¹⁷⁴ Appeals were sent to Bengal to send the biggest sloop to assist the recovery of treasure.¹⁷⁵

172. Letters to Fort St. George - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Fort St. George, 17 July 1704, p. 131.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid., p.132.

175. Ibid., 9 September 1704, p.192.

Meanwhile Cowse returned to Anjengo with the news that the natives had fortified themselves with 7 guns and that they refused to part with any goods.¹⁷⁶ When the work was going in full swing at the wreck, Captain Leslie became severely ill and was wounded by a gunshot of the native. With this sudden illness of Leslie, the hectic work at the wreck slackened. Leslie had to pay a price for the "hardship which for two or three months he endured in the open boat".¹⁷⁷ Ensign Seriverrus was sent to relieve him.¹⁷⁸ The Madras government sent fifty men whom they could spare upon three vessels commanded by Patrick Dixon and Francis Hyon who were very efficient officers. They were provided with arms and ammunitions and 1500 pagodas to defray all the charges.¹⁷⁹ The Madras government had severe misgivings of incurring so much expenditure, for they knew if these officers were unable to save the treasure, it would only add to an already heavy loss.¹⁸⁰

176. Fort St. George Records - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Fort St. George, 15 August 1704, p.236.

177. Letters to Fort St. George - 1704, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Thomas Pitt, Fort.St. George, 17 November 1704, p. 276.

178. Ibid.,

179. Public Department, Fort St. George - 1704, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 30 November 1704, p. 164.

180. Ibid.,

As feared by the Madras government, all these efforts ended in failure since even by December they could not save the treasure and all hopes of retrieving it were lost. Fort St. George at once informed Brabourne to return all the men as soon as possible as they expected trouble in their quarters.¹⁸¹ All the chested gold and silver was deeply buried in the sea irrecoverably lost to the English. This was a blow to the factory at Anjengo as the treasure was meant for their expenses. John Brabourne and Simon Cowse did try their best but luck was not on their side. Perhaps even to this day the treasure may be lying intact at the bottom of the sea off Mannacuree near Cape Comorin.

Anjengo settlement was under a bad spell for more time to come. In 1704, a new Governor, Sir Nicholas Waite, took charge of the Bombay Presidency. He and John Brabourne did not get along well. Nicholas did not leave any instruction regarding the money to be spent at the factory to Brabourne.¹⁸² Therefore Brabourne decided to leave Anjengo for Madras in 1705, after handing over the fort to Simon Cowse. He was not given permission to do so. Nevertheless he took law into

181. Letter to Fort St. George - 1704, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 16 December 1704, p.164.

182. Despatches to England - 1706, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Court of Directors, London, 6 October 1706, p. 63.

his own hands and left Anjengo "weary of dwelling any longer on that side of India and under the command of Nicholas Waite".¹⁸³

John Brabourne was soon appointed as the Deputy Governor of Fort St. David. But he could never take up this new position. For while on his way to Fort St. David on the ship Chambers Frigate, he drowned along with the ship and entire crew on May 1707.¹⁸⁴ The dynamic career of the "father of Anjengo settlement" was snuffed out prematurely. Over and above this personal loss was the loss of the ship Chamber Frigate which was one of the strongest vessels used in chasing the pirates. She was worth 1,50,000 pagodas.¹⁸⁵

Brabourne's loss dealt a severe blow to the English Company at Anjengo. It was by his undaunted effort that the fort of Anjengo took birth. The Chiefship of John Brabourne was a significant period in the history of the factory. It was due to his relentless effort that the English were able to get a foothold in the Kingdom of Attingal. Though at every stage he was tiraded with accusation from the home

183. Ibid.,

184. Despatches to England - 1708, Fort St. George to England 1 October 1708, p. 95. Fort St. David is situated on the left bank of the mouth of Cuddelam river. This place was purchased by the Company from Rama Rajah, the son of Shivaji in the year 1690.

185. Ibid.,

government for his extravagance in fortification, he went ahead undeterred.

The policy of the English factory under Brabourne was based on the acquirement of trade monopoly, through mainly financial inducements to the rulers and also the use of limited military force. His shrewd diplomacy by exploiting the differences between the great poola and the Queen to advance his interests enabled the English to survive in the hostile atmosphere and even to deal a swift blow to the natives who did not have any conception of what an awesome task it would be for the untrained rustics to storm the fort. Brabourne made his presence felt over the coast. It was owing to his tact that the Dutch abstained from a direct confrontation with the English, even though the burning of their factory gave them ample cause for a direct attack.

The natives who had been earlier treated as cowards by the English proved by the two attacks on the fort that they were not to be underestimated. The revolt of the native however limited it was in its range, helped the English to shape and refine future political strategies and policies in order to retain their grip over the territorial concessions that they had obtained after so much deliberations. The interaction between the commercial intentions of the English

Company and the local exigencies of the Malabar rulers created a situation where the superior military force of the English came to play an important pressurising role which was essential and beneficial to their trade interests.

The Queen on her part had tried all through to exploit the differences between the English and the Dutch with the object of extracting the maximum financial concessions and benefits especially out of the English. However the peace that later came into being in Europe, between the Dutch and the English which had its reflections in the Malabar, prevented her from using further the Dutch card against the English. Moreover, in her own territory, the great poola Vanjamutta, by siding with the English, when the Queen was most earnest in expelling the English from Attinga, posed a grave challenge to her authority as a monarch. Her old age and the fact that she had no legitimate heir to succeed her led to the estrangement of the poolas, which undermined her authority in her last days. It is quite possible that her old age might have also been one of the reasons for her decision to come finally to a peace settlement. However, the Queen proved through her dealings with the Europeans and her relationship with her administrators, the poolas, that she was a power to be reckoned with in the country. She not only

was determined to expel the English, when things seemed to get out of her control, due to the fortification of Anjengo, but also challenged and wanted to subdue the recalcitrant Vanjamutta. Her death created a power vacuum, that plunged Attingal into a temporary phase of confusion, which the English desired to exploit to their benefit.

CHAPTER - IV

THE ATTINGAL MASSACRE

As long as the old Rani of Attingal lived, the English at Anjengo had a person with considerable authority with whom they could negotiate the conditions to carry on their trade. But her sudden death took the English un-awares. They were not able to negotiate the peace treaty. This left them in a state of uncertainty about their future. Moreover, the departure of Brabourne from Anjengo a few years later deprived them of a person who had guided the English fortunes in this part of the country almost single-handedly for more than a decade, in spite of opposition from various quarters. Brabourne was succeeded by Simon Cowse who was until then the second-in-command. Simon Cowse was esteemed to excel Brabourne["] in the knowledge of the different interests of the country as well as perfect master of their language.¹

It seems generally that until the end of the 17 Century the object of the Company servants was straightforward trade

1. John Wallis, A Short treatise by way of essay of Attinga, 1727, 7 September 1727, p.21.

more specifically the purchase, the carriage to Europe and sale there.² This was more or less the same of the Company servants in Attingal too. They traded as far as possible peacefully and profitably at least to outward appearance. They did not use force without discretion even when their trade suffered in hostile environment.

But by the beginning of the 18 Century the Company's service entirely underwent a qualitative change. It took a turn for the worse. The Company servants indulged in private pepper trade and amassed wealth at the cost of the poor natives. Private trade was continued with the sanction from England. The reason for such a sanction was to enable the Company servants to make extra money and "to encourage them to do us good and faithful service".³

2. J.H. Parry, Trade and Dominion - The European Overseas Empires in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1971) p.65.

3. Despatches from England - 1705, England to Fort St. George, 12 January 1705, p.67. "the freedom of trade in India which we allow to all our servants is what wee hope will encourage them to doe us good and faithfull service and what wee mean by prohibiting any preference or preemption of bullion or other commodities what so ever by any person or persons who so ever is that wee would not have any who are in superior station overawe any in an inferior station and thereby deter them or deprive them of reaping equall benefitt in any trade they desire to be concerned."

The salary of the Company servants at Anjengo was higher than the rest of India. Bombay Castle in a letter stated "a great many of your soldiers pay exceeds ours".⁴ In spite of this, the Company servants indulged in illegal trade. They began to supplement their token salaries by even trading locally on their own account. They began to behave as middleman rather than agents. When the private trade began to encroach on Company trade, Bombay Castle sent an order to Anjengo officials "to refrain from all private trade in pepper, invest with stock you have to spare forthwith in your commodity for our Right Honourable merchants".⁵ This order however had no effect. Private trading allowed in India to the Company servants boomeranged on the Company as most of the Company servants amassed huge wealth and they became independent. To counteract this, the home government passed certain regulations by which every merchant was required to take a bond with a penalty of £ 1,000 each in case of misappropriation.⁶ In spite of these regulations the servants of the Company were highly corrupt.

4. Secretariat Outward - 169E, Bombay Castle, to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 27 June 1698, p.96.

5. Ibid. ~

6. Despatches from England - 1705, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 12 January 1705, p.67.

Simon Cowse was deposed by John Kyffin, the next in command, who became the Chief of 'njengo in 1712.⁷ He was considered to be far less in capacity to Cowse to manage the Company's affairs and was of a pussilanimous temper.⁸ He was accused of trading with the Company's rivals, the Ostenders.⁹ Moreover in his relationship with the poolas, he did not show the necessary tact, in order to keep them all satisfied at the same time. Instead he chose to gratify the great poola Vanjamutta alone,¹⁰ which naturally turned the other poolas against the English. On the other hand, Vanjamutta, conscious of Kyffin's lack of understanding or misunderstanding of the local affairs, used the opportunity to exploit the latter on some pretext or the other.¹¹ For instance Vanjamutta made use of Kyffin's ignorance about his enmity with Cuddamon poola to his advantage. He extracted money out of Kyffin on the imagined pretext that Cuddamon has been angered by his permitting pepper to come to the

7. John Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar and an English-Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago (London, 1907) p.274.

8. John Wallis, n.1, p.21.

9. John Biddulph, n.7, p.274.

10. John Wallis, n.1, p.21.

11. Ibid., p. 22.

fort.¹² Kyffin fearing an attack on the fort immediately yielded to the demand for money by Vanjamutta, who promised "effectively to quieten every thing".¹³

Misappropriation of Company's money through private pepper trade became the trend during John Kyffin's period as Chief of the factory. Moreover when the Council of Bombay came to know of his underhand dealings with the commander of the Ostenders, Captain Gozele, he was dismissed from service.¹⁴ William Gyfford succeeded him in 1719. But in course of time Gyfford even exceeded Kyffin in dishonesty and imprudence.¹⁵ He quarrelled with the country merchants and behaved with great violence whenever there was a slight hitch in his trade. Earlier he had worked as supercargo of the Catherine trading to Mocha.¹⁶ The position of supercargo was a specially coveted position, since it afforded excellent opportunities for private trade. Gyfford soon made a name for himself as a successful private trader.

12. Ibid. —

13. John Wallis, n.1, p.22.

14. Ibid., p.23. Kyffin however refuted the charges against him stating that even Gyfford and John Adams had indulged in such trade and it was due to Gyfford's influence with Governor Boone that he was made a scapegoat - Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1718-1719, William Kyffin, Anjengo to President and Council of Bombay, 11 January 1718, p.12.

15. Biddulph, n.7, pp.267-268.

16. Ibid. —

He was referred to as "our too easy Gyfford"¹⁷ by the Court of Directors. He married Katherine who was widowed twice.¹⁸ During his life time he unleashed a tornado of controversies. He systematically double-crossed the Company as well as the pepper merchants. The native merchants were advanced money by the Company to bring in large quantities of pepper. The usual practice was that the merchants did not bring the entire quantity in one bulk as they had to collect them from various sources. They accepted receipt only for the first consignment they brought to the fort. They never demanded receipt for the successive consignments.¹⁹ Gyfford began to exploit the ignorance of the natives. He demanded pepper delivery from those merchants who had already completed the delivery. In the absence of proper receipt, they could not argue their cause legally. This amount was entered as debt in the name of the respective merchant.²⁰ Gyfford thus embezzled the merchants who were helpless as they did

17. J. Talboys Wheeler, A History of the English Settlements in India (Calcutta, 1878) p.79. The origin of the epithet involves a story. When Josiah Child was the Chairman of the Court of Directors, the Court was anxious to raise a tax from all the householders in Madras, natives and Europeans to defray the easy charge of repairs and fortifications. Masters of Madras succeeded in raising such a tax not for repairs but for promoting the sanitation in the Black town. After his departure, the natives of Black town petitioned against the tax and "our too easy Gyfford abolished the tax".

18. Biddulph, n.7, p.267.

19. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1748, John Wallis, Chief Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 13 December 1723, p.33.

20. Ibid. —

not have the necessary receipt to legally turn against Gyfford. Besides, they had to bring the pepper to sell it to the Company even in future as the English East India Company had the monopoly of pepper trade. So the poor merchants were forced to tolerate this injustice, otherwise they had no option but to allow the pepper to rot.²¹ The merchants bore this tyranny silently.

Besides cheating the merchants he also cheated the Company by making false entries in the factory books. Four candies of pepper at 270 fanams per candy which came to Rs.1080/-²² was entered as Rs.1180/-. On one occasion one Chetty Conacopoola pawned two chests of copper with Gyfford for Rs.3535/- fanams at 12% interest. He empowered Gyfford to sell the same if the money with its interest was not repaid by 30 March 1719. Gyfford sold the entire copper and spent the money for his personal use.²³ On another occasion one Dominigo Naicar acknowledged the receipt of only 1400 fanams for 4 candies of pepper at Rs.280/- per candy, whereas in the book it was entered as Rs.1,605/-

21. Manohar Malgonkar, Kanhoji Angrey (Bombay, 1959) p.151.

22. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, James Salisbury, Factor, Anjengo to William Phipps, Bombay, 28 December 1728, p.88.

23. Ibid., p.89.

fanams.²⁴ In another instance the amount of 1400 for 5 candies of pepper at 280 fanams was entered as Rs.1,625 fanams in the book.²⁵

Besides making wrong entries in the factory books, Gyfford even resorted to using false weights and thereby weighing more pepper into the warehouse than the original contract.²⁶ All the pepper thus legally procured was sent to neutral market in a ship called Thomas which belonged to Thomas Cooke, brother of Mrs. Gyfford.²⁷ He thus double crossed both the Company and the merchants who incurred heavy loss. The merchants could have obtained higher price by selling the pepper to the Dutch, who were prepared to pay "large sums than usual to the merchants."²⁸ But owing to the monopoly enjoyed by the English they did not dare to sell it openly to others even though smuggling of pepper to other parts of the country and selling them to the Dutch were not uncommon.²⁹ Trade was thus completely disorganised. The merchant class were embittered with the English.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Manohar Malgonkar, n.21, p.156.

27. Ibid.

28. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Nathaniel Whitewell, Secretary, Anjengo to President and Council of Bombay, 22 February 1726, p.41.

29. A. Galletti, Dutch in Malabar (Madras, 1911), pp.71-72.

Briefly the behaviour of the Company officials antagonised different sections of the local society at the same time.

It was in this atmosphere that an incident occurred at Anjengo in the year 1720, which earned for the Company the hatred of the Muslim community. The interpreter of the Company who was a Roman Catholic "instigated some lads to pelt with eggs and filth at some Muslims who passed by".³⁰ When the matter was reported to Gyfford, he instead of punishing the interpreter "caused the moors to be apprehended and imprisoned".³¹ This action wounded the feelings of the Muslim community who nursed a silent grievance against Gyfford.

On another occasion, the English offended the Hindu community. They compelled a Brahmin to shave off the beards of their slaves, an act which the Brahmins could not perform without losing caste.³² This affair caused great sensation and alarmed the Hindu community. Besides religious feeling was aroused when the Portuguese interpreter Ignatio Malheiros obtained possession of some pagoda land in a money-lending

30. Jacob Canter Visscher, Letters from Malabar (Madras, 1862) p.31.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., p.45.

transaction "from persons who had no power to dispose it".³³ The possession of temple lands by the interpreter infuriated the natives. The natives headed by Cuddamon poola "burnt the gamel demanding likewise that the linguist should be delivered up to their mercy for his daring to purchase Cootadilly".³⁴ On another occasion Gyfford and Ignatio Malheiros were believed to have "whipped the Nairs".³⁵

Matters reached a crisis at the annual Easter Dinner given by the interpreter at his own house. Men of different communities attended the dinner. It so happened that Muslim traders came to the fort to transact business with Simon Cowse who was still a Company servant at Anjengo. As he was not available, the traders went to the interpreter's house to sit and wait.³⁶ While they were sitting there, the interpreter's servants threw "hooli powder"³⁷ at them which they have a nasty way of throwing it upon one another for pastime and upon anybody else they meet walking in the

33. John Wallis, n.1, p.26. The farm purchased by Ignatio was called Cottadally. He purchased it for 90000 fanams. It was "a very large tract of land, the circumference of it about three miles, and its extent from North to South about One... this spot of ground was very fruitful in coconuts and toddy, arrack and betle trees" - pp.64-65.

34. Ibid.

35. Foreign Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Midford and Salisbury, Anjengo to President and Council of Bombay, 6 February 1721, p.69. The record which comprises of letter of William Gyfford to various Company officials is not available in India, the present author found it in India Office Library Records, London.

36. John Wallis, n.1, p.24, "the natives sat on the porch of t interpreter's house and ate a betle as it was customary for all strangers to eat a betle".

37. Biddulph, n.7, p.275.

streets that day.³⁸ Sometime later the interpreter's mistress threw coloured water on the merchants "on his face and body, which according to the manners of the country the latter is always uncovered to the waist".³⁹ Stung by insult, the Muslim drew his sword and wounded the woman. He would have killed her but he was overpowered and forcibly carried to the fort.

The Moors in general were very superstitious. They thought they were polluted when anything of this nature touched them and that they had to pay money to be accepted into the caste again.⁴⁰ When the above incident was reported to Gyfford, he being influenced by the interpreter ordered the Muslims to be turned out of the fort "after their swords had been insultingly broken over their heads".⁴¹ When the natives came to know about the above incident, they were infuriated. They took up arms and threatened the fort. The Company officials were unprepared for such an assault.

38. John Wallis, n.1, p.24.

39. Ibid., It is strange to note that coloured powder and water were thrown on the merchants on this occasion. In fact this ritual of throwing coloured powder and water on each other was, and is still prevalent in North India during the celebration of the Holi festival (a Hindu festival) in spring season.

40. Ibid., p.24.

41. Ibid., p.23.

They immediately requested the Madras government to supply them with topasses, fire-arms and flints.⁴² Gyfford was advised by the Bombay government to try and settle the dispute amicably and in case the natives persisted to challenge him then he should utilise force to repel them.⁴³ Reinforcements which included one captain, one ensign, two sergeants, two corporals and 34 topasses and sufficient quantity of ammunitions and stores were sent to Anjengo.⁴⁴

Thus while the Company servants under Gyfford antagonised various sections of the local population there was confusion prevailing in the palace of the Queen. The main poolas deprived the rightful heiress of the deceased old Queen from ascending the throne. Instead they "framed something against her according to their law that she should not govern and set another of their own making in her room".⁴⁵ Such interference in the royal affairs by the poolas appears not to have met with the approval of the common people, who preferred the rightful heir to govern rather than the one

42. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book - 1720, Chief, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 31 August 1720, p.159.

43. Factory Records, Miscellaneous - 1720, Bombay Castle. to William Gyfford, Chief, Anjengo, 15 April 1720, p.129.

44. Ibid.

45. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1720, William Gyfford, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 17 February 1720, p.25.

installed illegally by the poolas.⁴⁶ The poolas expected the Company to pay to the unlawful Queen the annual presents promised in the original grant. The Company officials insisted on paying the dues to the legitimate Queen, for they feared that if they make presents to the pretender there was chance that they would be "obliged to pay it over again a right Queen was settled".⁴⁷ As the poolas persisted in their demands, the Company finally decided to forward the presents. As the Company did not have immediate stock of Chequeens which was the money usually paid for presents, they offered to pay the equivalent in fanams or dollars.⁴⁸ But the poolas refused to accept it and began harassing the Company servants. Gyfford convinced that the natives were bent upon attacking them decided to send away the pepper stocked at Betture Banksall. But before that, the natives had set fire to it.⁵⁰

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., p.26.

48. Ibid., The Company decided to get the Chequeens from Calicut to pay the presents to the Queen.

49. Ibid., "Our garmell went at a distance on the river to fetch tyles for our banksall, was met with some Nayres, who sett her on fire and was burnt down to the waters edge".

50. Ibid., p.27.

The Bombay government was viewing all the activities at Anjengo with apprehension. The skirmishes between the natives and the English continued for some months in which several natives were killed.⁵¹ In the month of January 1721, reinforcement from Cochin arrived at Anjengo consisting of four ships of soldiers.⁵² Besides, Walter Brown was despatched from Bombay to restore peace with 300 men.⁵³ They were sent to Cherringa where the natives were particularly hostile towards the English.⁵⁴ All these preparations terrified the natives who abandoned any attack on the fort for the time being.⁵⁵

On the other hand, the Queen of Attingal, Amutumbaran, had a different version for the troubles in the relationship between the English and the natives. According to her the reason for the skirmishes was that the natives were angry as the Company gave shelter to Comadevarmur who had become an outcaste.⁵⁶ In those days when caste system held sway over the minds of the people, giving shelter to an outcaste was

51. Records of Fort St. George - 1720, n.42. p.159.

52. Ibid.

53. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, William Gyfford, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 25 January 1721, p.35.

54. Ibid.

55. Public Consultation - 1721, Fort St. George to Anjengo, June 1721, p.154.

56. Records of Fort St. George - Consultation Book - 1721, 18 November 1721, p.92.

considered to be a grave offence. The Queen however chose to restore normalcy in her country. She sent her headman Vanjamutta poola to patch up the differences between the English and the inhabitants.⁵⁷ The Company officials, Walter Brown, Gyfford, Captain Macrae, Cocksedge with 12 soldiers met Vanjamutta,⁵⁸ who promised to settle the differences amicably and provide them with pepper. The Company presented Vanjamutta and his Carriacars with 140 Chequeens.⁵⁹ Perhaps this time the Company officials conscious of the blunder committed earlier by John Kyffin who by befriending only Vanjamutta, antagonised the other poolas, decided to confer with Cuddamon poola of the second house.⁶⁰ The Company had plans to press the poolas to grant a new article "of the liberty of the mint which is the greatest point and what we must obtain else it will be impossible to do anything here for we dayly find the scarcity of fanams".⁶¹ Finally a compromise was arrived at, it was decided that as soon as the customary annual presents to the Queen were paid "all disputes should be laid in oblivion".⁶²

57. Public Consultation - 1721, n.55, p.154.

58. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.53, On their way the boat in which they travelled capsized, Brown, Gyfford and Cocksedge who did not know swimming were rescued by the natives, but the party lost five men, yet they proceeded to meet Vanjamutta.

59. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.53, p.38. Vanjamutta had brought four of his Carriacars with him for the meeting.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., p. 39

62. John Wallis, n.1, p.27.

The practice of carrying presents to the Queen of Attingal had been abandoned for the previous seven years.⁶³ It was decided to revive this custom and settle all the differences with the natives. When the poolas came to know of this, they approached the English and demanded the present on behalf of the Queen. They assured Gyfford that they were demanding the presents by the Queen's order and even offered receipt in her name.⁶⁴ But Gyfford refused to entrust the presents to the poolas. He, "flushed with the hope of having peace and pepper and the more to ingratiate himself with the country government", announced that he would personally carry the total presents for seven years to the Queen Amutumbaran of Attingal.⁶⁵

The annual presents for 7 years at the rate of 75 venetians per annum besides presents to the poolas amounted to Rs.17,000/-⁶⁶. Accordingly on 14 April 1721, accompanied by all the merchants and factors and taking all his best men

63. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book - 1721, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 11 May 1721, p. 71.

64. Alexander Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies (Edinburg, 1728) pp.332-333.

65. John Wallis, n.1, p.27.

66. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 13 December 1723, p.30.

about 150 in number and a number of coolies leaving only few invalids for the defense of the fort, Gyfford set out to the palace of the Queen,⁶⁷ which was about four miles up the river.⁶⁸ The party advanced with much pomp and splendour with sounds of trumpets and drums. They reached the palace of the Queen, where they were received by an enormous crowd of people who gave them a friendly reception.⁶⁹ Gyfford did not suspect "any damnable treason on foot",⁷⁰ but thought that the crowd had assembled as spectators to watch the ceremony.⁷¹

Simon Cowse went to consult with the Queen's chief men on "how to behave in the delivery of presents, to whom it was necessary to gratify at such a juncture and what sums to each person of distinction".⁷² Cowse's suspicion was aroused when he heard "whispers and delays on the part of the Mallabars".⁷³ His fears were confirmed when he was told that head poola Vanjamutta was drunk and they must wait till

67. Ibid.

68. Biddulph, n.7, p.277

69. Visscher, n.30, p.28.

70. John Wallis, n.1, p.28.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

he was fit to receive them.⁷⁴ Cowse suspecting foul play, immediately ordered the party to return to the fort upon which Gyfford beat Cowse and "confined him prisoner in the Queen of Attinga's palace".⁷⁵

The ceremony of handing over the presents was done with much pomp under the supervision of Cuddamon poola in the absence of Vanjamutta.⁷⁶ After concluding this ceremony, according to the Dutch records, the Queen pressed the party to spend the night at her court. "Pretending that she was unable to accommodate the whole party in one place, the artful princess assigned different lodgings to them so that they should be too much scattered to assist each other in case of needs".⁷⁷ However the English records maintained that the Queen intervened to pacify Gyfford and Cowse and advised them all to return to Anjengo for fear any misfortunes would ensue upon their quarrelling.⁷⁸

Gyfford to show his good will ordered the soldiers to fire a salvo and then to his utter dismay he found that

74. Biddulph, n.7, p.277.

75. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721-1722, Midford, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 6 February 1722, p.69.

76. John Wallis, n.1, p.28.

77. Visscher, n.30, p.46.

78. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1722, Midford and Salisbury, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 6 February 1722, p.70.

the ammunitions carried by the soldiers were tampered with and that they were utterly defenceless.⁷⁹ He did not lose his presence of mind in this helpless position and managed to entrust a letter to a friendly native addressed to the store-keeper of Anjengo:

"Captain Sewell, we are treacherously dealt with here. Therefore keep a very good look out for any designs on you. Have a good look to your two trankers. We hope to be with you to-night. Take care and don't frighten the women. We are in no great danger. Give the bearer a Chequeen".⁸⁰

Unfortunately none of the English men in the party lived to see the next day. That night the crowd surged in on them "who were drawn up in an enclosure and in a manner pounded and began the massacre".⁸¹ Not a single European escaped the tragedy. Principal English officers of the party, Gyfford, Burton Flemming and Ignatio Malheiros were reserved for cruel death. Gyfford's tongue was torn out and nailed to a log wood and sent floating down the river.⁸² The Linguist's body was gradually dismembered so that he died a slow and terrible death. Simon Cowse who was a favourite of the natives, however managed to disguise himself in a country habit and tried to escape but he was

79. John Wallis, n.1, p.28.

80. Biddulph, n.7, p.278.

81. John Wallis, n.1, p.29.

82. Biddulph, n.7, p.279.

confronted by a Moor merchant who owed him money. Cowse offered to acquit him of his debt but to no purpose. He was mercilessly killed and thus the debt was settled.⁸³ Of the party 17 topasses managed to escape the massacre but they too were miserably wounded "some of them having received eleven or thirteen wounds each but none without any".⁸⁴ Pandemonium broke out at Anjengo fort when they received Gyfford's note and when the wounded coolies confirmed the most terrible and mournful account of the massacre. Gyfford had taken all the able-bodied men with him leaving in the fort only boys and pensioners less than forty in number.⁸⁵ The English at Cochin were the first to come to the Company's assistance. On 25 April they sent two small ships with a reinforcement of seven men and a consignment of provision.⁸⁶

Officers in the fort were Robert Sewell, who was a Storekeeper cum Adjutant cum Captain, Lieutenant Peter Lepthorne, Ensign Thomas Davis, and the gunner of the fort Samuel Ince.⁸⁷ The first three were useless. It was

83. John Wallis, n.1, p.29.

84. Despatches to England - 1719-1729, Fort St. George to England, 3 February 1722, p.68.

85. Biddulph, n.7, p.280.

86. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Military officers, Anjengo to President and Council, Bombay, 26 April 1721, p.49.

87. Biddulph, n.7, p.280.

Samuel Ince who rose to the occasion. His first care was for the three English women whose husbands were slain. He put all the widows and children on the ships Brigantine, Prosperous, Samuel Cooper and Master.⁸⁸ Wives and children of the factors were given preference to leave Anjengo as soon as possible, fearing they would be the next target of wrath of the rebels. Many of them were sent to Quilon.⁸⁹ Mrs. Gyfford with one daughter, Mrs. Burton with two children, Mrs. Cowse with four children left for Madras.⁹⁰

Having got rid of the women, fully conscious of the critical situation created and gauging its aftermath, Sewell and Samuel Ince made preparations against any attack on the fort. They knew that the natives were in a rebellious mood. Desperate as was the outlook, gunner Samuel Ince rose to the situation. He kept temper and loyalty unshaken even in this alarming situation, when there were only 47 soldiers to

88. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book - 1721, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 17 May 1721, p.76.

89. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Robert Sewell, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 26 April 1721, p.51.

90. Public Consultation - 1721, Fort St. George to Anjengo, May 1721, p.132. Even in this grief stricken state of mind, Mrs. Gyfford carried off the factory records, official papers and whatever money she could lay her hands on. She even tried to entice Peter Lapthorne but Sewell prevented her - Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 13 December 1723, p.32.

protect the fort.⁹¹ Precautions were taken to protect the houses in the fort from fire-arrows of the natives by dismantling the roof. This left them open to bear the excessive heat of the day and rain and cold of the night.⁹² Further, they obtained provisions in case the natives blockaded the fort as in earlier times. Seven hundred bags of rice with salt fish for a month was shifted from the warehouse to the fort.⁹³ Then, they sent an urgent appeal to Calicut and Tellicherry for reinforcement.⁹⁴

At the fort there was no surgeon or carpenter and hardly any medicines left. They were all killed in the massacre.⁹⁵ The natives now swarmed outside the fort. The assailants tried with fire-arrows to set fire to the palm-leaf roofs, which were dismantled. They plundered and set fire to every house in Anjengo, except the Company's warehouse which contained goods worth One hundred and fifty thousand fanams.⁹⁶ However, the Company servants were able to retrieve safely the Company's treasure which was in a "large iron bound chest".⁹⁷

91. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.86, p.49.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid.

94. Biddulph, n.7, p.282.

95. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.86, p.50.

96. Ibid., p.50.

97. Ibid.

On 1 May an ensign and fifty-one men collected by Adams from Calicut and Tellicherry joined the garrison and gave relief.⁹⁸ Samuel Ince a man of true courage and prudence did wonders on this emergency by animating those with him to make vigorous defence, even to blow up the magazine in the last extremity and perish rather than fall into the enemy's hands.⁹⁹

On 24 June the natives made a vigorous attack on the fort from three sides.¹⁰⁰ On one side the enemy had thrown up entrenchment close to the fort. Ince sent a party of soldiers to dislodge the rebels, but could not drive them from their entrenchments, nevertheless wounded and killed many of the natives.¹⁰¹ He reinforced the detachment with more soldiers and at the same time shot them with mortar from the flag staff and bastions. This attempt was successful as the rebels fled over the river "with all the precipitation imaginable".¹⁰² But they returned few hours later and began

98. John Wallis, n.1, p.31.

99. Ibid., p.30.

100. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Peter Lapthorne, Anjengo to Mrs. Gyfford, Bombay, 3 August 1721, p.54.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., p.55.

to attack the fort with guns and rantackers from the river side. They made a lodgment in Cowse's house. Discovering this, Ince sent a party of soldiers to dislodge the rebels. At first they were repulsed but with additional reinforcement from the fort comprising "of a Sergeant, Corporal and 20 men with Granado pouch and shells",¹⁰³ they were successful. The soldiers marched up to the window of the house where the rebels were hiding. They "threw hand grenades into the house"¹⁰⁴ which was hurriedly evacuated. The rebels leapt into the river, where some of them were drowned. The soldiers then bombarded them out of the entrenchment killing three or four and wounding several of them and thus the attack came to an end.¹⁰⁵ Several of the garrisons were wounded but none killed. After this the land blockade continued but the rebels did not make any serious attempt. The loss of men seemed to have disheartened and discouraged them¹⁰⁶ This was the greatest attack the Company servants had to face ever. A second reinforcement of eighty men besides provisions and ammunitions was sent down by Adams from Calicut.¹⁰⁷

103. Ibid.

104. Biddulph, n.7, p.285.

105. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.100, p.55.

106. John Wallis, n.1, p.30.

107. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Blackett Midford, Anjengo to President and Council, Bombay, 14 November 1721, p.57.

The King of Quilon was the first to send a letter of condolences to the fort. Later the Queen through a letter to the Company official expressed her horror at the treachery of the natives. She expressed her ignorance of the treachery of her poolas. She wrote "on the 14 April the Governor with several other gentlement came with 150 soldiers to see me, when they arrived at my house, the above named Codervompilla with some inhabitants combined together and fell upon them and cut them off which was unknown to me or to any of my attendants."¹⁰⁸ She blamed her head poolas Codervompilla who was none other than Cuddamon for the above incident. She however attributed the treachery of Codervompilla to the incident which took place months back, viz. the English had given shelter to an outcaste named Comadervormur which had antagonised her poolas. She profusely apologised on behalf of her natives. She wrote, "as soon as I heard what a treacherous thing the inhabitants had been guilty of to the English especially at such time, I with my family and Chief man Vanjamuttapilla fled into another's dominion".¹⁰⁹ She gave her word of honour that she would not return to her kingdom unless "the English will come and live".¹¹⁰ She

108. Fort St. George Records - 1721, A translate of a Malabar letter from the Queen of Attingal to the Governor of Fort St. George, June 1721, p.92. See Appendix-II. This letter is not referred to in any book by historians. The present author found it in Fort St. George Records, Madras Archives.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid.

also promised to give all her help in punishing the rebels".¹¹¹ Moreover, she and Vanjamutta poola promised to furnish the Company with all the provisions to compensate for the inhuman actions precipitated by the Nairs and the Moors.¹¹² On receiving the news about a peace between the English, the Nairs and the Moors, many old inhabitants, widows of the slain soldiers returned to Attinga from Quilon.¹¹³

Intelligence of the disaster at Anjengo did not reach Bombay till the beginning of July. The Governor and Council of Bombay decided to send relief under the command of Blac-kett Midford, who was appointed as the new Chief of Anjengo.¹¹⁴ It was only during the month of October that Midford with three hundred men reached Anjengo.¹¹⁵ He obtained reinforcement from Carwar.¹¹⁶ His report on the state of affairs he found there makes it a matter of surprise that the fort was still intact.¹¹⁷ It came to light that Captain Sewell

111. Ibid.

112. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.107, p.60.

113. Ibid., p.61.

114. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Governor and Council, Bombay to Robert Sewell, Anjengo 14 July 1721, p.141.

115. Biddulph, n.7, p.286. Also see John Wallis, n.1, p.33.

116. Ibid.

117. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.107, p.58.

and Lieutenant Lapthorne instead of protecting the Company's property" got drunk and instigated the soldiers to plunder the Company's effect".¹¹⁸ It will not be an exaggeration to declare that the safety of the fort had been entirely due to gunner Samuel Ince.

There are differences of opinion among the historians regarding the number of persons who proceeded to make the Queen her presents. In the words of Alexander Hamilton Gyfford "to appear great there carried two of his council and some others of the factory".¹¹⁹ Canter Visscher's statement regarding the number of persons is ambiguous. He wrote Gyfford "brought them in person accompanied by a number of retinue".¹²⁰ John Biddulph differs from the above statements. In his word "on 11 April, accompanied by all the merchants and factors and taking all his best men, about one hundred and twenty in number and the same number of Coolies",¹²¹ Gyfford proceeded to the palace of the Queen. William Logan differs from all the preceeding contentions. He stated "on 15 April, he and ten other persons went to

118. Ibid., p.61.

119. Alexander Hamilton, n.64, p.333.

120. Canter Visscher, n.30, p.46.

121. Biddulph, n.7, p.277. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721 the number is mentioned as 120.

make the presents to the Queen".¹²² Velu Pillai reiterates the statement made by Hamilton. According to him Gyfford "was accompanied by two members of his council and major portion of garrison".¹²³ Nagam Aiya also concurs with Hamilton's statement.¹²⁴ Henry Davison Love does not give any specific number, although he wrote, "the greatest part of the garrison went to Attingal".¹²⁵ A recent research work mentions that the party was attacked and Gyfford and ten of his companion murdered.¹²⁶ Padmanabha Menon corroborates Biddulph's version.¹²⁷ According to Sreedhara Menon the number was 140.¹²⁸

122. William Logan, Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of importance relating to British Affairs in Malabar (Madras, 1879, 1891) 111, p.19.

123. Velu Pillai, A History of Travancore (Trivandrum, 1935) p.10.

124. Nagam Aiya, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) 1, p.325.

125. Henry Davison Love, Indian Record series - Vestiges of old Madras (London, 1913) 11, p.214.

126. Ibrahim Kunju, Medieval Kerala History (Trivandrum, 1975) pp. 123-124.

127. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, History of Kerala (Ernakulam, 1924) 1, p.337.

128. Sreedhara Menon, A Survey of Kerala History (Trivandrum, 1984) p. 207.

However in the light of sufficient documentary evidences in the form of factory records¹²⁹ and the letter written by the Queen of Attingal to the Anjengo officials after the massacre,¹³⁰ it becomes quite clear and certain that the actual number of English men who proceeded to the palace of the Queen was one hundred and fifty.

Another controversy, amongst the historians, was regarding the venue of the massacre. Most of them are of opinion that the massacre took place when the party was en-route to the palace of the Queen. Alexander Hamilton did not give any direct reference to the venue. In his words "they were all cut off by strategem".¹³¹ Velu Pillai stated "they were brutally murdered in the course of their journey".¹³² Nagam Aiya reiterates Hamilton's version.¹³³ Sreedhara Menon concurs with Velu Pillai's statement. According to him the massacre took place "on their way to meet the Queen".¹³⁴ In the words of Henry Davison Love "the party was attacked by the

129. Fort St. George Records - 1721, p.92, also see Public Despatches to England - 1722, p.68.

130. See Appendix-II.

131. Alexander Hamilton, n.64, p.333

132. Velu Pillai, n.123, p.10.

133. Nagam Aiya, n.124, p.325.

134. Sreedhara Menon, n. 128, p.207.

natives on the way.¹³⁵ According to Ibrahim Kunju massacre took place on their way to the palace.¹³⁶ Biddulph indirectly hinted that the massacre took place while the party was on their way to the Queen's palace.¹³⁷ These views stand disproved, as there are sufficient documentary proofs in the form of Fort St. George¹³⁸ Records, the letter written by the Queen¹³⁹, John Wallis treatise¹⁴⁰ and the Dutch records which prove beyond doubt that the massacre took place at the Queen's palace and that too, after the customary presents were handed over to the Queen ceremoniously.

Historians have also differed in their analysis of the cause of this revolt of the natives against the English, which was one of the earliest of its kind in South India. The main point of debate has been whether this uprising was triggered off by religious grievances or personal vendatta or the connivance of the Rani of Attingal. There is however no unanimity of opinion amongst the historians as to the real cause of the massacre. Biddulph puts the blame on

135. Henry Davison Love, n.125, p.214.

136. Ibrahim Kunju, Rise of Travancore (Trivandrum, 1976) p.87.

137. John Biddulph, n.7, p.277.

138. Fort St. George Records - 1721, Anjengo to Fort St. George, May 1721, p.71.

139. See Appendix-II.

140. John Wallis, n.1, p.28.

the Muslim merchant who had an old score to settle with William Gyfford.¹⁴¹ In Visscher's opinion the revolt was the outcome of the insult heaped on the Hindu community.¹⁴² He also upheld the role played by the Queen. He referred to her as "the artful princess".¹⁴³ Alexander Hamilton claimed the poolas to have been the brain behind the massacre.¹⁴⁴

However the analysis of the happenings that lead to the revolt in the foregoing pages brings out clearly that the immediate cause of the revolt was due to the mismanagement and ill conduct of William Gyfford. The intervention of Gyfford in the internal affairs of the natives was a radical departure from the traditions of non-intervention of John Brabourne. A state of excited feelings and bitter antagonism caused by Gyfford prevailed among the natives. His insulting dealings with the Moors who were the principal merchants of the region, provided the latter with enough reasons to see the departure of the English,¹⁴⁵ who were actually competing and even obstructing their trade. Besides,

141. Biddulph, n.7, p.287.

142. Canter Visscher, n.30. p.31.

143. Ibid.

144. Alexander Hamilton, n.64, pp.332-333.

145. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Bombay Castle to Court of Directors, 28 December 1721, p.145.

his dealings with the Hindu sections of the population were not any better. They along with the Moors were nursing their grievances waiting for the right opportunity to wreak their vengeance over the English.

As pointed out earlier the main poola Vanjamutta had befriended the English against Cuddamon poola in the competition for power when the old Queen Ashure was nearing her death.¹⁴⁶ Naturally Cuddamon poola would not have been very happy with this situation where the English were against him. Kyffin, who then became the Chief of Anjengo chose to gratify only Vanjamutta with presents and ignored Cuddamon poola.¹⁴⁷ After the death of the old Queen, the new Queen had been installed on the throne of Attingal by the poolas.¹⁴⁸ When Gyfford succeeded Kyffin, things were not very different. The Queen sent Vanjamutta to conclude peace with Gyfford and Walter Brown.¹⁴⁹ This time too, Cuddamon poola was sidelined. Though the English later decided to meet Cuddamon poola too, with the object of coming to a good understanding, nothing concrete had seemed to have taken place. All this could have certainly increased the hostility of Cuddamon against the English.

146. Bombay letters received - 1697, John Brabourne, Anjengo to John Gayer, Bombay, 27 August 1697, p.8.

147. John Wallis, n.1, p.21.

148. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1720, William Gyfford, Anjengo to Bombay, 17 February 1720, p.25.

149. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.53, p.35.

On the other hand Vanjamutta had been quite friendly with the English, not only before the death of the old Queen but also after her death. If Vanjamutta had been the brain behind the revolt in the Attingal palace, then there is no reason for him to have got drunk during such an important occasion, when the rebels would have expected his orders and participation the most. But Vanjamutta simply faded away from the revolt into his drunken state.

However the Queen's involvement in the revolt is not very clear. There are no conclusive proofs, in the English Records, of her being one of the instigators of the revolt, instead her sympathetic attitude towards the English after the massacre proves her non-involvement in the revolt, though she might have had an inkling of it when she advised Gyfford to leave the palace immediately after the ceremony. The English did not believe the Queen to have participated in the massacre.¹⁵⁰ She had fled with Vanjamutta to the neighbouring territory of the King of Chenganatta or Quilon who had always been very friendly and helpful to the English.¹

150. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Salisbury, Anjengo to the President and Council, Bombay, 6 February 1722, p.70.

151. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Bombay Castle to the Court of Directors, 28 December 1721, p.145. see also Appendix-II.

Besides she and Vanjamutta had even promised to provide the Company with the necessary provisions after the massacre.¹⁵²

Both the Queen¹⁵³ and the English¹⁵⁴ accused Cuddamon poola for having masterminded the revolt. In the letter to the Court of Directors, the massacre was attributed to "the treachery of our blackfriend Cuddamon poola".¹⁵⁵ In this he was assisted by the Moors. As pointed out earlier Cuddamon poola had always a sense of personal hostility against the English. The dissatisfaction of the Muslims and the Nairs with the arrogant behaviour of the English and Gyfford in particular provided the necessary ingredients which Cuddamon poola used to organise the revolt.

Considering the number of English men killed in the revolt, it is quite probable that the rebels were significantly numerous. Taking note of the fact that William Gyfford and Ignatio Malheiros were subjected to the crudest barbarities, there is no doubt that the rebellion was the outcome of the brashness of William Gyfford and the haphazard way in which he behaved in his dealings with the natives.

152. Ibid., n.107, p.60.

153. See Appendix-II.

154. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.146, p.145.

155. Ibid.

When his arrogance became unbearable, the members of all sections of the population, under the leadership of Cuddammon joined together to strike the blow. In fact, the revolt itself was the result of the combination of several grievances and factors on the economic, political, social and religious planes.

To the English this was a bitter lesson. They realised that disorders resulting in flagrant breach of conduct as pursued by William Gyfford could not last long without a catastrophe. In London this news was received with considerable shock. The Company woke up from their lethargy into which they were steeped since the past decade.

Credit must be given to Samuel Ince, who showed great flexibility of response reacting to situations as it came about. He single-handedly dealt with the rebels when they attacked the fort.¹⁵⁶ He was able to repulse the attack chiefly owing to the delay on the part of the rebels in attacking the fort. If the rebels had attacked the fort on the very day of the massacre, it is quite doubtful if gunner Ince could have done anything. But this delay gave him time to make preparation to foil any attempt of the natives.

156. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, n.127, p.394. Sir George Wood describes gunner Samuel Ince's heroic defense of Anjengo as worthy of a place besides Clive's defence of Arcot about fifty years later.

Whether the massacre was part of an elaborate plan and wider in scope is not to be found. It cannot possible be supposed that such a skilfully devised plan was worked out momentarily by the aggrieved natives. It was evolved in anticipation of the pending annual present. However the revolt ended in a failure in so far as its immediate aim was concerned. The aim was to force the English to withdraw from Anjengo.¹⁵⁷ It failed as the rebels were not very well organised. They were actuated by different motives and divided by clashing interests. On the one side were large masses of natives, though armed however without any military training, fighting against the power of the English and their superior ability to react to the perceived threat. However, this rebellion shows the extent of the natives hostility and their determination to do away with the English. This incident was one of the earliest revolts of the natives against the English in India.

The much publicised Black hole tragedy of Calcutta where 146 English men, women, and children were ushered into a small room, out of whom 123 died of suffocation,¹⁵⁸ faded

157. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, n.146, p.145.

158. Ishwari Prasad, India in the Eighteenth Century (Allahabad, 1973) p.90. It is said 146 prisoners were thrown into a small dungeon called afterwards the Black hole. It was a small room 18x18 feet in which 146 men, women and children were huddled together in the month of June. The heat of June was terrible and next morning when the doors were opened only twenty three persons were found alive.

into insignificance when compared to the Attingal massacre. Recent researches has established that the Black hole tragedy was blown out of proportion by Holwell, the survivor of this tragedy as a figment of his imagination.¹⁵⁹ On the other hand the Attingal massacre and the revolt possess authentic proofs in the English factory Records and the Queen's letter. This is the first recorded instance in the history of the English East India Company's settlements in India of one hundred and fifty English men being brutally massacred as part of a more elaborate revolt which finally failed.

159. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, The Rise and Fall of the East India Company (Bombay, 1955, 1973) p.261. The truth of the story has been doubted on many grounds. It is ascribed to the fertile imagination of Holwell on whose authority the story primarily rests.

COMPANY'S RELATION WITH ATTINGAL AND TRAVANCORE

The years that followed the revolt were a period of instability and uncertainty. The Attingal massacre and the rude shock it gave the Company continued to haunt the English. The affairs of the Company were in a state of confusion. The rivalry between the poolas and the helplessness of the Queen adversely affected the interests of the Company. The poolas had to be reckoned as a power in the region and the Queen was lacking in influence to deal with them effectively. In consequence the country was plunged into a series of internal feuds.¹

Immediately after the revolt, the Company took the necessary steps to settle the family members of the Company officials who lost their lives during the revolt of the natives. A monthly subsistence was provided to the widows on the ground that their husbands lost their lives in the Company's service.² Orders also came from England notifying that they had no objection to the payment of subsistence to

1. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1722, Bombay Castle to the Court of Directors, 11 May 1722, p.159.

2. Public Consultation - 1721, Fort St. George to Anjengo, May 1721, p.132.

the widows till they were enabled to provide for themselves.

On the other hand Midford who succeeded Gyfford had directives to re-settle the Company at Anjengo and obtain satisfaction from the natives by any means for the loss incurred by the Company in human ^{lives} loss and trade.⁴ The natives expected the forces of Midford to wreak vengeance on those who were responsible for the revolt by launching an attack.⁵ But contrary to expectations the Company's forces were diverted against the Angrias (pirates) which considerably diminished their prestige and rendered them contemptible in the eyes of the natives.⁶

At this juncture the atmosphere in the country was not at all conducive for favourable trade. The fading power of the Rani of Attingal, Amutumbaran was depriving the Company of a sovereign who was sympathetic to the Company's success and prosperity. The poolas could not be depended on for trading profitably due to their volatile nature and

3. Despatches from England - Public Department - 1723, England to Fort St. George, 14 February 1723, p.43.

4. John Wallis, A Short treatise by way of Essay of Attinga. on the Malabar Coast - 1727, 7 September 1727, p.35.

5. Ibid., p.34.

6. Ibid. —

their internal conflicts. However, the Company under Midford, instead of trying to establish a certain semblance of stability in the region without which profitable trade was not possible, was bent upon making immediate money on pepper by contracting with Vanjamutta poolu for 1000 candies of pepper.⁷ This resulted in the enhancement of the price of pepper.⁸

Midford monopolized the pepper trade on his own private account making himself advances out of the Company's treasury.⁹ In less than a year he died. By then the finances of the Company were in the doldrums. He was succeeded by Alexander Orme, who was also until then a private merchant.¹⁰ Previously he was a surgeon at Anjengo in 1707¹¹. Orme had the herculean task of correcting the finances of the Company. After going through the factory books of

7. Ibid., p.35.

8. Ibid.

9. John Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago (London, 1907) pp.267-268.

10. Ibid.

11. Lt. Colonel D.G. Crawford, A History of Indian Medical Service 1600-1913 (London, 1914) p.142.. Alexander Orme came to India as an adventurer about 1686. He was admitted to Bombay service as a surgeon prior to his coming to Anjengo. He had two sons and daughters. One of his illustrious sons was Robert Orme, the famous historian who was born in Anjengo in 1728. Orme was the brother-in-law of the Tellicherry factory Chief, Adams.

Gyfford, he discovered great discrepancy and found that he was greatly indebted to the Company.¹² Since he was no more, Alexander Orme ordered George Tullie, the attorney of Mrs. Gyfford, to deliver to the Company all the books belonging to the factory of Anjengo which she had taken with her on the fateful day.¹³ But Mrs. Katherine Gyfford strongly protested against the delivery of the books "upon a bare supposition of my deceased husband Mr. William Gyfford, late Chief of Anjengo, being indebted to the Honble. Company contrary to equity, justice and known laws of Great Britain".¹⁴ Before long Orme had to report to the Council that Gyfford was indebted to the Company for Rs.1,00,000/-¹⁵ and during Midford's chiefship gold fanams amounting to 1,40,260/- had disappeared which could not be accounted for.¹⁶

Moreover, the responsibility of restoring amicable relations with the Rani of Attingal and the Rajah of Travancore fell on the shoulders of Alexander Orme. In September 1722, he entered into a treaty with the Rani of Attingal. The main provisions of the treaty were:-

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12. Records of Fort St. George - Diary and Consultation Book - 1723, 5 January 1723, p.11.
 13. Ibid., 19 March 1723, p.25.
 14. Records of Fort St. George - 1723, Katherine Gyfford to Fort St. George, 28 August 1723, p.93.
 15. Despatches to England - 1727, Fort St. George to England, 27 January 1727, p.52.
 16. Biddulph, n.9, p.287.

1. The ring leaders in the attack on Gyfford were to be punished and their estates to be confiscated.
2. The Rani was to reimburse the Company for all the losses caused by the attack on Anjengo.
3. The Company was to have exclusive right to the pepper trade and be empowered to build factories in the Rani's dominions whenever they pleased.
4. The Rani was to return all arms taken in the outbreak and furnish timber to rebuild the church that had been burnt.
5. The Company was expected to supply soldiers to the Queen, to carry on war against her enemies.

This treaty was guaranteed by the Rani's brother the Rajah of Chenganatta.¹⁷ It was, however, received with misgivings by the Court of Directors who feared that the provisions to supply soldiers to carry on war against her rebellious subjects would certainly "involve us in trouble if we succeed, and more if we don't".¹⁸ They felt that even though the article seemed to be for the Company's benefit, they feared "we shall have the least share of it".¹⁹ They warned

17. Ibid., p.288.

18. Quoted in Biddulph, n.9, pp.289-290.

19. Ibid.

their agents against "lavishing away our money in military ventures or in building forts or expensive factories".²⁰

The treaty was significant as this was the first time a treaty was entered by the Queen of Attingal but guaranteed by her brother, the King of Chenganatta.

As pointed out earlier, Attingal was the maternal house of the Rajah of Travancore who was obedient to the Queen of Attingal. However the present Queen's power had been eroded to such an extent that her brother the King of Chenganatta had to guarantee the treaty which she entered with Orme. It is quite clear from this that this Queen did not command that much power and respect as did the old Queen Ashure. As the present Queen was regarded as a foreigner to the royal family of Attingal by the natives, installed by the poolas, and having no direct line of relationship with the Rajah of Travancore, her prestige was never as high as that of the old Queen in the eyes of the natives and the local poolas. The Company realising the fading power of the Queen decided to buttress their position and safeguard their trade interests by opening direct negotiations with the Rajah of Travancore.

20. Ibid.

At this time, the reigning Rajah of Travancore was Unni Kerala Varma (1718-1724). He was a very weak ruler.²¹ But he had a nephew of extraordinary ability, Martanda Varma, whose counsels prevailed in the court of Travancore. Conscious of the fact that the Queen of Attingal could do nothing to ensure peace in the region, he requested his uncle to permit him to adopt measures for checking the rebellious spirit of the poolas. The Rajah permitted him to do as he chose in consultation with the officers of the state.²² Martanda Varma realised that the superior western military discipline and artillery wing of the English could be put to effective use against the enemies of the state.²³

Though the Company had already entered into a treaty with the Queen of Attingal by which she was promised with military aid to suppress her enemies, yet the Court of Directors' disapproval on lavishing money on unprofitable military ventures, put the Company servants on their guard. The Queen of Attingal had not been able to prosecute those who participated in the Attingal massacre due mainly to the opposition of the poolas. For instance, Vanjamutta's Nairs

21. Vaikathu Pachu Moothathu, Thiruvithamkoor Charithram (Cochin, 1867, 1986) Malayalam, p.33.

22. Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1878, 1984) I, p.108.

23. Ibid.

prevented the Queen from punishing one Cockoor, a Muslim inhabitant of Permadura, who participated in the Attingal massacre.²⁴ Though later Vanjamutta excused himself of being "accessory to the hindrance of justice being executed on the afforesaid murderer by throwing it on the Carriacar"²⁵ yet the Company due to such happenings were obliged to seek for other alternatives to protect their interests.

Moreover, Van Rheede who was the Commander of the Dutch at Cochin had pointed out that the King of Travancore did not possess powers to enter into contracts that were prejudicial to local interests.²⁶ If any ruler dared to make such contracts he would run the risk of being expelled and rejected by his subjects.²⁷

However, under the guidance and advice of Martanda Varma, the Rajah of Travancore had decided to assert his

24. John Wallis, n.4, p.40.

25. Ibid., p.41.

26. Selections from the Records of Madras government, Dutch Record No.14, Memoir Written in the Year 1677 A.D. by Hendrick Mariaan Van Rheede (Madras, 1911) p.32. "His 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, warfare or privileges and have not been approved in their own district and ratified at the meeting of their district assemblies", p.17.

27. Ibid.

power in the region by putting down the poolas. He was convinced that this could be done only with the help of the English. Martanda Varma was the man behind the King's decision to befriend the English East India Company.²⁸ Thus considerations of mutual interests and benefits resulted in the negotiations of a treaty between Martanda Varma as the Prince of Neyattingara, the acknowledged representatives of the Rajah of Travancore, and Alexander Orme on 25 April 1723. Its chief provisions were:

1. The Company was allowed to erect a fort at Colleche under the orders of the King of Travancore who should bear the cost of construction of the fort and also pay for the people placed in it.
2. The Company was obliged to supply the artillery and ammunitions of war for the fort.
3. The Company was permitted to build a mint for coining of fanams.²⁹ In addition, the government of Travancore agreed to remain "in league and united in good friendship with the Honourable Company".³⁰

28. T.K. Velu Pillai, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum 1940) 11, pp.251-252.

29. William Logan, A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar (Madras, 1879, 1889) III, p.9.

30. Ibid.

This treaty had momentous consequences in the history of the Anjengo settlement. This was in fact, the first treaty negotiated by the English East India Company with an Indian State.³¹ Also, for the first time in the history of the Anjengo settlement, a treaty was ratified by the Rajah of Travancore himself. The privilege of coining fanams given to the Company went a long way in cementing and strengthening the relationship between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore in the years to come. As a result of this treaty, the Company's position on the coast improved and their trade in pepper and spices developed rapidly. They supplied artillery and ammunitions and received pepper, cardamom and other spices in exchange.³² Thus, Travancore was assured of its military superiority and power in the region while the English benefited from trade.

However, the Company had not forgotten its initial commitment to punish the participants in the Attingal massacre. Accordingly three months later another engagement was entered into, this time by the King of Travancore himself and Alexander Orme by which the King agreed to punish the

31. K.M. Panikkar, A History of Kerala (Annamalai, 1960) p.229.

32. Ibid.

enemies who had caused loss to the Company in the Attingal massacre.³³ By this agreement the King seemed to express his desire to win back the confidence of the English, which had been shattered by the Attingal revolt. On the other hand, the Company realised that only if the King of Travancore had full power in his hand, they could enjoy a free and full trade in future. Therefore, the Company resolved "inspite of money expenses to put down the enemies and subject the country to the King".³⁴

This declaration had momentous consequences and pointed to the new trend in the political development of the region. Steps were taken to consolidate ^{the Travancore} the Rajah of Travancore, because the English realised that the only way out of the confused situation which threatened their trade was to have a "despotic monarch who would assign to them monopolies of the produce they came seeking and could enforce the same with a strong arm".³⁵ The very intention of subjecting the country to the King makes clear that the once powerful Queen of Attingal was fast losing her hold over the Company

33. William Logan, A Collection of Treaties and Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar (Madras, 1879) III, p.11.

34. Ibid.

35. William Logan, Malabar (Madras, 1887, 1951) I, p.350.

and the natives. The conclusion of the treaty established closer relations between the ruler of Travancore and the English East India Company at Anjengo, to the disadvantage of the Queen of Attingal. It largely strengthened the hands of the Rajah of Travancore against the poolas.

In consideration of this offer of help, the King of Travancore pledged himself with the Anjengo factor to compel Sendu Comoder (Cuddamon) to tender in writing "public pardon for the fault he has been guilty of against the honourable Company",³⁶ and to establish a banksaul (godown at Kulaccal) and not to supply any other European nation any goods which were necessary to the East India Company.³⁷ He further agreed to order for the supply of 1,00,000 piece goods every year in various kinds and to permit the Company to collect the customs on all imports and exports. In the customs account, the Company was to pay the King six thousand fanams annually in gold or other articles on account.³⁸

In 1724 Unni Kerala Varma died and was succeeded by his younger brother Rama Varma who was a junior uncle to Prince Martanda Varma.³⁹ In 1726 Rama Varma in consultation with and on the advice of the young prince took the most

36. William Logan, n.33, pp.11-12.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Shungoonny Menon, n.22, p.108.

important decision in the history of Travancore, to offer his allegiance to the new Mughal Governor of the Carnatic and solicited his help in exterminating the poolas.⁴⁰ He left for Trichinopoly accompanied by officers and paid homage and allegiance to the throne of Delhi "which inspite of wars that followed Aurangzeb's death was still the empire of India in the person of its Governor of the Carnatic".⁴¹ He agreed to pay a sum of Rs.3,000/- annually as tribute to the Nawab of Carnatic for supplying a suitable force to punish the rebels.⁴²

The Nawab of Carnatic had established himself as a political power in the Tamil country that lies to the East of Malabar with the help of the English. The Travancore Rajah knowing fully well the good relations between the English and the Nawab was naturally inclined to seek the help of the latter in his campaign against the poolas. Perhaps the Queen of Attingal realising that the Rajah of Travancore had asserted himself independently by concluding a treaty with the English decided to befriend the English in her turn in a more pronounced manner. This realisation though belated

40. K.M. Panikkar, n.31, p.233.

41. Ibid.

42. Nagam Aiya, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906)I, p.327.

could be taken as an attempt by the Queen to stem her diminishing fortunes in the region.

Accordingly on 18 March 1726, the Queen of Attingal with the consent of Vanjamutta poola and Cuddamon poola granted the English permission for setting up a factory at Eddawa.⁴³ This was done to obtain the favour and help of the "honourable Company during all the time which this government and the Honourable Company should last as well as that of augmenting the custom duties of the government".⁴⁴ In return for the factory at Eddawa, the Company had to pay the Queen 5,000 fanams, the Princess (her daughter) 2000 fanams, Vanjamutta poola 1,000 fanams, Cuddamon 1000 fanams, the Queen's Rejadore and Annavey 1000 fanams, and Adichen Concoply 200 fanams.⁴⁵ In the instrument of ratification, the Queen clearly stated that this grant had been made for obtaining the favour and help of the Company.

Soon there arose friction among the poolas at Attingal. Vanjamutta, Cuddamon, Barrela and Mandacca the four major factions of the poolas "began to strip each other of his power".⁴⁶ Though Vanjamutta initially held friendly relations

43. Anjengo Factory Records - 1750, Diaries and Consultation - 1750, 4 February 1750, p.68.

44. Quoted in Nagam Aiyar, n.42, p.328.

45. John Wallis, n.4, p.41.

46. Ibid., p.12.

with the Queen, he later began to rebel against her and the Company. He knew how to harass the Company when pepper was required.⁴⁷ In fact the Queen put the blame on Vanjamutta for obstructing the cutting of stones at Nadogundy for the Company's building.⁴⁸ The Queen conferred with Cunjee Ally, the sister of Cuddamon about Vanjamutta's opposition to stone cutting. She went to the extent of sending one Cunjan of Calliel Vidill to assist stone cutting besides sending some Nairs to protect Chagos (Thiyya) in cutting and bringing stones to the fort.⁴⁹ The Queen was thus set against Vanjamutta poolas in this affair.

About this time, the Queen demanded her customs from the Company. The Company promised to pay provided "she would send a receipt for it signed by both her poolas, whose hands in all publick affairs was customary to be put and who she very well knew had a part in her custom".⁵⁰ This reply was not liked by the Queen because the English tried to implicate the poolas in affairs which she considered to be her own. She was of the opinion that the poolas were entitled

47. Ibid., p.13.

48. Ibid., p.46.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., pp.43-44.

only to a gratuity when she received her annual presents and not to any part of her customs.⁵¹ She further stated that the Company by implicating the poolas in such affairs was responsible for the lowering of the prestige and power of the royal family, as not to be "able to protect the Company and vindicate her (Queen) own right".⁵²

The neighbouring powers of Attingal, the Kings of Chenganatta and Perittally watched this friction. They in turn began to "caress sometimes one sometimes another as it is suited with their advantage".⁵³ Cuddamon poola began to "favour the royal family in a more distinguishable manner than Vanjamutta, hoping thereby to be in a balance of power with the latter".⁵⁴ Thus both the poolas began to vie with one another for more power which had a destabilising effect on the Attingal Kingdom. Meanwhile the poolas of Travancore followed the example of those in Attingal and began to throw off their allegiance to the King "chiefly through the counsels of Vanjamutta poola and often in a reciprocal manner aided (they) each other as occasion required".⁵⁵

51. Ibid., p.44.

52. Ibid., pp.44-45.

53. Ibid., p.15.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

The poolas of Attingal and Travancore began manoeuvres for the destruction of the young Prince, Martanda Varma.⁵⁶ The young prince realised the danger to his life. He had to remain in disguise and proceed from place to place. He now realised the absolute necessity of adopting strong measures to check the rebellious spirit of the poolas. But the poolas under the guidance of Vanjamutta "obliged the King to fly his dominions several times, he escaping with his life narrowly".⁵⁷ Afraid of their evil intentions Prince Martanda Varma was obliged to reside at Attingal with the Senior Rani.⁵⁸

Matters reached a crisis when during the year 1728, the poolas conspired to murder the Queen and her son. The Senior Rani and her little son Rama Varma were travelling from Attingal to Trivandrum. The Pillamar (poolas) attacked the royal party for the purpose of assassinating the Rani and the Prince.⁵⁹ But owing to the chivalrous intervention of the Rani's consort Killimanoor Koil Thampuran, she and her son escaped, but the Thampuran surrendered his own life in a bid to save the royal family.⁶⁰ After this incident open war was declared by the Queen and the King of Travancore

56. Nagam Aiya, n.42, p.328.

57. John Wallis, n.4, p.16.

58. Nagam Aiya, n.42, p.328.

59. Pachu Muthathu, n.21, p.37.

60. T.K. Velu Pillai, A History of Travancore (Trivandrum, 1935) p.11. In recognition of the faithful conduct of the Koil Thampuran, grants of land embracing whole village called Killimanoor was given to the family of this distinguished hero and saviour of the Rani's and Prince's lives.

against the poolas. The Rani was very angry with Vanjamutta for instigating the poolas of Travancore against the young prince. Meanwhile Cuddamon poolas in conjunction with the Queen of Attingal and King of Travancore endeavoured to crush Vanjamutta.⁶¹ Keeping in view the fact that Vanjamutta had become an inveterate enemy of the Rajah of Travancore, the Queen had no other option but to go against Vanjamutta with the combined forces of Travancore and Attingal.⁶² She informed the Company of this resolution, and demanded the Company's assistance in her war against Vanjamutta.⁶³

Many open encounters and skirmishes took place between the two but no decisive stroke was dealt with. Martanda Varma retaliated against Vanjamutta. He burnt Vanjamutta's palace and "razed his fort of Pallichal".⁶⁴ Vanjamutta decried this act of the prince informing the Company that Martanda Varma had burnt his palace and fort of Pallichal together with about 500 houses that were within the fort, when none of his family were there to defend it.⁶⁵ However, the Queen claimed responsibility for the destruction of the fort of Pallichal.⁶⁶ Vanjamutta anyway vowed to avenge himself for

61. John Wallis, n.4, p.15.

62. Ibid., p.47.

63. Ibid., p.48.

64. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 20 April 1728, p.54.

65. John Wallis, n.4, p.46.

66. Ibid., p.48.

this act, and desired to know "whether the Company were for him or against him".⁶⁷ He insisted that the Company should not take sides with the Queen and informed them that he was not instrumental in the obstruction of stone cutting for the fort as accused by the Queen.⁶⁸

Later Vanjamutta in consultation with the King of Perittally, his Madembees and Elamby Pandally decided to burn the Queen's palace at Capi in retaliation for Prince Martanda Varma's action against Pallichal.⁶⁹ Consequently the Queen sought assistance from the English. But in the midst of these conflicts, keeping in mind the dangers to pepper trade that would arise if Vanjamutta was antagonised, also fearing another major attack on their fort, the Company observed strict neutrality.⁷⁰ They also knew "how detrimental it is for their agents or factors to involve them in disputes with the country powers, who when once exasperated are not to be quietened".⁷¹ Therefore they informed the Queen that in case they sided with Her Majesty, the poolas would definitely burn and destroy the English factory at Eddova and that

67. Ibid., p.47.

68. Ibid., p.50.

69. Ibid.

70. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 20 April 1728, p.54.

71. John Wallis, n.4, p.17.

since the quarrel in no-way concerned the Company, they were resolved to live in peace with everybody.⁷² The Queen in reply wrote to the English that the poolas had already taken over and destroyed the Capi and that she expected them to come against Cherrenga and Attingal.⁷³ She therefore requested five maunds of powder and four maunds of lead to be given to her.⁷⁴ She also wrote that she was in great need of money to pay her soldiers and, therefore, asked the Company to give her two thousand new fanams for the same.⁷⁵ She assured that she would remove all the obstacles to pepper trade and ensure free flow of pepper and promised to clear all pending account.⁷⁶

By then Vanjamutta defeated Martanda Varma and obliged him to retreat to the frontiers of Travancore. He thus established himself as a foremost power in Attingal⁷⁷ at the expense of the Queen of Attingal and King of Travancore.

72. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.70, p.54.

73. Ibid., Queen of Attingal to Alexander Orme, Anjengo, 8 November 1728, p.68.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., 7 November 1728, p.84.

76. Ibid., Queen of Attingal to Hezekiah King, Anjengo, 8 November 1728, p.68.

77. John Wallis, n.4, p.53.

Growing impatient with the Company's unfavourable attitude towards him, Vanjamutta threatened to destroy Eddova factory and demanded 10000 fanams as annual presents from the English as if he was the King of Attingal.⁷⁸ Probably Vanjamutta had an inkling about Alexander Orme being instrumental in bringing Martanda Varma into Attingal to fight his forces.⁷⁹ The Queen dissuaded the English from fulfilling the wishes of Vanjamutta by pointing out that Cuddamon poola following the example of Vanjamutta would demand similar presents which was not at all legitimate for it was the custom to give annual presents to the Queen and not to anybody else.⁸⁰

However, the English, determined to preserve their new factory at Eddova, decided to befriend Vanjamutta, if the Queen was not prepared to assure its safety.⁸¹ The Queen was unable to give any assurance to the English on this account.⁸² On the other hand Cuddamon poola realising the strength of Vanjamutta decided not to cater any more to the

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., p.36.

80. Ibid., p.54.

81. Ibid., p.55.

82. Ibid.

Queen's interests which was linked with Travancore.⁸³ In the meantime, Martanda Varma had made preparations to undo the poolas who were a threat to his authority. On 10 November 1728, the English received an ola from Martanda Varma that he was planning to set out to Trivandrum with a great force to confront his enemy.⁸⁴ This turned out to be successful. The poolas who received prior information gathered together on both sides of the river. But on 11 November, at night, the Prince came to Cherringa and crossed the river with about three thousand men and attacked the poolas. The poolas were no match for the Prince who could easily put them to flight.⁸⁵ He continued the pursuit until he had completely driven them away.

On 18 November the Prince wrote to the Chief of Anjengo that all his enemies had flown and that he had killed about fifteen of the poolas. He himself had lost only one of his men.⁸⁶ He also reported that a number of Madambees had made their peace with him to pay him six thousand fanams and that they had obliged themselves to repair the Capi with stone walls and to deliver all the guns that they had taken out of

83. Ibid., pp.58-59.

84. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Martanda Varma to Hezekiah King, Anjengo, 10 November 1728, p.68.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

that fort.⁸⁷ The Prince after completing his efforts passed by the Anjengo fort and the Company saluted him with seven guns and sent him a present of five venetians.⁸⁸

The King of Travancore and the Queen of Attingal sent Tollava and Crisna Annavy to the Chief of Anjengo to discuss and settle the customs dues from the Company. The Chief however reminded them of the great loss that the Company had incurred "and the great expense they have been at by keeping a force extraordinary occasioned by these troubles"⁸⁹ and that the King was unable to protect the Company's trade. He reminded Tollava that "we have not had any satisfaction or reparation made us for the massacre (Attingal)".⁹⁰ Notwithstanding so many treaties and grants the culprits were still at large and therefore it was unreasonable to make any payments to the Queen. To this, Tollava replied that the conflict between the poolas and the Rajah was only to chastize the culprits of Attingal massacre,⁹¹ and that the Company "ought to consider the Kings for the great expenses

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., p.69

89. Ibid.

90. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Queen of Attingal to Chief, Anjengo, 10 December 1728, p.77.

91. Ibid.

they have been at and that the King was always ready to do the Company any justice in their power."⁹²

While negotiations were going on, Alexander Orme was relieved of his post in September 1728.⁹³ He was accused of gross mismanagement. He was believed to have augmented the number of forces and swelled the charges of the garrison unreasonably without coming to any action with the enemy, to have set up the Queen to fight the Company's battles, to have carried his resentment against particular merchants instead of prosecuting a general war, to have aided and spirited up the Princess to plunder a Pagoda with the hopes of sharing the booty, to have lent the King of Travancore large sums of money without the consent of his superiors or the factors and to have brought the Prince Martanda Varma to Attingal to chastize Vanjamutta.⁹⁴ As all these projects proved to be ineffective, he blamed the Company for failing on their part in not sending him sufficient forces, though

92. Ibid.

93. Letters to Fort St. George - 1729, John Wallis, Anjengo to James Macral, Governor, Fort St. George, 18 July 1729, p.89. Alexander Orme left Anjengo and took a passage in Harford which went directly to Bengal.

94. John Wallis, n.4, p.36. He kept a garrison of 250 men at Anjengo to chastize "as he gave out the Mallabars" p. 37.

he very well knew that the Company was not in a position to carry on war in Attingal. On complaints made to the Governor and Council of Bombay concerning Orme's mismanagement, a Commissary was sent to enquire into and regulate the affairs of Anjengo.⁹⁵

Nevertheless Orme had made many improvements to the Fort of Anjengo. Many additional constructions were undertaken. A range of rooms were constructed along the southern and eastern courtins. He improved the revenues of the Company. Large-scale cultivation of coconut plants was undertaken. About six thousand coconut plants were planted.⁹⁶ The matured trees were rented at a fanam each. Besides tobacco, betelnut and arrack licences were rented out and a levy of 5% was imposed on all coir exported from Attingal.⁹⁷ Alexander Orme thus improved the finances of the Company. During his chiefship there occurred a mutiny on board the John and Mary. The Captain Marmaduke Crofton and his officers were murdered. An enquiry was conducted and report was forwarded to Fort William by Alexander Orme.⁹⁸ After Orme's

95. Ibid., p.38.

96. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 20 April 1728, p.54.

97. Ibid.

98. Colonel D.G. Crawford, n.11, p.147. Alexander Orme died in Bengal. According to the register of St. Annes Church, Calcutta, his burial was on 19 April 1736, p.142.

departure to Bengal James Salisbury, the paymaster, took charge of the affairs of the factory till John Wallis succeeded him.

After the death of King Rama Varma, Martanda Varma ascended the throne of Travancore in 1729.⁹⁹ Though only 23 years old he learnt both warfare and statecraft at a very early age. He was an able and ambitious King. The system of government under him continued without any change. The King was the Head of the State, assisted by a Valia Sarvadhikariakar (Prime Minister) under the direct orders of the King. The Secretarial work was carried out by Neetezhuthu Pillay (Secretary) and the Rayasom Pillay (Under Secretary) and by the several Rayasoms or clerks and Kanakku Pillamars or Accountants. Inferior to the rank of Valia Sarvadhikariakar or Dewan were officers known as Sarvadhikariakars who had jurisdiction over districts.¹⁰⁰ Political correspondence was carried on by the Valia Sarvadhikariakar with foreign powers, and he signed treaties and engagements. All important questions were submitted to the King's decision without whose orders nothing was to be executed.¹⁰¹

99. Pachu Muthathu, n.21, p.37.

100. Nagam Aiya, n.42, pp.329-330.

101. Ibid., p.330.

At the time of Martanda Varma's accession, the condition of the state bordered on the anarchy. The finances of the country were highly unsatisfactory. There was no organised department for the transaction of the home affairs.¹⁰² His attention was first directed to laying the foundation of a good government and for this men of real worth were selected to fill offices of trust and responsibility. Arumuka Pillai, the acting Dalawa and an officer of high merit, was confirmed and Kumaraswamy Pillai, a brave and veteran soldier, was made the commander-in-chief and the Dalawa's brother Thanu Pillai made his assistant. Rama Iyen a Brahmin youth of exceptional talents was appointed Rayasom and several other deserving men were appointed to various departments of the government.¹⁰³ However, confusion in the kingdom continued unabated. The poolas were still a force to reckon with in the politics of Travancore. Martanda Varma, sensing danger to his supremacy from the poolas turned with a firm hand to deal with them.

Meanwhile John Wallis of Anjengo tried to establish peace with the Queen of Attingal. He even decided to carry

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid., p.334.

the presents to the Queen which practice was abandoned after the Attingal massacre.¹⁰⁴ But John Wallis had to pay a very high price for his folly of corresponding directly with the Court of Directors. He was suspended and recalled from service.¹⁰⁵ He was succeeded by Hezikiah King.

While the Travancore and Attingal kingdoms were embroiled in internal disputes, the French at Mahe decided to take advantage of the confused situation. They visited the King of Travancore with presents of 15 yards of scarlet clothes, three fire-locks and twenty five pagodas¹⁰⁶ and sought permission to settle at Eddova and Colachel to which the King replied that Eddova was given to the English and as for Colachel he would consider it later.¹⁰⁷ Even the Dutch at Cochin tried to exploit the internal disharmony. The Dutch Commodore of Cochin wrote to the Rajah of Travancore that he believed the Rajah and the English were having difference of opinion, and he offered to build a fort in the Rajah's country to protect the Rajah against his enemy, insinuating the enemies to be English.¹⁰⁸ The Rajah however refused all these overtures of the Dutch and the French.

104. Letters to Fort St. George - 1729, John Wallis, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 18 July 1729, p.90.

105. For details see Chapter - The Factory Establishment.

106. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 21 November 1728, p.69.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., Queen of Attingal to Chief, Anjengo, 10 December 1728, p.78.

During the Chiefship of Hezikiah King, the hostilities of the poolas continued. However the ties between the Queen and the Company were not weakened. On the contrary the Queen finding that mutual trade would benefit both the parties and ensure amicable relations with the Anjengo factors, entered into an agreement with them on 5 April 1729.¹⁰⁹ By this, the Company agreed to present 75 venetians to the Queen annually in return for pepper. They were to pay a custom duty of 5 rajeos (50 chakrams) for every candy of pepper from which she allowed 20% to the Company. The Queen agreed to supply "all the pepper that may have in my country"¹¹⁰ and ensured the transportation of the same to the fort of Anjengo "free of all embarrassment whatever in these territories."¹¹¹ The Company also undertook to pay the customs on pepper only to the Queen and not to anyone else in her country.¹¹² Thus this treaty proved to be beneficial, to both, the Queen reaping financial gains and the Company the monopoly of pepper.

This treaty was very significant at a time when the country was embroiled in war. It granted the English East

109. Anjengo Diary - 1803, Translate of an agreement written in Silver Ola by Princess of Attingal and Hezikiah King, Anjengo, 5 April 1729, pp.15-16, see Appendix-III.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

India Company monopoly of pepper trade in the kingdom of Attingal. The factors of Anjengo sighed with relief as firm peace was at last established between the Company and the Queen. Their fear of the Queen losing her power was found to be baseless. They continued with further negotiations. Hezikiah King mustered up courage to exact reparation from the Princess of Attingal for the wrong their former chiefs and factors suffered ten years ago in 1721 at the hands of the natives. On 10 January 1731, Hezikiah King obtained two olas by which the King of Travancore and the Queen of Attingal confirmed the gardens of Palatady and Cottudali to the Honourable Company.¹¹³ The grant ceded the gardens "giving up their revenues and the right of cutting trees and all other privileges which the Company may take, and they and their heirs may enjoy these gardens without any obstacle or having any obstruction".¹¹⁴ In return for this, the Queen wanted a "free passage and protection on the part of the Honourable Company."¹¹⁵

The acquisition of these gardens was advantageous to the Company in the coming years. They were rented out for a large amount of money thereby increasing the revenues of

113. William Logan, Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar (Madras, 1879, 1891) III, p.19.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

the Company. The grant was thus a personal achievement for Hezikiah King as it was only through his efforts that the Company finally were able to obtain reparations for the Attingal massacre. He remained Chief of the factory till 1734, when he was succeeded by William Wake.¹¹⁶

The feudatory poolas began to rebel again and they now brought into their fold the late Raja Rama Varma's sons known as Kunju Thambies alias Papu Thamby and Ramen Thamby who had held high position during the life time of their father, but who were now reduced to the level of ordinary nobles by Martanda Varma. They felt this degradation keenly and therefore decided to ally with the poolas to overthrow the royal authority.¹¹⁷ The disgruntled Thambies approached the Pandyan Kingdom of Trichinopoly for assistance. Alagappa Moodeliar promised help and he actually came with a force and encamped at Pullikurrichi. But Martanda Varma sent his deputies Remayyan and Narayanayyan to convince Moodeliar of the false claims of the Thambies.¹¹⁸ Moodeliar reprimanded the Thambies and returned with his force to Trichinopoly. Martanda Varma then acted quickly. He organised his army

116. Letter to Fort St. George - 1735, William Wake, Anjengo to Honble Richard Benyon, Fort St. George, 10 May 1735, p.44.

117. Shungoonny Menon, n.22, p.116.

118. Pachu Muthathu, n.21, pp.39-40.

of Maravers and Nairs. Regiments of infantry with fire-arms were formed and maintained. Fortifications were built at vantage places garrisoned by detachments. Spies were appointed through out the country and from them he received private intelligence about each and every movements of the poolas.¹¹⁹ Martanda Varma was thus able to annihilate his inveterate enemies, the Madambees or the poolas. Forty two nobles and chiefs of their confederates were tried and sentenced to death.¹²⁰ They were all hanged at a place known by the name Mukhamandapam, a few miles north west of Kulculam. He ensured the total destruction of the entire kith and clan of the enemies of the royal house. He gave orders to seize the women and children and hand them over to the fishermen, thus making them outcastes.¹²¹ Thus in the year 1735, Martanda Varma consolidated his power, by suppressing the Madembees or poolas who defied his authority.

It is not clear whether the English rendered help in the final assault against the poolas. Golleness, the Dutch Commander recorded in his memoir that it was "with the help

119. Velu Pillai, n.60, p.17.

120. Pachu Muthathu, n.21, p.43.

121. Ibid.

of the English that Martanda Varma was able to suppress the rebellion of the nobles and the refractory chieftains".¹²² Native records are silent about the assistance of the Company. In the earlier war against the poolas, Anjengo factors did provide arms and ammunitions but in the Anjengo records of 1735 and later there is no mention of the assistance given by the Company in wiping out the poolas.

Next Martanda Varma embarked on a programme of expansion. He turned towards his neighbouring territories. In 1734, he attacked and conquered Elayadathu Swarupam in which Perittally kingdom was absorbed.¹²³ The acquisition of Perittally and Elayadathu Swarupam literally doubled the dominions of Travancore. In the same year Martanda Varma attacked the King of Kayamkulam who fell in the battle on 10 June 1734.¹²⁴ The King of Quilon (Desinganad) or Signatty continued the war to avenge the death of his uncle, the deceased King of Kayamkulam.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, Martanda Varma began to make extensive preparations for another war with Kayamkulam.

122. A. Galletti, trans. and ed., The Dutch in Malabar (Madras, 1911), p.53.

123. Ibid., p.55.

124. T.I. Poonen, Dutch Hegemony in Malabar and its Collapse (A.D. 1663-1795) (Trivandrum, 1978) p.94.

125. Ibid.

In the meantime, the Dutch East India Company who had factories at Kayamkulam and Quilon realised the danger to their settlements if Martanda Varma grew very powerful.¹²⁶ Hitherto they had observed a neutral policy in the quarrels between Travancore and Kayamkulam. But now as they saw a rising menace in the power of Martanda Varma, they decided to interfere to safeguard their interest and benefits. As a result they decided to ally with the Kings of Quilon, Cochin and Porcad to attack Travancore.¹²⁷ The Dutch sent a messenger to Martanda Varma insinuating that all his annexations were unjust, to which the Maharajah replied with a stern warning that they need not meddle in affairs which did not concern them. The Dutch were angry but they did not do anything in haste since they knew that the English were in good terms with the Rajah and if they choose to help him, the Dutch designs on Travancore would fail. So they wrote a threatening letter to the English at Anjengo informing them that they had already declared war against the King of Travancore and that the English must remain neutral.¹²⁸ True to their word the Dutch began their attack at Quilon

126. Galletti, n.122, p.23.

127. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 18 February 1739, p.145, T.I. Poonen, Dutch Hegemony in Malabar and its Collapse, p.96.

128. Ibid.

with their ships.¹²⁹ In the war that followed the Rajah of Travancore was forced to retreat. The Dutch burnt and destroyed Attingal. Thus they became masters of the country down almost as low as Anjengo.¹³⁰

Poola Vanjamutta in order to settle his old score against the Rajah of Travancore helped the King of Quilon. The Rajah of Travancore managed to obtain arms and ammunitions from the English at Anjengo,¹³¹ even though Charles Whitehill the new Chief of Anjengo tried his best to be neutral. In a letter to the Court of Directors he wrote "we have no reason to engage in the disputes between the King of Travancore and Chenganaut".¹³² But he soon got information that the Dutch were planning to take possession of a "point of land within musket shott of our factory Eddova".¹³³ The Dutch were asked immediately to abandon warfare. As a precaution they sent 50 men to Eddova as most

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid., for details of war see T.I. Poonen, Dutch Hegemony in Malabar and its collapse, p.97. A. Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, p.83.

131. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 15 October 1739, p.159. Charles Whitehill became the Chief in the month of August - 1739, Public Department - 1739, Fort St. George to Charles Whitehill, Anjengo, 9 August 1739, p.75.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid., p.147.

of the pepper was stored at that factory.¹³⁴ They also wrote to the Commodore of the Dutch force that the coast of Eddova down to Brinjohn belonged to the English.¹³⁵ But the Dutch seemed to have obtained reinforcement from Ceylon. They landed at Colachel, and from there they commenced an attack. They attacked Attingal. But it was a disaster and they lost a good number of men.

After this, the Dutch and the Rajah of Quilon did not attempt further attacks on Attingal.¹³⁶ They wrote a very rude letter to Charles Whitehill protesting against the English violation of neutrality and allying with the King of Travancore.¹³⁷ But the English maintained that they did not break neutrality and that they could claim an ancient and just title to the seashore from Eddova to Brinjohn and that they possessed indisputable authority to hoist their flags there.¹³⁸ To this Gollennesse insultingly replied "we know that in Eddava and Brinjohn both of you have little houses or huts which you call factories... we have enquired of knowing persons in this matter the same and they certify

134. Ibid.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid., Commodore, Cochin to Charles Whitehill, Anjengo 9 December 1739, p.161.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid., Charles Whitehill to Commodore Cochin, 12 December 1739, p.161.

us that your jurisdiction extends about three steps round your factory".¹³⁹

Besides the Dutch, even the Naiks of Madura turned against the English, and began to ply in ships and sloops threatening the people along the sea-coast. In this situation, Charles Whitehill decided to provide arms and ammunitions to the Rajah of Travancore against any attack from the Naiks of Madura.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, he had to contend against the Dutch fleet which began to forbid all vessels from calling at Anjengo and even caught pepper merchants who were sent off to Batavia as slaves.¹⁴¹

After lying low for sometime, the Dutch with fresh reinforcement invaded Travancore territory. They landed at Tengapatam, Cadiapatnam and other places in South Travancore and began harrasing the inhabitants.¹⁴² As a major part of the Travancore forces was concentrated in the north, the entire country between Colachel and Kottar surrendered

139. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Gollennesse, Quilon to Stephen Law, Governor, Bombay, 12 March 1740, p.180.

140. Ibid., Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Court of Directors, England, 18 February 1739, p.157.

141. Ibid.

142. Nagam Aiya, n.42, p.342.

to the Dutch who, seeing no opposition, made preparations to "attack Travancore in his own country".¹⁴³ The Rajah of Travancore abandoned his northern expedition and rushed back. As the English help was not forthcoming sufficiently, he sought the help of the French against the Dutch. He concluded a treaty with the French by which the French bound themselves to assist the Rajah against his enemies. He agreed to grant them certain lands at Colachel and other parts of the coast for building fortifications and factories and allowed them to carry on commerce with Travancore.¹⁴⁴ The French arrived with two ships and two brigantine and landed with about one hundred men at Colachel.¹⁴⁵ However the Anjengo factors realising that they would lose the confidence of the Travancore Rajah if they did not assist him adequately sought help from the Tellicherry fort who sent them an officer, gunner and forty men with ammunitions.¹⁴⁶

With the help of the English, the Rajah of Travancore constructed several batteries within forty yards of the

143. Galletti, n.122, p.83.

144. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 18 February 1740, p.151.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid., p.153.

Dutch forts.¹⁴⁷ In August 1741, the small Dutch garrison at Colachel was attacked by the Rajah's troops¹⁴⁸ and the provisions or rice were destroyed.¹⁴⁹ Owing to lack of provisions, the Dutch garrison surrendered on 7 August 1741.¹⁵⁰ This victory however did not bring much accolades to the Rajah of Travancore as it was known to every one that it was lack of provision which compelled the Dutch to give up Colachel. However, the battle of Colachel was a disaster for the Dutch. It shattered their hopes of conquering Travancore. There were a number of Dutch prisoners who were entertained by the Rajah.¹⁵¹ On the capture of Colachel, the King had about 350 Europeans and Mallays who were ready to serve him.¹⁵² Peace could not be established immediately as even in the year 1742, the atmosphere was tense. The Dutch were awaiting forces from the new general

147. Letter to Fort St. George - 1741, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 11 July 1741, p.142.

148. T.I. Poonen, n.124, p.98.

149. Galletti, n.122, p.83.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid., p.25. The most distinguished among the Dutch prisoners were Duyvenschot and Lanoy. The former was appointed to command the Rajah's forces and the latter was afterwards appointed Commander-in-chief of the King's forces which is said to have comprised about 50,000 men. Lanoy served Martanda Varma and his successor for 37 years. See also, Nagam Aiyar, The Travancore State Manual-I, p.358, and Shungoonny Menon, History of Travancore, p.165, Lanoy was called "Valiya Kappithan", the great Captain of the Travancore force.

152. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 8 December 1741, p.200.

of Batavia and the Rajah was expecting assistance from the French who were making great preparations of war.¹⁵³

Formal peace between the Dutch and the Rajah of Travancore was concluded only in the year 1743. The peace treaty containing 27 clauses was signed at Mavelikkara on 22 May 1743, between Martanda Varma, Rajah of Travancore and Commander Reinicus Siersma on behalf of the Dutch Company.¹⁵⁴ The Dutch were compelled to recognise all the claims of the Rajah of Travancore. They dropped all their schemes for large territorial acquisition on the west coast of India for the moment.¹⁵⁵

Within three years after the battle of Colachel, the English at Anjengo realised that Martanda Varma had decided to take upon himself the direction of the pepper trade.¹⁵⁶ This situation where the state intended to monopolise the pepper trade was viewed as unfavourable to the Company's

153. Letters to Fort St. George - 1742, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 2 September 1742, p.134.

154. T.I. Poonen, n.124, p.105.

155. Galletti, n.122, p.24.

156. Ashin Das Gupta, Malabar in Asian Trade - 1740-1800 (Cambridge, 1967) p.34.

interests. In December 1744, the Bombay Castle instructed the Anjengo factory "to adhere as close as possible to the ancient method of contracting for pepper".¹⁵⁷ However due to the intervention of the new chief Richard Bouchier, the English managed to obtain a relaxation by which they were permitted to trade without government intervention within certain area of the kingdom of Travancore until about 1746.¹⁵⁸ Having established peace with the Dutch, and negotiated with the English on the question of trade, Martanda Varma had asserted for once his authority over not only the local powers but also the Europeans.

After his victory over the Dutch, the Rajah of Travancore annexed Kayamkulam to his kingdom. The fort and palace of the Kayamkulam King were seized.¹⁵⁹ Moreover Martanda Varma, following his policy of expansionism resolved to take direct control over the kingdom of Attingal too. During the Chiefship of Charles Whitehill annual presents due to the Queen for four years 1740-1743 amounting to 15,450 Gallion fanams was decided to be paid to her.¹⁶⁰

157. Ibid., p.35

158. Ibid., for details see Chapter Trade.

159. K.M. Panikkar, n.31, p.245.

160. Secretariat Inwards - 1743, Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 23 May 1743, p.165.

But soon Charles Whitehill handed over the charge of the fort to Richard Bouchelr.¹⁶¹ It was during his chiefship that the power of the Rani of Attingal was totally wiped out. Anjengo factors in their letter to Bombay Castle wrote "Queen of Attinga's authority is entirely abolished as well as all the offices round all over the country and his own creatures put in".¹⁶² Another letter stated that the King of Travancore had wholly taken the authority and revenue of Attingal to his own possession and placed a young prince there to govern it and that the Queen has no power except an annual maintenance and the annual present.¹⁶³

Taking away the power of the Rani of Attingal was a significant step. The Ranis of Attingal were sovereigns of their dominion. But after the amalgamation of Attingal, the Rani became merely a figurehead. It has been stated by the official manualist that this was a political measure intended to prevent the Kayamkulam Rajah from entering Travancore through Attingal.¹⁶⁴ He further dismisses this

161. Ibid., 22 October 1743, p.245.

162. Ibid.

163. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1743, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 23 May 1743, p.168.

164. Velu Pillai, n.28, p.299.

amalgamation as a routine affair. According to him the Rajah of Travancore had every right to seize power because the Rani of Attingal had no political authority, and such power that she exercised were nothing more than what was delegated to her by the lawful Karanavan of her Tharavad.¹⁶⁵ However, when the original grant was made by Queen Ashure to the English East India Company to form a settlement at Anjengo, there was never any mention of the King of Travancore in the grant. In the early days of the Company's trade at Attingal, the English had dealings only with the Queen. The Rajah of Travancore never figured in any of their negotiations during this period. The Company servants even took care to see that the Queen was not antagonised, lest their trade may suffer. Neither during the attack ordered by the Queen on the half-finished fort at Anjengo in 1697 nor during the Attingal Massacre and revolt of 1721, did the Rajah of Travancore had any principal role to play in the kingdom of Attingal. In the light of these evidences it is difficult to agree with the views of the official author of the State Manual that the Queen had no political authority. In fact, the records go to prove that Queen Ashure was quite a powerful monarch, even though she had to contend with the power of her poolas. Moreover, she had the Rajah of Travancore at her

165. Ibid., p.299.

beck and call. It was only after the death of the old Queen that the Attingal kingdom was weakened due to internal strife. But for the accession of Martanda Varma to the throne of Travancore it is difficult to imagine the subjection of Attingal to Travancore.

During the Chiefship of Richard Bouchier, the Rajah of Travancore clamoured for arms and ammunitions from Anjengo. The Madras government declared its inability to supply arms and ammunitions to Anjengo as war was declared against France. In 1745, Bouchier received intelligence of French ship carrying away pepper from Retorah in the Company's limit. He at once sent "a sergeant, corporal and ten private men in a munchua and a well manned boat with orders to seize any French man they find in the Company's limits and bring him to Anjengo".¹⁶⁶ During this time there was a general scare of the French attacking the fort of Anjengo. The Bombay government alerted Anjengo officials of such an eventuality.¹⁶⁷ They suspected the Rajah of Travancore of having illegal correspondence with the French at Pondicherry.¹⁶⁸

166. Anjengo Diary - 1745, At a Consultation, March 1745, p. 87.

167. Secretariat Outward Letter Book - 1746, Bombay Castle to Richard Bouchier, Anjengo, 26 September 1746, p.139.

168. Anjengo Diary - 1746, Bouchier, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 26 September 1746, p.140.

The Rajah of Travancore, however, denied any involvement with the French. He also tried to pacify the Anjengo officials that in case the French attacked Anjengo, he would help the Company. He further hinted about a possible attack by the French as they were a maritime nation.¹⁶⁹ Bouchier however, got ready to meet the French menace. Arrangements were made to evacuate the women and children from the fort. The Rajah of Travancore ordered one of his palaces to be cleaned out for the reception of the English women and children in case of a French attack, thereby proving to be well-wisher of the Company.¹⁷⁰

In 1748, the Rajah's officers demanded the annual presents of the Queen of Attinga to be brought to the Rajah of Travancore.¹⁷¹ This gave a rude jolt to the Company officials. Earlier even though there was a rumour of the Rajah absorbing the Attingal kingdom, the presents were always made to the Queen of Attingal. The Rajah now totally abolished the valuable privileges of the Queen. He not only, "usurped the Queendom",¹⁷² but had overrun all the neighbouring Princes to the very border of the Cochin country. They informed Bombay Castle that the King "grows more insolent

169. Ibid.

170. Ibid., At a Consultation, 3 November 1746, p.154.

171. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1748, Bouchier, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 25 February 1748, p.53.

172. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1749, Bouchier, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 14 September 1749, p.259.

and predatory in his demand which makes him very hard to be borne".¹⁷³ Soon the Rajah himself informed the Anjengo factors that hereafter all the presents which were to be given to the Rani should be given to him.¹⁷⁴ However, the Company officials were reluctant to carry the presents to the Rajah. Bouchier held that since the presents of the Queen was founded on ancient privileges, which was abolished by the Rajah, he had no right to demand such presents.¹⁷⁵ When arguments were going on in full swing, the Queen intervened on behalf of the Rajah. She informed Bouchier that she was contented that the King of Travancore should receive the annual present due to her.¹⁷⁶ Bouchier had no option but to make presents to the Rajah. He however decided to make them on fresh demand.¹⁷⁷ In February 1750, Bouchier was succeeded by Thomas Byfeld as chief of Anjengo.¹⁷⁸

173. Ibid., 23 May 1749, p.213.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid., 14 September 1749, p.261.

176. Foreign Powers extract Selections - 1796, A list of olas delivered by R. Bouchier on his resigning the Chiefship to Thomas Byfeld, Anjengo, 4 February 1750, pp. 128-129.

177. Anjengo Factory Records - 1749, Rajah of Travancore to Bouchier, Anjengo, 16 November 1749, p.28.

178. Records of Fort St. George - 1750, Anjengo to Charles Floyer, Governor, Bombay Castle, 20 February 1750, p.13.

Bouchier's chiefship was significant. He gave a face-lift to the defence of the fort. He asked for finances from the Bombay government. But they asked him to submit an estimate of the expenses to be submitted for the President's and Council's approval.¹⁷⁹ Accordingly Bouchier sent an advice in detail about the repairs of the fort. He planned to lengthen the platform to the sea so as to cover the magazine which was incapable of withstanding the enemy.¹⁸⁰ He also supervised the military equipments and made arrangements to make changes. He examined the war-like stores and made arrangements to fill proper number of cartridges for all the great guns. The garrison was put in the best posture of defence.¹⁸¹ In the year 1750, in consequence of orders from Bombay Richard Bouchier proceeded to Bombay to succeed William Wake who was the Governor of Bombay. Bouchier was thus succeeded by Thomas Byfeld who took charge of Anjengo factory in February 1750.¹⁸² Byfeld was the Chief only for a year.

179. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1744, 2 October 1744, p.45.

180. Ibid.

181. Ibid.

182. Records of Fort St. George - 1750, n.178, p.13.

During Byfeld's chiefship, the marriage ceremony of the second heir of Travancore with the Princess of Attingal was celebrated.¹⁸³ As usual presents were demanded from the Company on this occasion.¹⁸⁴ Byfeld had an audience with the Rajah of Travancore lasting for four hours, during which time he put forth a number of grievances. The main point raised by him was the loss that the Company suffered in being debarred from free liberty of trade for the previous two years. He brought to the notice of the Rajah the clandestine purchase of pepper trade by the Dutch Company in his territory, who were not even his friends, but who on the contrary had invaded his country.¹⁸⁵ He even mentioned about the frequent visits of the French in his court for forming a settlement at Colachel. This, he emphatically pointed out was in violation of the grant of 30 July 1724.¹⁸⁶ Another point raised was the violation of ancient sea-rules by the Marcars of the boat and the poolas. According to the ancient rules, no vessel belonging to the subject of Attingal shall navigate without passing the fort to give their identity and their destination.¹⁸⁷ To all these allegations the Rajah

183. Anjengo Factory Records - 1750, 9 May 1750, p.177.

184. Ibid., 21 April 1750, p.131.

185. Ibid., 9 May 1750, p.179.

186. Ibid., p.182.

187. Ibid., p.181.

agreed to look into and thus the conference broke up. This was the first instance when the Chief had a prolonged conference with the Rajah. In the month of February 1751, Byfeld embarked for England.¹⁸⁸ He was succeeded by Thomas Hodges as Chief. Thomas Hodges also held the post only for a year 1751-1752, during which period he improved the housing facilities of the Company servants which were in a deplorable state.¹⁸⁹ He left Anjengo for Bombay in April 1752 and on 15 April George Scott arrived at Anjengo as the Chief.¹⁹⁰

After the subjection of the local rulers and the European powers, Martanda Varma initiated certain measures in accordance with the prescription of the Vedas to expiate his crimes and also for the general prosperity of his kingdom. He celebrated the Murajapom ceremony.¹⁹¹ After celebrating Murajapom, he dedicated his kingdom to Lord Sri Padmanabha, the royal deity of Travancore, and declared that from that day onwards he was the vassal of Sri Padmanabha Swamy.¹⁹²

188. Anjengo Consultations - 1751, Rajah of Travancore to Byfeld, Anjengo, 7 February 1751, p.191.

189. Anjengo Diary - 1751, 18 August 1751, p.7.

190. Letters to Fort St. George - 1752, George Scott, Chief Anjengo to Thomas Saunders, President and Governor, Fort St. George, 14 June 1752, p.141.

191. Shungoonny Menon, n.22, p.169. This ceremony consists in the lighting of the sacred lamp. One hundred thousand lamps were lighted to the chanting of prayers by the Brahmins. Martanda Varma celebrated it in a grand style at an outlay of two lakhs of rupees.

192. Ibid., p.171.

In the year 1750, the Queen of Attingal died at the age of seventy nine. On receipt of this news twenty half minute guns were fired from the ramparts of the fort, with flags at half mast and an order was issued by the beat of drums forbidding fishing or keeping open shops within the space of five days which was customary on such occasion.¹⁹³ After the death of the Queen of Attingal, the King celebrated another costly ceremony called Hiranyagarbhadanam. This was celebrated on the advise of the Brahmins for his own re-nativity. This was a unique ceremony in the sense that a golden cow weighing 267 pounds of pure gold was made and after many rituals the Rajah would enter and remain for three days inside the cow and on the fourth day he would emerge out of it, purified from all the crimes of his past life.¹⁹⁴ After this, the golden cow was cut to pieces and distributed among

193. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1750, At a Consultation, 18 March 1750, p.219.

194. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1751, At a Consultation, 16 June 1751, p.265.

the Brahmins who conducted this ceremony.¹⁹⁵ On this occasion, congratulatory presents were sent to him by the Dutch at Cochin and the English at Anjengo.

Despite celebrating such costly ceremonies, the peace which had prevailed in his kingdom was short-lived. The Dutch were aware that Martanda Varma in course of time would become the master of the whole of Malabar unless the Company intervened and frustrated his designs.¹⁹⁶ They realised the

195. Ibid., This ceremony was not exclusive to Travancore, according to D.D. Kosambi several southern Kings of tribal origin performed this ceremony - Kosambi D.D., The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline (London, 1965) p.171. The significance of this ceremony was debated by many scholars. Nagam Aiya, in his Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) I, p. 361, Shungoonny Menon, in his A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1878, 1984) I, p.57 and Velu Pillai in his A History of Travancore (Trivandrum, 1935) p. 25, are unanimous that this was a coronation ceremony, but their view cannot be accepted as later Rajah's did not perform identical ceremony for their enthronement. The second version is by E.H. Nolan, who stated that this is an expiation for the sins committed earlier - The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East from the Earliest Times to the Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1859 (London, N.D) II, p.160. The third version is that this is an ennobling ceremony, the object of which was to raise the Rajah of Travancore from the Sudra to the Kshatriya Caste. Tradition ascribes that the Rajah of Travancore was not a Kshatriya. Only the Rajah of Cochin was a Surya Kula Kshatriya. While Kolattiri, Zamorin and Travancore Rajahs were not pure Kshatriyas - Padmanabha Menon, K.P. History of Kerala (Delhi, 1924, 1982) I, p. 536. After performing this ceremony the Rajah is said to attain the status of a Kshatriya "with the gotra of the Brahmin priest" - D.D. Kosambi, p.171.

196. T.I. Poonen, n.124, p.116.

futility of waging war against Travancore as it was not worthwhile for them to meet the heavy expenses of war. They felt it was in their interest to make a treaty with Travancore providing for the neutrality of the Company. But they wanted to assist the Rajah with ammunitions so that Travancore could continue her scheme of expansion without any hindrance provided the Company obtain certain quantity of pepper below market price.¹⁹⁷

Thus they concluded the treaty of Mavelikara on 15 August 1753.¹⁹⁸ According to the terms of the treaty, the Dutch promised not to stand in the way of expansion of Travancore¹⁹⁹ and were to supply arms and ammunitions worth 12,000 rupees every year.²⁰⁰ In return Martanda Varma agreed to supply 3000 candies at the rate of 65 rupees per candy from Travancore and Attingal, and another 2000 candies at Rs.55 from the principalities he had conquered.²⁰¹

197. Ibid., p.117.

198. Ashin Das Gupta, n.156, p.43.

199. Ibid.

200. Ibid.

201. Galletti, n.122, p.24. See also Poonen, p.118, Ashin Das Gupta, p.43.

By this treaty, the Travancore state acquired the monopoly of pepper trade. The English at 'njengo felt that the introduction of the state monopoly affected the merchants adversely. Some of the newly conquered territories of the Rajah like Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, Peritally and Attingal were all areas where pepper grew in abundance.²⁰² The control of these areas confirmed the political influence and the economic power of the Rajah of Travancore in South Malabar at the expense of the other local powers and also the English and the Dutch.

When Martanda Varma came to the throne, Travancore was only a minor principality. Within few years of his accession he changed the entire map of Travancore. He uprooted the poolas who had long rendered the kingdom impotent. He next speedily conquered Quilon, Kayamkulam, Marta, Eledattu Swarupam, Peritally. Besides these, the treaty of 1753, helped him to conquer Tekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, Purakkad and portion of Cochin Kingdom between Purakkad and Arukkurry.²⁰³ All these kingdom~~s~~ along with his original kingdom of

202. T.I. Poonen, n.129, p.11. Thekkumkur was an independent kingdom with a considerable area situated on the eastern side of the backwater now known as Vembanad Kayal. It was bounded on the south by Kayamkulam and Accan Koyil river and on the north by the principality of Vadakkumkur.

203. Ibid., p.118.

Travancore made him the mightiest King in Malabar. He thus established his sway from Kayamkulam to Capecomorin. Besides these, he absorbed the Attingal kingdom. All the ancient privileges enjoyed by the Queen of Attingal were abolished. Since then every matter of importance in Attingal was to be carried out only with the consent of the King. The Queen thus became a figurehead stripped off all powers.

Looking back it is not easy to decide why Martanda Varma absorbed Attingal. The process of amalgamation had started as early as 1723. In a sense, the death of the old Queen of Attingal in 1698 without leaving any legitimate heiress to the throne had already sounded the waning power of the Attingal kingdom. The installation of the new Queen by the poolas, who had no direct blood relationship with the Rajah of Travancore, heralded a new phase of power struggle amongst the poolas and confusion in the kingdom. The new Queen was not able to assert her power decisively vis-a-vis the poolas and also the Europeans. Her power was gradually undermined by the rebellious attitude of Vanjamutta poolas, who had by then also antagonised the King of Travancore. Moreover, as the Queen of Attingal was never able to bring to books the participants in the Attingal massacre, the English gradually lost confidence in her authority and drifted towards the Rajah of Travancore, who showed signs of becoming a powerful monarch in the region.

With the accession of Martanda Varma to the throne of Travancore in 1729, the entire political scenery in South Malabar underwent a drastic change. The new Rajah had always been impressed by the military potential of the English. He decided to use it in suppressing the Madambees of Travancore, the poolas of Attingal and also the Dutch. In this venture, he was thoroughly successful, for he was believed to have eliminated all the Madambees and poolas except Vanjamutta poola of Attingal who still lived after the annexation of Attingal. As the Queen of Attingal Mutumbaran was quite aged and her power weakened, the Rajah of Travancore would have thought it wise to annex Attingal once for all. The pepper producing potential of Attingal would have also been one of the factors that prompted the Rajah of Travancore to come to such a decision, at a time when he had embarked upon a policy of establishing state-monopoly in the pepper trade of South Malabar.²⁰⁴ Thus though the political reasons were preponderant in the annexation of Attingal, yet the economic advantages involved in the pepper trade constituted an important factor to justify the decision to do away with Attingal as a separate political power. There was however no precedent for such administrative shake-up. Martanda Varma thereafter took up the entire responsibility of the supply of

204. Ashin Das Gupta, n.156, p.46.

pepper and exercised complete control over the trade with the Europeans. Thus, he made Travancore the most powerful state in the region, both politically and economically.

On the other hand, the English East India Company did not really evince any interest in the expansion of Travancore. The strong support which they extended to the ruler of Travancore in the early period was to establish peace in the kingdom, so that they could carry on trade in Travancore without any hindrance. However, Martanda Varma's expansion was not viewed with favour by the Company officials. Nevertheless they did not want to earn his enmity. So they offered him assistance and kept him in good humour solely for the sake of their trade. They followed a truly diplomatic policy. They steered clear of internal conflicts and remained neutral to the utmost of their ability. But they were unable to prevent the Rajah from becoming a powerful monarch in the region, whose sway extended over all the territories of South Malabar including its richest pepper producing areas. Instead they cultivated more and more friendly relations with the Rajah of Travancore to the detriment of other principalities like the kingdom of Attingal. Thus the first phase of the Company's relation with Attingal kingdom came to an end. With a new political power in the form of the Rajah of Travancore before them, they gradually grouped their way to a new era of trade.

CHAPTER - VI

TRADE

At this juncture, when the Rajah of Travancore succeeded in establishing state monopoly over pepper trade, it would not be out of place to digress into the realm of trade connected with the English factory at Anjengo and the way in which this factory was organised and administered. This would throw light especially on the importance and evolution of trade in the Attingal kingdom and the effectiveness and worth of the factory members in organising themselves to fulfil their Company's trade objectives in a profitable manner. In the present chapter we shall delve into the trade factor, in the next, factory affairs will be dealt with.

The foundation of European trade with Malabar was the direct result of the growing commercial and economic necessities in Europe. The wealth and splendour of Indian was known to the Europeans from the earliest times. At the end of the 15th century, Malabar had evolved a system in which trade flourished and different communities lived without friction.¹ With the arrival of Vasco da Gama, the state of affairs in Malabar was in for a change. By the beginning of

1. K.M. Panikkar, Malabar and the Portuguese (Bombay, 1929) p.24.

the 16th century, the Portuguese merchants had established themselves as a trading body in Kerala with the aim of seizing control over Malabar's trade in pepper.² Their relations with Kerala lasted for over a period of 150 years.

Soon the commercial supremacy of the Portuguese yielded to that of the Dutch.³ It was the spice trade of Kerala which had first led the Portuguese and the Dutch to enforce a commercial monopoly.⁴ The English did not lag far behind. Since the penetration of the Portuguese, they had devised ways and means to trade with the Malabar. Though they were latecomers, they were able to etch their name permanently in the commercial map of south west India for many years to come. On account of their sheer perseverance they surpassed their competitors in trade.

Pepper and cotton were the mainstay of the early English trade with Attingal. This pattern prevailed until

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2. Jan Kieniewicz, "The Portuguese Factory and Trade in Pepper in Malabar During the 16th Century" - Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol.VI, No.1, March 1969, p.63.
 3. Edward Thornton, The History of the British Empire in India (London, 1841) I, p.73.
 4. Pamela Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India - 1784-1806 (Cambridge, 1970), p.33.

coir, tobacco and timber became of increasing importance. Lead and cowries were other articles of trade. However pepper was the most important trade commodity as it was "used in Europe by all who could afford the luxury of a seasoning".⁵ Besides it could be retailed in very small quantities which meant it was within the reach of common people. Thus partly through the ease with which it could be purchased and sold and partly due to its widespread consumption in Europe, pepper remained the staple commodity of the English East India Company in the 17th century.⁶

The trade of the English in the Rani of Attingal's dominion can be divided into two phases. The first phase begins from the year 1694, when the Rani granted the English the entire pepper produce of her country⁷ which coincided with the establishment of a factory at Anjengo. This continued till the year 1743 when the Rajah of Travancore annexed the Attingal kingdom and acquired for himself the exclusive rights of trade in pepper and other commodities.

5. T.I. Poonen, Dutch Beginnings in India Proper 1580-1615 (Madras, 1933) p.1.

6. K.N. Chaudhuri, The English East India Company (London, 1965) p.145.

7. See Appendix-I.

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6. K.N. Chaudhuri, The English East India Company (London, 1965) p.145.

7. See Appendix-I.

First phase:

Pepper was grown in so much abundance in Attingal, that the Queen was called the "Pepper Queen" and the country was known as "mother of pepper". Pepper grows well in low lands but far more abundantly in the elevated tracts and along the hills and mountains. Pepper is not planted in open fields but in close neighbourhood of trees. Pepper plucked from the trees was laid out in the sun to dry. After a few days this pepper becomes black.⁸ This dry and black pepper was considered fit for export. A healthy vine would live for about 25 years and would yield the best pepper for six or seven years.

8. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (London, 1813, 1834) I p.219, "pepper vines are planted near mango trees of straight stems which being stripped of the lower branches, the vine embraces the trunk, covering it with elegant festoons and rich bunches of fruit in the picturesque style of vineyards in Compagna Felice. The mango and jack trees are generally used for this purpose for pepper garden contains more than eight or nine trees. The vines are planted near the trunk and led to it while young, the stem is tough, knotty and strong soon begin to bear in the fourth year others not till the sixth. They are in perfection about the ninth or tenth year and continue bearings as many years longer if a congenial soil from that period the vine gradually decays, a new soil is the prepared for a considerable depth round the trees for the reception of fresh shoots from flowering vines... Pepper is gathered in February... assudity and cleanliness are essentially necessary in a pepper garden not a weed is permitted to grow", p.220.

The pepper ready for export was put in mat bags each containing 2 to 4 tolams or from 65 to 128 lbs.⁹ There were different varieties and different ages of pepper. To gauge the age of pepper when it was brought by the merchants for sale proved to be very difficult, as very often it was not the planters who brought it up but the merchants. However the English were not bothered about the age of pepper, their concern was only to obtain maximum pepper from the country.¹⁰

Prior to the establishment of a factory at Anjengo, the Court of Directors had asked the Company servants to use all means for the conservation and increase of the pepper trade in the Malabar coast.¹¹ As early as 1687, Thomas Mitchell, who later became the Chief of Tellicherry factory had come to Attingal, the dominion of the Queen, and purchased more than 1200 candies of pepper. For purchasing this much pepper, he had to bribe the Queen by carrying presents worth 3000 dollars.¹²

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9. Francis Buchanan. A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar (Madras, 1870) II, p.132.
 10. Letters to Fort St. George - 1703, Brabourne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, January 1703, p.99.
 11. Public Department, Despatches from England - 1687, Court of Directors, London to Bombay Castle, 3 August 1687, p.152.
 12. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Court of Directors, London, June 1704, p.7.

According to the contract entered with the Queen in 1694, the English could purchase all the pepper her country produced. The Company officials however had no direct dealings with the Queen. They contracted with the country merchants advancing money to them. These merchants brought pepper in boats to the Company's warehouse. For every candy that the Company procured from the merchants the Queen was paid a custom of 5 rajas.¹³ By this method the Company could procure only the quantity contracted for, nothing more nothing less. However, a second type of pepper procurement existed through private collections. A large quantity could be procured by making on the spot payment without any deduction.¹⁴ This type of pepper purchase though lucrative was very often detrimental to the former method of contracting pepper. Any one could buy them from the merchants. Very often more money was paid for it, and thereby merchants were lured by the Company officials to sell pepper this way. The drawback was that the excess pepper thus purchased went into the personal trade of the Company officials.¹⁵

13. Ibid., p.8.

14. A. Galletti, trans. and ed., The Dutch in Malabar (Madras, 1911) p.214.

15. Ibid.

Private merchants also found it easier to make quick money through selling off their pepper privately to the Company officials rather than go into the labyrinth of rules and regulations which had to be adhered to if they entered into pepper contract with the Company officials. Thus there was a rapid decline of the contribution by contract pepper as the excess purchase of private pepper did not get entered in the Company book. As a result there was large scale smuggling in pepper by private merchants.

The Court of Directors had given permission for private purchases of pepper to the Company officials on the ground that it encouraged the Company servants to do faithful service. They did not want "any who are in superior station overawe any in an inferior station and thereby deter them from or deprive them of reaping an equal benefit."¹⁶ This privilege was misused by even the Chiefs of Anjengo. The native merchants also defrauded the Company. Those merchants who contracted to deliver the quantities of pepper did not realise the obligations of a contract and often flouted the contract.¹⁷ One merchant Cunjan Chitty who had entered into

16. Despatches from England - 1705, Court of Directors, London to Fort St. George, 12 January 1705, p.67.

17. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, 20 April 1729, p.50.

a contract in the year 1729 never fulfilled his contract. Repeated reminders and threats did not have any effect on him.¹⁸ Thus by the beginning of the 18th century the English Company had to strive against stiff competition not only from other European traders but also from their own servants. Fierce competition became the hallmark of trade during this period.

Later, the Bombay government in order to bring under control the private trade at least to a certain extent imposed a duty of Rs.3/- per candy on all private pepper purchased on the Malabar coast. The Company servants sent a complaint to the Court of Directors against this imposition.¹⁹ But the Directors did not heed the complaint. They informed the Bombay government that this imposition was not such a great hardship as they believed it to be. Considering the huge expenses incurred by the Company in keeping the pepper settlements, it was only natural that whoever traded under the protection of the Company must bear a proportionable part of it.²⁰

18. Ibid.

19. Public Department, Despatches from England - 1729, Court of Directors, London to Fort St. George, 24 February 1729, p.116.

20. Ibid.

In the early period of the Company's trade with the Rani of Attingal, the price of pepper ranged between Rs.65/- to Rs.95/- per candy.²¹ Initially there was no fixed yearly supply of pepper to the Company at Anjengo. Whatever the Company's servants could procure from the Queen was sent to England in ships. It was only later that the Company began to enter into agreements with the Queen for a fixed yearly supply of pepper.

In 1697, trade came to a standstill due to native resistance. In 1700, there was scarcity of pepper owing to leanness of crops as well as smuggling of pepper. Large quantities were carried "on the backs of oxen to the Eastward of hills of Gata"²² for supplying in inland country. Thus it had become very dear "costing about 27 dollars a candy".²³ From 1701 onwards, the trade was never smooth. The poolas of Attingal were obstructing the trade and moreover the European piracy was rampant on this coast. Stiff opposition from the Dutch and other European trading groups also hampered the English trade. Therefore the first ten years of the Company's trade at Anjengo was not very

21. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, n.17, p.50.

22. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, September 1704, p.2.

23. Ibid.

profitable. Nevertheless the Company servants were asked to exert themselves in procuring pepper. As a result even in 1719 when Travancore was reeling under severe famine conditions the Anjengo factory was able to ship 200 candy 13 maunds and 20 pounds of pepper.²⁴

The unfortunate Attingal massacre of 1721 shattered the commerce of the Company for a year or two. It took a couple of years for the new Chief to set the home right. The year 1725 saw an abundant crop of pepper. The Anjengo factory was able to procure about 800 candies of pepper which were laden on board a ship and the Commander was asked to proceed to Cochin to get 200 candies more.²⁵ Whenever there was a deficiency of pepper, the home government created an uproar. They usually pulled up the Chief of Anjengo for the deficiency. He blamed the merchants and the merchants blamed the season. But when there was abundant supply of crops the home government was highly pleased.

The year 1726 saw Anjengo pepper trade being threatened by the Dutch who had contracted with private merchants for large sums. The Dutch seized the English boats coming in with pepper and vice versa. The English started sending

24. Ibid., Gyfford, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 6 November 1719, p.99.

25. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Tellicherry, 13 November 1725, p.11.

armed cruisers to detect the Dutch ships.²⁶ The Company was also threatened by the poolas who stopped the pepper coming to the fort. Thus the pepper trade in the year 1726 became very precarious. Internal quarrels with the poolas once again deterred the pepper trade in 1727. The year's crop was also bad. Besides the Dutch intercepted the merchants carrying pepper to Anjengo fort. On one occasion, one of the Company's merchants went to Chatanore in the kingdom of Peritalli to purchase pepper. On knowing this, the Dutch sent three soldiers to bring him alive or dead.²⁷

Two months later in May 1727, a large quantity of pepper was delivered to the Company's warehouse. Unfortunately a few bags of pepper were spoiled as they were wet and not properly dried. More than 500 candies of pepper were received out of which a large quantity was ruined on account of the foul pepper in some bags.²⁸ This incident was blown out of proportion. The warehouse keeper was held responsible for the gross neglect. Usually the second mate assisting at the scales while weighing pepper had the right to tear off

26. Ibid., Nathaniel, Anjengo to the President and Council, Bombay, 22 February 1726, p.41.

27. Ibid., Alexander Orme, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, 20 April 1727, p.49.

28. Ibid., p.62.

any bag he pleased to inspect the goods. As Whitehill the warehouse keeper was away at the seaside supervising the loading of the cargo, the second mate was in charge of the warehouse. He was therefore put in prison for the neglect.²⁹ To avoid such a catastrophe the Company officials decided to garble the pepper in future before sending them in ship. For this work natives were appointed and they were allowed 3% profit.³⁰ It was also decided to instal a garbling machine so as to save time and a request for the same was made to Bombay.³¹

In 1727, the Queen of Attingal demanded arms and ammunitions from the Company in return for pepper. She demanded "five maunds of powder and five maunds of lead in addition to a loan of 2000 fanams".³² She at the same time promised to remove all the obstructions in the pepper trade. In 1728, the pepper contracted for was 291 candy 9 maund and 26 pound.³³ However, the demand for arms and ammunitions in return for pepper later on became a permanent fixation in all the future agreements in pepper trade.

29. Ibid., Alexander Orme, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, 12 May 1727, p.61.

30. Ibid., p.62

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., William Wake, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, 15 December 1736, p.129.

The year 1729 was a restless year for the Company, for the Queen and the poolas were engaged in warfare against one another. In the war the poolas cut down and destroyed a great number of pepper vines.³⁴ Thus there was a stagnation in pepper supply. Only 200 candies were purchased by the Company that year.³⁵ Between 1729 and 1736 the quantity of pepper purchased by the Company was more than doubled from 313 candies in 1729 to 761 candies in 1736.³⁶

Anjengo reeled under famine in 1737. So severe was the famine that the natives gathered pepper even before it reached maturity and sold to the Company for money.³⁷ They did not garble the pepper fearing weight loss.³⁸ By 1739, there were fresh disputes between the Dutch and the Company which affected the pepper trade. The Dutch managed to instil fear in the minds of the pepper merchants if they dared to

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., Salisbury, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 5 February 1737, p.131.

38. Ibid., p.132, The President and Council of Bombay reprimanded Anjengo officials for sending pepper ungarbled. They ordered henceforth to send pepper duly garbled "and free from all manner of trash".

carry pepper to Anjengo fort.³⁹ Pepper merchants who lived in Eddawa informed the Company that "Dutch at Cochin had threatened them with death and slavery if they dared to carry pepper to Anjengo".⁴⁰ They also intimated that they run a great risk of defying the Dutch. Besides they faced labour problems as the coolies refused to carry pepper to Anjengo. Despite the tension, the Company managed to procure 200 candle of pepper.⁴¹

On 7 August 1741, Martanda Varma fought and defeated the Dutch in the battle of Colachel.⁴² This shattered the Dutch dreams of the conquest of Kerala.⁴³ But as far as Travancore kingdom was concerned this battle was the most decisive factor in its development. From then onwards, the kingdom of Travancore began its expansion along the coast, which was accompanied by the establishment of a new bureaucratic state. To finance this state, he built a commercial department which gradually established a strict monopoly in the trade in pepper⁴⁴ at the expense of the local merchants.

39. Ibid., Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, London, 18 February 1739, p.151.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid., p.145.

42. T.I. Poonen, Dutch Hegemony in Malabar, (Trivandrum, 1978, p.92.

43. K.M. Panikkar, A History of Kerala - 1498-1801 (Annamalai, 1960) p.24.

44. Ashin Das Gupta, Malabar in Asian Trade - 1740-1800, (Cambridge, 1967) p.33.

In the meantime, very heavy smuggling in pepper went on at Anjengo. Pepper was being carried out by country people to Surat and Cambay.⁴⁵ One Rickards, Commander of the ship Lancaster belonging to Bengal government made enormous purchases of pepper illegally.⁴⁶ Besides, the French and the Portuguese also indulged in illegal pepper purchases. Both Bombay and Madras governments were in a dilemma. They did not know how to stop pepper smuggling effectively. They toyed with the idea of issuing prohibition. As it was extremely unlikely that smuggling would be significantly reduced, they abandoned prohibition.⁴⁷ In spite of all this, the Company managed to contract with pepper merchants for 300 candies by advancing Rs.3,680/- to them.⁴⁸

In 1743 Martanda Varma took over the authority and the revenue of Attingal into his own possession. He completely abolished the power of the Queen. She bore only the title

45. Letter from Fort St. George - 1742, Rickards, Fort St. George to Stephen Law, Governor, Bombay, 8 November 1742, p. 76.

46. Letter to Fort St. George - 1742, Stephen Law, Bombay Castle to Fort St. George, 26 April 1742, p.47.

47. Letter from Fort St. George - 1742, n.45, p.76.

48. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1742, Charles Whitehill Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 12 December 1742, p.16.

and had no power.⁴⁹ The entire pepper trade of Attingal passed into the Rajah's hands. The English at Anjengo were told that the Rajah had decided to take upon himself the entire pepper trade in the country.⁵⁰ The first phase of the Company's trade at Attingal thus ended, with the Rajah taking over Attingal and together with it, its pepper trade.

Second phase:

The annexation of Attingal and other principalities by the Rajah of Travancore brought about a drastic change in the trade in pepper. The King appointed his own merchants to procure pepper. He refused to allow any one else to bring pepper to the Company other than his agents.⁵¹ This meant major changes. Henceforth the King was the sole trader of pepper. He had the right to all the revenues and customs. The merchants appointed by him became very important. The English were told which merchants they must contract with and

49. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1743, Whitehill, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 23 May 1743, p.165.

50. Ibid.

51. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1743, Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 22 October 1743, p.246. The King however, allotted 500 candies a year to the Company which was eventually raised to 750 candies after much bickerings - Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 24 October 1743, p.222.

the merchants were ordered as to whom they should supply.⁵² There was no precedence for such policies. This was a blow to the English. The English East India Company considered this development as wholly adverse to their interests. The Bombay government, however, instructed Anjengo officials to adhere to the ancient method of contracting for pepper.⁵³ But the King had other ideas of trade. He made another move of breaking the age old treaty entered with the Queen. He gave permission to the French to trade at Retorah. This was in open breach of all the privileges granted to the Company both by him and his predecessors.⁵⁴ However for some time between 1744 and 1746, certain areas within the kingdom of Travancore were indicated by the Rajah as their limits and in this area the merchants they chose to deal with could buy any amount of pepper.⁵⁵

52. Ashin Das Gupta, n.44, p.34.

53. Ibid., p.35.

54. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consultations - 1744, 12 March 1744, p.87.

55. Ashin Das Gupta, n.44, p.35.

While the Rajah of Travancore was bent upon establishing his authority over the entire pepper trade, the English Company on their side constantly strove to steer clear from his reach. It resorted to other clandestine means of collecting especially smuggled pepper. For instance there was one Fulapetta, inhabitant of Porca, who resided near the English factory at Eddawa where a great part of the Company's pepper was collected. He used to buy up all the pepper and brought it to Anjengo under the denomination of Dutch pepper and sold it to Richard Bouchier at Anjengo.⁵⁶

In 1746, though there was plentiful crop, side by side heavy smuggling in pepper was going on. The Company informed the King that Ramen Annavy had shipped off huge quantities of pepper illegally.⁵⁷ The King replied phlegmatically that the Chief was always asking for pepper but he never complied with his request for arms. The Chief claimed that the earlier contract between the Company and Travancore was purely for pepper and that if the Company had earlier supplied arms to His Majesty, it was purely a friendly gesture. He firmly

56. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 9 September 1747, p.241.

57. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1746, Chief, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 4 April 1746, p.90.

declared that thereafter the Company would not supply arms to his Majesty as "the English nation was engaged in war at home."⁵⁸ He further insinuated that the existing pepper scarcity would not be there if His Majesty gave permission to everybody to bring pepper rather than his chosen ones. The Rajah however remained unaffected.⁵⁹ He sarcastically retorted that though in the ancient contract there was no stipulation made for arms to be supplied to Travancore, there was also no mention of how many candy of pepper the English were to have annually.⁶⁰

In 1747, the English Company did not obtain much pepper. The King on the other hand sold large quantities of pepper to the Portuguese. It was believed that 200 bags of pepper were sold to them, each bag containing 150 candies of pepper. Such an enormous quantity was sold in violation of all the former treaty obligation.⁶¹ The English however refused to face the fact that freedom of trade had ended in Travancore. They continued to remonstrate the King. In the month of September 1747, Richard Bouchier informed the King

58. Ibid., 8 August 1746, p.124.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., The Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 18 August 1746, p.126.

61. Anjengo Factory Records- 1704 - 1749, Richard Bouchier Chief, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 9 September 1747, p.242.

about the treaty violated by him, to which the King replied that he had the right to sell what was his own.⁶² The Chief however asked him as to what authority he had for disposing the Company's pepper to some ships.⁶³ To all this, Bouchier never received a clear answer from the King.

The realisation by the Company that the King was determined to abolish all the ancient privileges dawned much later. His resolutions were "no warlike stores no pepper".⁶⁴ He debarred the Company from pepper trade. The officials of Anjengo informed Bombay Castle that the King was growing "more insolent and peremptory in his demands, which makes him hard to be borne, as he has now violated all the Honble Company's privileges and engrossed the whole trade of this country".⁶⁵ They informed the Bombay government of the absolute necessity of entering into a new treaty with this Prince for pepper trade in future.⁶⁶ The Company's procurement of pepper thus remained suspended in the year 1749. The Bombay government asked the Anjengo officials to continue with their remonstrances. This advice was somberly adhered to by the

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1748, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 16 August 1748, pp.462-463.

65. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1749, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 23 May 1749, p.213.

66. Ibid., Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 14 September 1749, p. 260.

Chief of Anjengo, who reflected that they have made "innumerable remonstrances to the King of Travancore on his abolishing the Honble Company's privileges in this kingdom"⁶⁷ without any effect. However it seems that subsequently in the year 1749, the Rajah entered into an agreement with the Chief of Anjengo, Charles Bouchier for 500 candles of pepper at the rate of 75 rupees.⁶⁸

The Company now realised that there was no prospect of making another pepper contract with the King except on his own terms.⁶⁹ The merchants suddenly became of little significance. It was the King who supplied pepper to the English at Anjengo. In 1750, the minister of the King visited Anjengo fort and held conference with the Chief. He confessed to having been the cause of the Company being debarred from pepper trade for the last two years and that he was sent to settle matters.⁷⁰ He put forth few propositions. He demanded the annual present to the Queen of Attingal and insisted on a supply of 400 arms. He further insisted on paying only

67. Ibid., 16 November 1749, p.289.

68. Anjengo Diary - 1808, Linguist, Fernandez, Anjengo to Handley Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 10 May 1808, p.306.

69. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1750, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 4 March 1750, p.94.

70. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consultations - 1750, 16 January 1750, p.46.

Rs.75/- per candy for pepper; besides he agreed to contract for only 500 candy.⁷¹ Further he wanted advance for pepper supply. The Chief did not respond concretely to these propositions. But he declared his inability to supply the King more than 200 arms.⁷²

The King was never responsive to the appeals of the English. He said he wanted nothing but warlike stores to defend his country against his enemy, in which case he promised to supply them as much pepper as he could collect in his dominions.⁷³ The Company tried their best to enhance the pepper supply to 1500 or 2000 candy. The Chief of Anjengo held a conference with His Majesty for more than four hours during which he represented in the strongest terms the great loss the Company incurred by sending their ships dead freighted home.⁷⁴ He even offered to increase the rate of pepper per candy to Rs.80/-⁷⁵ But no argument could prevail upon the King to part with pepper at Rs.80/- per candy.⁷⁶

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid., p.47.

73. Ibid., 21 January 1750, p.49.

74. Ibid., 9 June 1750, p.177.

75. Ibid., 6 November 1750 p.86.

76. Ibid.

The Company was aghast at the open flouting of the pepper contract by the King. They reminded him that he had to oblige the Company for their friendly assistance in past times. Suddenly the King agreed to supply 500 candies at the rate of Rs.75/- per candy on previous terms, and if more was required to complete the tonnage of the expected ship, the same would be delivered.⁷⁷ But contrary to all expectations, the King refrained from fulfilling the promise. It was discovered later that the Dutch were purchasing pepper at an exorbitant rate. Naturally the King would have preferred to deal with the Dutch and make more profits than to sell the pepper to the English. But the Anjengo Chief once again used stern language and accused the King of not fulfilling the contract.

The year 1752, saw Martanda Varma immersed in war with his neighbours. He was in dire need of arms. He agreed to deliver 1500 candies of pepper in exchange for 400 fire-arms, flints, old Irons and saltpetre.⁷⁸ During this period, the daily correspondence revolved around the difficulties of procuring pepper and war-like stores. As the Dutch were promised by the King through the treaty of Mavelikara in 1753, an increasing share in the pepper trade, the English Company decided to enter into a fresh contract with the King

77. Ibid., June 1750, p.179.

78. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consulations - 1752, 27 September 1752, p.13.

for 1600 candies of pepper in return for some arms.⁷⁹ But the Dalawa brought down the quantity to 1000 candies. Besides he insisted on the supply of 200 fire arms for every 500 candies of pepper.⁸⁰ This proposal was placed before the Board. They decided to send the Linguist to apprise the Rajah that the terms proposed by the Dalawa were not acceptable to them and that they were willing to contract for 1500 candies of pepper each year.⁸¹ Surprisingly the Rajah agreed to this latter proposal.

However, he started his old game of delaying pepper delivery. He asked the Linguist to advance him money for the 1500 candies of pepper as he was in dire need of money. He also requested to be spared 25 fire arms.⁸² The Chief refused his request for fire arms stating "it is not in our power to comply therewith"⁸³ but he offered to advance Rs.20,000/- for pepper. The King was very pleased about the money but he sulked for arms. He wrote that the Nairs of his army were without arms.⁸⁴

79. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1754, 1 February 1754, p.52.

80. Ibid., 9 February 1754, p.55.

81. Ibid., 10 February 1754, p.55.

82. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1755, 5 September 1755, p.10.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid., p.12

In the year 1756, the King persisted in his refusal of pepper but at the same time requested for 225 fire arms and 60 candies of lead. This was refused by George Scott, the Chief of Anjengo.⁸⁵ The King now tried to cajole the Chief to enter into a perpetual pepper treaty. On being refused again, he declared that he would not deliver a grain more than what was stipulated in the current contract. George Scott, however refused to be cowed down by the incessant threats of the King. He expressed his inability to make fresh contract till the completion of the present one.⁸⁶ The King then tried to bait the Chief stating that if the Company adhered to his proposal, then he would deliver them 3000 candies of pepper.⁸⁷ The English were however fed up of the false promises given by the King. As they had a long list of unfulfilled pepper contracts, they refused to fall into his trap. As expected the King reverted to his ancient threat that he "shall not consent to weigh off a grain of pepper more at Anjengo".⁸⁸ Bombay Castle observed that in the course of 11 months the Company received only 270 candies,

85. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1756, 29 March 1756, p.78.

86. Ibid., p.80.

87. Ibid., p.81.

88. Ibid., p.83.

2 maunds and 2 pounds of pepper which was very short of the contract.⁸⁹ They asked the officials to thereafter "insist on the value as well as the quantity in the state of the contracts and account current with the contractors to show the amount advanced and balance due."⁹⁰

By the month of December 1756 pepper delivery had come to a virtual halt. The King's Karyakars blamed the rains for the delay and promised to deliver pepper as soon as the rain abated. He did deliver, but only 8 candies at Eddawa Warehouse.⁹¹ In 1757, John Spencer, the Chief of Anjengo wrote to the Commander of the English forces about the position of the Company. He informed that the King of Travancore was the sole merchant of his country and that he delivered only such quantities as he pleased without regard to the nature of his contract. Besides he could stop the pepper contract whenever he pleased, and so they were at his mercy in matters of trade.⁹²

89. Ibid., President and Council, Bombay Castle to Anjengo, 30 April 1756, p.104.

90. Ibid.

91. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1757, 11 July 1757, p.134.

92. Secret and Political Department Diary - 1757, John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to John Cauillaud, Commander of the English forces, Tinnevely, 13 April 1757, p.81.

The King however directed the Karyakar to fulfil his contract and so towards the end of the year 1757, pepper was delivered frequently by the Karyakar to the warehouse.⁹³ In the month of November 1757, John Spencer made known to the King the Company's desire of entering into a new pepper contract. He reminded the King to consider the services rendered by the Company during the wars with Tinnevely and to accede to his proposal.⁹⁴ The King finally agreed to enter into a new pepper contract with the Company by profusely apologising for the delay in previous supplies.

On July 6, 1758, the Company entered into a contract with the King for 1500 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs.82/-⁹⁵ and again another contract was entered into in 1759 for 2000 candies,⁹⁶ with the new King Rama Varma, who succeeded Martanda Varma in 1758. But by the end of 1760, the new King too was not able to deliver even one third of the original contract. Moreover, he was in dire financial difficulty. On seeing this, the Company advanced him Rs.10000/-

93. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1757, November 1757, p.131.

94. Ibid.

95. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1758, A contract made with the Rajah of Travancore and Honble Company, 5 July 1758, p.268.

96. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1759, 31 October 1759, p.62.

through a merchant Medumpulla Meter.⁹⁷ But even by 1761, only 799 candies of pepper was delivered.⁹⁸ The Company realising the unreliable nature of the King's promise wrote a firm letter to the King, reminding the erstwhile help rendered by the Company to him. The King was asked to peruse the register and recall the favours and indulgences which the Company had bestowed on him without any advantage. He was also informed that if he continued in his harassment, then they have no option but to withdraw the settlement.⁹⁹ The King immediately sent Crisna poola to meet the Chief. Crisna poola gave a detailed account of the pepper produce of Travancore which was around 8000 candies though for the past two years, the yield had decreased to 4000 candies.¹⁰⁰

Crisna poola's account was, of course, too good to be true, for the Company knew that the country did produce abundant pepper, though it seems that the Resident of Travancore had never had the opportunity to see the pepper gardens.

97. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1760, Rajah of Travancore to Thomas Whitehill, Anjengo, 24 October 1760, p.45.

98. Anjengo Factory Diary - 1761, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 21 May 1761, p.187.

99. Ibid., p.188.

100. Ibid.

In fact the Rajah made sure that the Company officials never saw the pepper gardens.¹⁰¹ In 1764, a new contract was concluded for 2000 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs.82/- per candy.¹⁰² From 1765 to 1770, pepper supply was somewhat balanced viz. 200 candies at the rate of Rs.82/- per candy in return for warlike stores. For every 500 candies of pepper the Company was to supply 200 stands of arms.¹⁰³ From 1771 to 1773, pepper trade was affected due to clandestine sale of pepper to Carnatic and also to the Danes.¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵

From the year 1774 to 1777, pepper trade was further affected as the country was under the threat of an invasion by Haider Ali. From 1779 to 1782, there was a decline in pepper supply from 2000 candies in 1779¹⁰⁶ to 1000 candies in 1782.¹⁰⁷ From 1784 onwards Travancore was neck deep in

101. Anjengo Diary - 1801, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 7 March 1801, p. 69.

102. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1764, 1 January 1764, p.75.

103. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1765, 16 March 1765, p. 206. In the year 1769 and 1770 also pepper supply was for 2000 candies - Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1770, 8 October 1770, p.240.

104. Public Consultations - 1771, 25 February 1771, p.80.

105. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1773, 22 March 1773, p.98.

106. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1779, 2 August 1779, p.98.

107. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1782, William Hornby, Bombay Castle to James Morley, Resident, Anjengo, 20 December 1781, p.11.

war with Tipu Sultan. Consequently trade slackened and the earlier contract was not fulfilled. The English Resident requested the King to issue peremptory orders to his Karyakars to send in pepper to Anjengo without a moments unnecessary detention, as the ship Chesterfield was about to arrive at Anjengo to carry pepper.¹⁰⁸ The Rajah however agreed to expedite matters without delay. The Resident persistently employed every argument he could devise to prevail on him (Rajah) to contract with the Company for large quantities of pepper for the ships of the season.¹⁰⁹

The years 1785 to 1792 were tragic year for trade in Travancore. The presence of Tipu Sultan in Travancore dislocated all the trade. The calamity lay not so much in the terror he spread but in the deliberate measure he adopted against traditional commerce of Malabar.¹¹⁰ He destroyed the pepper vines in Travancore. The effect on trade was soon felt. In the turmoil, the Company could obtain only few candies of pepper by fits and starts. In 1788 the Company entered into a new contract for 1400 candies of pepper.¹¹¹

108. Anjengo Factory Records Diaries and Consultations - 1783, Resident, Anjengo to Rawson Flart Boddum, Governor, Bombay, 8 March 1784, p.49.

109. Ibid., Hutchinson, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 24 November 1785, p.180.

110. Ashin Das Gupta, n.44, p.113.

111. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1788, 14 December 1788, p.176.

Every effort was employed to induce the Rajah to enter into a permanent contract for pepper and to take in exchange a considerable quantity of European goods if possible.¹¹² But even by the month of March 1789 not one grain of pepper was delivered into the Company's warehouse. The Rajah was notified about this.¹¹³ Hutchinson was desperate for pepper. He received information that there was pepper collected in Fonderah. He notified the King about it and asked him to deliver the pepper from Fonderah into the Company's warehouse.¹¹⁴ The Rajah complied with his request. But Hutchinson received information that large quantities of pepper were being secretly sold to Quilon on oxen by none other than the Rajah himself.¹¹⁵ He also realised the futility of reprimanding the Rajah.

In June 1791, the Rajah entered into a new contract for 2000 candies of pepper.¹¹⁶ This contract too remained unfulfilled. Hutchinson discovered that part of the delay in pepper supply was due to the unpunctuality of the workers

112. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1789, Hutchinson, Anjengo to William Medows, Governor, Bombay, 17 January 1789, p.10.

113. *Ibid.*, Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 10 March 1789, p.37.

114. *Ibid.*, 1790, Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 27 October 1790, p.152.

115. *Ibid.*, 29 December 1790, p.178.

116. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1791, Rajah of Travancore to Hutchinson, Anjengo, 27 June 1791, p.85.

who weighed pepper. They never arrived before eleven or twelve O'clock and as a result they could hardly weigh 15 to 20 candies per day. This was brought to the notice of the King pointing out that if the workers came at sunrise they could weigh around one hundred candies of pepper per day.¹¹⁷ But all this had no effect on the pepper delivery.

The Bengal government viewed the activities at Travancore with distaste. John Shore, the Governor General remonstrated the Rajah in strong terms.¹¹⁸ But the remonstrances were made so often that they had no effect on the Rajah. While the Company's plans to engross part of the pepper trade were in full swing, its forces were still fighting Tipu Sultan and peace was not in sight. In 1794, Major Dow, supervisor of Malabar province, arrived in Travancore and forced the Rajah to enter into an agreement for 4000 candies of pepper.¹¹⁹ The Rajah was in financial distress in 1795. He requested the Company to advance him 6 Lakhs of rupees as loan agreeing

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117. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1792, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 10 February 1792, p.87.
118. Anjengo Diary - 1793, George Dick, Bombay Castle. to Sir John Shore Bart, Governor General, Fort William, 25 January 1793, p.58.
119. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1794, Rajah of Travancore to Governor General, 14 February 1794, pp. 26-27.

to deliver annually 1000 candies of pepper. The amount was to be adjusted in pepper price. The Company refused the loan to the Rajah.¹²⁰

The Rajah of Travancore continued to supply large quantities of pepper to foreign merchants and made constant excuses to the Company for failing to provide pepper for which he was bound. Anjengo officials were rather dismayed to find out that Murdock Brown and Dincur merchants of Mahe were one of his most important customers.¹²¹ Brown purchased huge amount of pepper from Travancore. His activities seemed to have been invariably designed to further his private interest rather than the Company's. Therefore Anjengo officials verified if Brown had authority to make such purchases. Bombay government stated that no such authority was given to Brown whose conduct, they said, was improper.¹²²

Anjengo officials promptly asked the Dewan to stop supplying Brown with pepper. He was also asked to produce the contract with Brown. He however refused to deliver the original contract. He also insisted on delivering the

120. Anjengo Diary - 1795, John Hutchinson to Raja Kesava Das, Dewan, Travancore, 15 April 1795, pp.50-51.

121. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consultation - 1795, John T. Dyne, Alleppe to John Jutchinson, Anjengo, 26 April 1795, p.89.

122. Ibid.

pepper stating that after all it was for the Company.¹²³ Hutchinson made his stand clear. He wrote whether the pepper was for the Company or not was not the question. He claimed that when there was a Resident and a factor in Travancore for special purpose of purchasing on the account of the Company, no other person had any right to interfere in such transactions. This became a raging controversy whether any other Company servant had any right to procure pepper from other provinces.¹²⁴ A protest was issued to Brown. He owned his fault and stated that as he saw pepper being taken by the Danes and smuggled to Calicut and Telli-cherry, he was under the impression that there was plenty of pepper in the country and thought his purchase would not interfere with the Company at Anjengo. He apologised profusely for his conduct.¹²⁵

In the year 1796, Travancore feared an attack by Tipu Sultan. Steps were taken to ensure the Company's pepper trade. Measures were taken to transport pepper to Cochin in fifty boats. Temporary banksauls were built at Quilon and all the pepper lying on the beach to be dried and shifted

123. Ibid., John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Dyne, Alleppe, 27 April 1795, p.91.

124. Ibid.

125. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consultations- 1795, Murdock Brown, Mahe to Hutchinson, Anjengo 7 May 1795, p.130.

to a village where the remainder was deposited out of Anjengo and all the pepper from Anjengo was removed across the river to Cherringa where a banksaul was built.¹²⁶ For a while the pepper trade on the coast was suspended. Towards the end of the year 1796, Hutchinson realised the necessity of procuring pepper. Four of the Company's ship had berthed at Anjengo and it was imperative that these ships be filled with pepper.¹²⁷ The Rajah in his usual fashion dilly-dallied.

By 1797, the Court of Directors had become so concerned at the continued high price of pepper that they ordered the appointment of a special committee to enquire into the reasons.¹²⁸ Hutchinson decided to revise the rate of pepper by finding out how much pepper the Rajah actually sold to private merchants.¹²⁹ After investigating it was found that price received from private traders ranged from Rs.165/-

126. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries and Consultations - 1796, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 13 September 1796, pp.23-24.

127. Anjengo Factory Diaries and Consultations - 1797, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to Rajah of Travancore, 30 April 1797, p.134.

128. Pamela Nightingale, n.4, p.112.

129. Anjengo Factory Diary Secret and Political - 1797, Hutchinson, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 5 August 1797, p.94.

to Rs.175/-. Hutchinson therefore tried to convince the Rajah to contract for Rs.145/- Surat rupees reminding him of the friendship subsisting between him and the Company. The Company also decided to stipulate that until the full quantity of 3000 candies were delivered, the Rajah was not to be entitled to more than 115 rupees per candy at the rate standing in the permanent contract.¹³⁰ The Rajah agreed to enter into a new contract at the market price. He stated that at times when the season failed, he had even purchased pepper at a high price of Rs.200/- per candy from other regions and delivered to the Company incurring heavy loss. He implored the Resident of Anjengo to save him from such losses, pointing out that other foreign merchants bought pepper at prices ranging between Rs.165/- and Rs.180/-.¹³¹

Pepper trade came to a standstill in the year 1798 due to the demise of the Rajah of Travancore. In the month of June 1798, George Parry, the Resident of Anjengo asked the Dewan, Raja Kesava Das, the reason for non-delivery of pepper. The Dewan agreed to deliver at least 500 candies within 5 days but no delivery was made.¹³² Meanwhile complaint came from the Commercial Resident of Colombo

130. Ibid., pp.94-95

131. Ibid., Rajah of Travancore to Governor, Bombay, 26 August 1797, pp.103-104.

132. Anjengo Factory Diary Secret and Political-1798, Hutchinson, Anjengo to Dewan, Travancore, 28 June 1798, p.354.

stating that the pepper sent from Anjengo for the storing of cinnamon was of a very bad quality, condition, and state. The bags in which they were packed were damaged. Henceforth it was decided to pack them in gunny bags of better quality and size.¹³³

When the new King ascended the throne of Travancore, George Parry represented the slowness of pepper delivery to him. He agreed to fulfill the contract. Very soon, the English realised he was no better than his predecessors when it came to fulfilling pepper contract. He had learnt all possible excuses for untimely delivery. However, in 1797, for the first time, Anjengo warehouse was full with last year's pepper. It was decided to shift the same to the warehouse at Quilon in order to receive the current year's pepper at Anjengo.¹³⁴ This meant only one thing, that is for the first time the demand for pepper had started dwindling. There was pepper glut at Anjengo. Trade came to a stop momentarily with the sudden death of the Dewan in the same year.¹³⁵

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133. Anjengo Factory Records Diaries and Consultations - 1798, Extract of a letter from the Commercial Resident, Colombo to Resident, Anjengo, 23 February 1798, p.27.
134. Anjengo Diary - 1799, George Parry, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 8 January 1799, p.10.
135. *Ibid.*, Rajah of Travancore to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 29 July 1799, p.5543.

The Rajah in the meantime informed Duncan that he had weighed 2750 candies of black pepper and had deposited it in the warehouse. The balance of 250 candies were to be delivered by next month.¹³⁶ The new King gave his fullest assurance of fulfilling every clause in the pepper contract.¹³⁷ However, as expected, even by the month of May 1800, pepper delivery was not effected. Parry now took up cudgels on behalf of the Company and started to remonstrate the Rajah. But all this had no effect on him. He seemed to care nothing for treaty or contract. Parry knew that the Rajah was purposely delaying pepper delivery as the contract rate was Rs.115/- whereas he could get Rs.145/- from private adventurers.¹³⁸ Parry however, asked the Dewan to fulfill the pending pepper delivery, if not he threatened to exact from them a penalty of 57½ per candy for non-compliance.¹³⁹ Rajah however tried to appease Parry. He claimed that he was unable to complete pepper delivery owing to unfavourableness of the season. He promised to complete the delivery as soon

136. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Rajah of Travancore to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 24 August 1799, p.5550.

137. Ibid.

138. Anjengo Factory General - 1800, Parry, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 8 June 1800, p.191.

139. Ibid., George Parry, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 14 July, 1800, p.231.

as possible. Parry retorted in his letter "you must suppose me a fool to believe that your country does not produce in the most unfavourable season not more than 2573 candies of pepper".¹⁴⁰ He even threatened to impose penalty for deficit quality of pepper, not only for the present but also for the future years. He refused to see any royal officials stating that the business between them was very simple and short and that he must deliver 997 candies of pepper which was pending of the contract. He concluded the letter: "I have told you once, I have told you hundred times the same, my word is one word".¹⁴¹

The year 1801 saw numerous changes taking place in the Durbar of the Rajah. Velu Thampi was appointed as Valia Servadi Karyakar. The Malabar province was transferred to the Madras government after the defeat of Tipu Sultan. The Rajah was in such acute financial difficulty that he was even forced to sell his private jewels to raise money for fulfilling his engagements with the Company. He was so desperate for money that it was known that he forced his subjects to sell him pepper without paying them even a single

140. Ibid., 18 July 1800, p.238.

141. Ibid., p.240.

rupee.¹⁴² This affected the pepper trade adversely as the merchants refused to bring pepper for sale to the Rajah.¹⁴³ Parry realised that this time the Rajah was genuinely in a very tight spot. He had mismanaged the country. As a result the commercial concerns were in doldrums. Old vines were dead and a few pepper vines which were planted to replace the old vines were unfruitful. Parry therefore alerted Governor Duncan of Bombay that thereafter "a diminution in the pepper must be annually expected."¹⁴⁴

From 1802 onwards Company's interest in pepper began to wane. Their interest strayed to other articles of which cotton, coir and timber became important. Nevertheless, in 1803, an article of agreement was entered between Macaulay, Resident of Travancore, and Velu Thampi according to which the Rajah agreed to sell to the Company each year for five successive years 3000 candies of pepper.¹⁴⁵ During the year 1804, a cold war broke out between Macaulay and Handley, the Commercial Resident of Anjengo, over pepper purchases.

142. Anjengo Factory General - 1801, George Parry, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 5 March 1801, p.62.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., George Parry, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 7 March 1801, p.65.

145. Anjengo Diary - 1803, Articles of Agreement between Macaulay, Resident, Travancore and Dewan, Travancore 29 July 1803, p.157.

The cause of the conflict was concerning private pepper purchases. The Bombay government had authorised the Commercial Resident of Anjengo to make private purchases of pepper for about Rs.145/- per candy. Acting under this authority, the Commercial Resident made large pepper purchases.¹⁴⁶ This was disliked by Macaulay who felt that such purchases were injurious to the Company's rights and interests. He asked Handley to stop private purchases of pepper.¹⁴⁷ Meanwhile Bombay government issued an order that henceforth pepper was to be sold to the Sircar who would then deliver them to the Company.¹⁴⁸ On receipt of the instruction, Handley, the new Commercial Resident stopped private pepper purchases. But in his heart he nursed hatred against Macaulay.

Soon another issue was raked up between them. This time it was concerning the mode of weighing pepper. The old method was to weigh pepper by maunds. Macaulay wanted to introduce a new system of weighing pepper by Candies. He had his own reason for it. According to the former method, the Resident of Anjengo was entitled for a commission

146. Anjengo Diary - 1804, Handley, Anjengo to Macaulay, Travancore, 17 February 1804, p.77.

147. Ibid., Macaulay, Travancore to Handley, Anjengo, 15 February 1804, p.76.

148. Anjengo Diary - 1804, I.A. Grant, Secretary to Government, Bombay to Handley, Anjengo, 1 November 1804, p. 765.

in his separate capacity as a warehouse keeper.¹⁴⁹ Such indulgence was done with the concurrence of the Bombay government. Similar indulgence was allowed to warehouse keepers in all the Presidencies. Records stated "what merchants denominate the turn of scale was allowed to the Resident in his separate capacity of a warehouse keeper."¹⁵⁰ Macaulay disapproved of this special indulgence. He decided to stop this practice. He therefore introduced the method of weighing pepper by candies. In this, he was supported by the Bombay government.¹⁵¹

Further Macaulay and Handley opposed each other on another issue. This time it concerned the shifting of warehouse from Anjengo to Rajah's banksaul at Quilon. Handley opposed this move claiming that the warehouse at Anjengo was spacious and commodious capable of containing more than 3000 candies of pepper. As right from the beginning of the factory at Anjengo this warehouse was used for storing pepper, Handley felt it was any day superior to the Rajah's warehouse at Quilon or Alleppy.¹⁵² He further contended

149. Ibid., Handley, Anjengo to Macaulay, Travancore 18 March 1804, p.675.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid., n.148, p.765.

152. Anjengo Diary - 1805, Handley, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 15 January 1805, p.115.

that if Quilon warehouse was to be used, then Rajah should be given rent for using it, and so if any one would benefit by the transfer it would only be the Rajah of Travancore. On account of such controversy, the Company appointed an officer to look into the merits and demerits of the three warehouses.¹⁵³ During the year 1806, pepper delivery was affected as Handley did not receive any instructions as to which warehouse was to be used. The Dewan however informed Handley that it was decided to send pepper to all the three warehouses. Pepper from Carwattachewah to the North was to be sent to Alleppy and pepper from that to the Southward, was to be sent to Quilon and pepper from Cherringah districts was to be sent to Anjengo.¹⁵⁴ Thus the Dewan tried to pacify both Handley and Macaulay.

153. *Ibid.*, W.J. Money, Bombay to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 3 August 1805, p.515. They informed that at Anjengo it was easier for the ships to land. Its anchorage was 10 fathoms soft sand and about a mile and quarter from the shore. But the drawback was that the surge which breaks there wets the pepper considerably counter balancing the advantages that otherwise might be derived from that anchorage. Regarding Quilon, the bottom was muddy though it had better holding ground. Its anchorage was a mile and half from the shore. The surge there too was inconsiderable. But this place had an advantage as fresh water was easily procured from Quilon. Regarding Alleppey, it was stated that this place had the best landing place for ships.

154. Anjengo Diary - 1806, Dewan, Velu Thampi, to Handley, Anjengo, 11 April 1806, p.200.

However, pepper trade was declining rapidly. The Court of Directors wrote to the Commercial department of Anjengo about future pepper purchases. According to them commercially speaking a contract for a term of years was objectionable for, if the market price was lower than the contract price, then the Company must purchase more pepper from the market. Besides, they realised that Travancore pepper was inferior to the produce of the Malabar province. But the pound weight of pepper at the Company's sales sold for exactly the same sum, whether it was from Malabar or Anjengo or Bencoolen.¹⁵⁵ They further stated that the right of preemption of the surplus pepper of Travancore even at the contract price was only an imaginary benefit, not a real advantage".¹⁵⁶ This was so as a candy of Travancore pepper at 127 rupees would cost on board a ship Rs.139/- according to the estimate made by the Accountant General.¹⁵⁷

At this time, the price of pepper began to fall in England. It fell to seven pence per pound and appeared to be on the decline. There was a pepper glut in the market. There was old stock in the East India House at London which

155. Anjengo Factory General - 1806, Extract of a letter from the Court of Directors in the Commercial Department, 30 April 1806, p.640.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid., p.642.

was sufficient for more than two years sales for home consumption and exportation on an average of the deliveries of 20 years, besides there was an equal quantity which remained at their warehouse which was the property of buyers at former sales which was not disposed of.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, in the light of the excess supply of pepper in the absence of any demand, they decided that no pepper was to be provided by Anjengo government "upon our account in the season 1807/8 except the quantity to be received under the contract with His Highness the Rajah of Travancore."¹⁵⁹ As the contract would expire in 1808, they expressed their wish not to renew the same until the "terms shall have been submitted to our consideration".¹⁶⁰

The Rajah had feared that the pepper contract would never be renewed. But the proposition of renewing the contract after the terms were considered gave him a ray of hope. He intimated Handley that if the pepper contract was not renewed, then it would spell his ruin.¹⁶¹ Besides, he

158. Anjengo Factory General - 1807, William Ramsay, Secretary, East India House, London to Bombay Castle, 5 February 1807, p.520.

159. Ibid.

160. Ibid.

161. Anjengo Factory General - 1807, Handley, Anjengo to Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 31 October 1807, p.803.

informed him about his financial bankruptcy. He did not have money even to pay the first subsidy of the government.¹⁶² Handley however visited the Rajah to discuss the instructions received from the Court of Directors. Those present at the meeting were Rajah's own interpreter, Soobayah, and the Company's linguist, S.D. Fernandez, and the Dewan. The Rajah was informed about the Company's intention to debit for the wastage on pepper delivered from 1804 onwards.¹⁶³ The Company knew, at this juncture, the Rajah would fall in with their wishes, lest the pepper contract was not renewed. As expected he consented to the above proposal. But he insisted on renewing the pepper contract. The Rajah's proposal was submitted to the Court of Directors through Bombay government.¹⁶⁴ However, the Resident informed the Rajah of the improbability of a new pepper contract as the price of pepper in Europe had reached rock bottom level.

In the year 1809, Travancore reeled under the uprising of Velu Thampi. Trade came to a standstill. The Rajah owed enormous sums amounting to Rs.6,32,430/- to the

162. Ibid., 31 October 1807, pp.803-804.

163. Anjengo Diary - 1807, Handley, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 31 October 1807, p.8010.

164. Ibid., Rajah of Travancore to Bombay Castle, November 1807, p. 8015.

Company.¹⁶⁵ He was asked to provide speedy liquidation of the amount. Earlier outstanding amount used to be adjusted in pepper purchases. But the Company no longer required any pepper from Travancore. Thus at Anjengo pepper ceased to be purchased officially by the Company.¹⁶⁶ This was an abrupt fall from the prestigious position the pepper trade had commanded in earlier times at Anjengo. The Court of Directors intimated to Bombay about the futility of procuring pepper in the following words:

"The price of pepper in London is at this time less than seven pence per pound and our own stock remaining unsold amounts to nine million of pounds besides a quantity of about seven millions of pounds of pepper which has been sold and is in the hands of the buyers for which there is no market. In this view of the case we have no commercial inducement to continue any provision of pepper, but on the grounds of preventing the plantations from being ruined and also in some measures to assist the planters in the province of Malabar in paying their rents. It may be proper still to continue a very limited investment not exceeding fifteen hundred or two thousand candies at the utmost and the price to be put for the pepper, we think should not be allowed to exceed seventy or seventy five rupees per candy. We leave this to be determined by your local knowledge and shall only observe that it will be more satisfactory to us, that you should be enabled to abstain from making any provision of pepper at all".¹⁶⁷

165. Anjengo Diary - 1809, John Sme, "Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 11 May 1809, p.5651.

166. Ibid., John Sme, Anjengo to Dewan of Travancore, 30 May 1809, p. 6756.

167. Commercial Department, Despatches from England - 1811, Court of Directors to Governor, Bombay, 10 July 1811, pp.293-294.

By the year 1811, Anjengo settlement had nearly wound up. Thus ended the pepper trade of the Company in Travancore. When there was no demand for it in their country, there was no *raison d'etre* for maintaining any settlement which had been established earlier merely for the purpose of pepper trade.

As noted, pepper trade began to wane from the beginning of the 19th century, owing mainly to the lack of demand in England. Side by side with the pepper trade, but less in importance was the trade carried on at Anjengo in cotton, coir, timber etc. Next to pepper the most important article of trade at Anjengo was cotton. Throughout its history in Europe, cotton had been intimately associated with colonial empire. Appreciation of its virtue for light weight clothings and as a substitute for linen as underwear spread in the later 17th century when the Companies trading to the East began to bring it to Europe in appreciable quantity.¹⁶⁸

In the earlier period of the Anjengo establishment even though cotton trade was not conspicuous, nevertheless it did play a vital role in the commercial concerns of the Company. Cotton was produced in abundance at Anjengo.

168. J.H. Parry, Trade and Dominions - The European Overseas Empire in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1977) p.283.

From the early days of their settlement, musters of country cloth was sent to Bombay to be sent to England. The cloth produced at Anjengo was very cheap when compared to those produced at Surat or at Madras. Production per annum was around 25,000 pieces.¹⁶⁹

Even though Anjengo settlement was established mainly for pepper, the Company officials realised the profitability of dealing in cloth trade. They constructed a separate warehouse for cloth. In this warehouse, cloth was received from the merchants and stocked. From there later it was transferred to the fort.¹⁷⁰ Cloth merchants when compared to pepper merchants were very poor. They were usually advanced some money before making deliveries.

In the year 1723, musters of long cloth and sallampores were sent to Bombay. Bombay government was very appreciative about the Travancore cloths. They asked the Chief of Anjengo to enquire as to how the cloths were bleached by the natives.¹⁷¹ The cloth was whitened in the tanks specifically created in each house for such purpose. But the

169. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Brabourne, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 9 September 1704, p.2.

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid., Alexander Orme, Chief, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 13 December 1723, p.35.

problem used to be scarcity of washermen on the coast. As it rains for five months of the year, production of cloth was stunted by nature. After whitening the cloth it had to be dried in the sun, so during the rainy season production slackened. The Company officials issued orders for more tanks to be constructed at Cottadilly and other places for the convenience of washermen.¹⁷²

In the year 1736, Bombay government asked Anjengo officials to contract for 10,000 pieces of cloth.¹⁷³ Out of this quantity only 6080 pieces could be delivered in time, the cause of the delay being the vagaries of climate.¹⁷⁴ In 1738, Bombay government ordered Salisbury to contract for 10,000 pieces of cloth.¹⁷⁵ By 1739, they obtained 1150 pieces of cloth in the warehouse.¹⁷⁶ In the following year, Charles Whitehill contracted with cloth merchants Nelliampam and Danucem Chittys of Cotata for 10,000 pieces of cloth to

172. Ibid., p.55.

173. Ibid., Salisbury, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 18 December 1736, p.119.

174. Ibid., William Wake, Chief, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 7 February 1738, p.139.

175. Ibid., James Salisbury, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 21 February 1738, p.144.

176. Ibid., Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 18 February 1739, p.146.

be delivered within two months to ship home.¹⁷⁷ Again in the year 1740, the Company received 1150 pieces of several assortments of cloth.¹⁷⁸ But the cloth was not a regular item of trade at Anjengo. Contract for cloth was entered only when the need arose. Thus it was years later, viz., in 1748, that Richard Bouchier decided to procure large quantities of cloth, but unfortunately the dryness of the season raised the price of cotton and thread so high that the merchants did not manufacture them.¹⁷⁹

Other nations like the Dutch and French purchased cloth from Travancore. Since the English did not have a monopoly of this article and as they were not interested in it, they did not threaten the merchants. During the year 1749, Travancore manufactured only small quantities of cloth.¹⁸⁰ As there was no year to year contract made in cloth trade, in the factory records there was only occasional mention of this trade. In the year 1761, merchants of Cotata entered into an agreement with Thomas Whitehill, Chief of

177. Ibid., Charles Whitehill, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 28 April 1739, p.156.

178. Ibid., 20 September 1740, p.187

179. Ibid., Charles Bouchier, Anjengo to the Court of Directors, 23 December 1748, p.256.

180. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1749, Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 1 December 1749, p.33.

Anjengo for 20,000 pieces of cloth.¹⁸¹ After this contract, there was a gradual abandonment of cloth trade at Anjengo. The settlement which received small annual supply of long cloth and sallampores abruptly discontinued this trade from 1770 onwards.¹⁸²

The abandoned cloth trade was resumed only in the year 1795, and it was confined not only to long cloth and sallampores but to "all such as may be suitable to the European markets".¹⁸³ The Court of Directors gave instructions to Bombay Castle in order the Resident of Anjengo to procure 15,000 pieces of Long Cloth and 15,000 pieces of Sallampores for the ensuing season, and also to collect a complete set of samples of every species of piece goods made there not only for export but for native consumption, together with an account of the prime cost of each sort and the quantities that may be procured.¹⁸⁴ Previously they had received Long Cloth-6 ball, Sallampores-8 ball, and Sallampores-10 ball all measuring from 17 to 18 yards. The Court

181. Anjengo Diary - 1761, Agreement for cloth between the merchants of Cotata and Thomas Whitehill, 'Anjengo, 3 January 1761, p.86.

182. Anjengo Diary - 1795, Extract from the Honble Company's commands in their commercial letter, 28 April, 1795, p.181.

183. Ibid., p.182.

184. Ibid.

of Directors now desired for long-Cloth-36 yards long and Sallampores-18 yards long and both of them 1/8 yard wide.¹⁸⁵

Hutchinson realised the necessity of contracting with the Rajah of Travancore rather than the merchants. Native merchants were very poor and they did not attach any importance to contracts. After advancing huge sums of money to them with a written contract, he knew the Company will be in a state of predicament "owing to roguery and poverty of the above description of men".¹⁸⁶ He felt that if the Rajah did not participate in this business, then he would be sure to throw obstacles in the way of completing it. The quantity of white cloth that might be annually procured was 80,000 pieces. But the Dewan might claim to supply 30,000 pieces of each assortment.¹⁸⁷ Especially during the year 1795, he had his doubt of fulfillment of the contract as small-pox was raging on the coast and many weavers had succumbed to this dreaded disease. There was thus a shortage of weavers in Travancore which affected trade. As requested by Bombay government, Hutchinson made enquiries about every species of cloth, and he found that besides long cloth and Sallampores others manufactured were a few blue stained and varied cloth.¹⁸⁸

185. Ibid.

186. Anjengo Diary - 1795, Hutchinson, Anjengo to John Griffith, Acting Governor, Bombay, 2 November 1795, p.198.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid., p.199.

In the year 1796, the Rajah of Travancore entered into a contract with John Hutchinson, Resident of Anjengo, for furnishing the Company with 48,000 pieces of cloth.¹⁸⁹ In the following year a fresh contract was entered between the Resident of Anjengo and the Dewan of Travancore for 50,000 pieces of cloth, but by the year 1798, deliveries were not made. The Rajah however asked Dewan Raja Kesava Das to deliver the cloths to the Company without any more delay.¹⁹⁰

The reason for the delay was ascribed to shortage of weavers. People from other parts of the country came to Travancore to entice the weavers by offering them better salary. Thus many weavers migrated from Travancore to other parts. Weavers were essential for "twisting the Company's cloths"¹⁹¹ and as they were taken away the merchants could not fulfill their contract. George Parry wrote to the Dewan to be vigilant and to issue strict orders against others coming into Travancore to inveigle away the weavers so that he would not be deprived of the means of fulfilling

189. Anjengo Diary - 1796, proposals from the Rajah of Travancore to John Hutchinson, Anjengo, 11 December 1796, pp.223-224.

190. Anjengo Factory General - 1798, Rajah of Travancore to Acting Resident, Anjengo, 23 January 1798, p.9.

191. Ibid., Rajah of Travancore to the Resident of Anjengo, 10 August 1798, p.406.

the cloth contract with the Company.¹⁹² He further decided in 1799 to investigate into the manufacture of cloths on the coast in order to ascertain their price, quality and quantity.¹⁹³

Though there were possibilities of procuring cloth from private parties,¹⁹⁴ Parry decided to seek the permission of the Rajah for such purchases. The Rajah however refused permission for the Company to directly contract with others. Therefore in the month of September 1799, the Company entered into fresh contract with the Rajah for 50,000

192. Ibid., George Parry, Anjengo to Dewan Raja Kesava Das, 10 August 1798, p.407.

193. Anjengo Factory General - 1799, John Baxter, Anjengo to George Parry, Anjengo, 4 April 1799, p.141.

194. Ibid., p.142. One Mr. John Baxter offered to supply the Company with 20,000 pieces of cloth. He asked for an advance of Rs.50,000/- to make advance to the weavers. He wanted "Rs.25,000/- in species and Rs.25,000/- in 12 percent promissory notes and the like sum in cash and paper as above when half the contract (10000 pieces) are delivered at Anjengo and the balance in 12 percent promissory notes when the whole of the contract shall have been fulfilled". He sent a sample of 3 pieces of cloth to be marked and kept as a standard to receive the rest of the cloth.

pieces of cloth,¹⁹⁵ even though 26,676 pieces of cloth of previous delivery were still pending with the Rajah.¹⁹⁶

Out of the 50,000 pieces of the new contract, the Rajah promised to deliver at least 12,000 pieces without delay.¹⁹⁷ The year had nearly come to a close, and out of the 12,000 pieces only 5761 pieces were delivered and there was a pending quantity of 6033 pieces of cloth. Parry threatened to stop cloth contract with the Rajah for ever, if he did not adhere to the tenor of the contract.¹⁹⁸ The Rajah put the blame on the weather conditions for the delay in the delivery.¹⁹⁹ In spite of the delay in fulfilling the current contract, the Dewan repeatedly reminded the Resident about entering into a new contract. He requested for an advance of money too.²⁰⁰ Parry refused to enter into a new contract without fulfilling the old one. He also declined to accept the Rajah's desire to revise the price of the contract.²⁰¹

195. Anjengo Diary - 1799, George Parry, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 16 September 1799, p.334.

196. Ibid., 29 July 1799, p.267.

197. Ibid., 16 September 1799, p.334.

198. Anjengo Factory General - 1799, George Parry, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 17 October 1799, p.382.

199. Ibid., Rajah of Travancore to the Resident, Anjengo, 22 November 1799, p.423.

200. Ibid., Dewan of Travancore to George Parry, Anjengo, 30 November 1799, p.432.

201. Anjengo Factory General - 1800, George Parry, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 25 January 1800, p.23.

The Company officials were in a dilemma, as the Rajah neither fulfilled the contract nor allowed them to contract with others. Parry informed Bombay about this dog in the manger attitude of the Rajah. He also wrote that other manufacturers of cloth in the country were prepared to sell them to the Company at the same rate as then paid to the Rajah of Travancore.²⁰² On being asked to fulfil the earlier contract, the Rajah excused himself by putting the blame on the northern merchants on whom he depended for the delivery of cotton.²⁰³ He also attributed the rapid increase in the price of cotton for the delay.²⁰⁴

As the Rajah persistently expressed his desire to enter into a fresh contract, Parry threatened to exact a penalty on former unfulfilled contracts at the rate of 57 rupees per candy. He firmly stated that unless the outstanding pieces 10,866 were received, no new contract would be entered into at all.²⁰⁵ The Company had in warehouse in 1800, 3419 pieces of cloth.²⁰⁶ It is rather surprising

202. Anjengo Diary - 1800, George Parry, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 11 December 1799, p.436.

203. Ibid., Rajah of Travancore to Resident, Anjengo, 12 April 1800, p.133.

204. Ibid., -1799, George Parry, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 29 December 1799, p.5255.

205. Anjengo Factory General - 1800, George Parry, Resident to the Dewan of Travancore, 14 July 1800, p.231.

206. Ibid., George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Robert Rickards, 1 September 1800, p.279.

that in spite of blatantly flouting the contracts and always resorting to lame excuses, the Company continued to deal with him.

The Court of Directors issued orders to Anjengo officials to confine henceforth their purchases to only Sallampores. In the year 1802, Parry entered into a contract with the Rajah for supplying two sorts of Sallampores at a lowest rate of Rs.5/- per piece. This contract was annulled in 1803.²⁰⁷ Subsequently the Court of Directors ordered 2000 pieces of Sallampores to be procured at Rs.6/- per piece and accordingly by the year 1804, more than 2000 Sallampores were purchased.²⁰⁸ After this year there was no mention of any cloth contract entered with the Rajah. Even some of the long cloths that were sent to the warehouse were inferior in quality and higher in rate, so the Company sent orders forbidding any more long cloths to be sent.²⁰⁹ Thus the cotton trade came to a standstill at Anjengo very much like that of pepper.

207. Anjengo Diary - 1806, Handley, Resident, Anjengo to Henry Shank, Private Secretary to Honble Governor, Bombay, 12 July 1806, p.408.

208. Ibid.

209. Ibid., p.407.

other articles of trade:

Another important article of trade at Anjengo was coir. It was used to make anchors and ropes. Cordage and cables made from the coir and husk of coconut were principal articles of local trade. Anjengo coir was very famous. Annually 1000 candies of coir were produced in Travancore.²¹⁰ The coir of Anjengo was manufactured with fresh water. The whole of it was soaked in pools supplied by small canals with water from the sea. During the monsoon no coir could be manufactured "as these pools from the heavy full rain then became almost fresh and if coir was attempted to be made in them it could never be worked up either into ropes or cables and would soon become rotten".²¹¹

Whenever the Company was in need of coir, they purchased it from the Sircar. The rate was exorbitant, for 50 candies the rate was Rs.30/- per candy.²¹² Anjengo coir was supplied to the English mercantile houses of Forbes and Company and Bruce Fawcett and Company for the use of their ships, in cables and also in a loose state. The price of cables was from Rs.56/- to 66/- per candy and the latter at

210. Anjengo Diaries and Consultations - 1806, Handley, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Bombay, 8 February 1806, p.59.

211. Ibid., p.61.

212. Anjengo Factory General - 1804, Colonel Macaulay to Handley, Anjengo, 28 June 1804, p.389.

Rs.50/-, the whole of the coir.^{213.}

The coir manufactured at Laccadives island was supposed to be of superior quality. It was manufactured by soaking it for a considerable time in salt water. As the coconut produced in Anjengo were in no way inferior in quality to those produced in Laccadives island the superior excellence of Laccadives could only arise due to difference in the manufacturing of the article. The rate of Laccadives coir was Rs.75/- per candy and the Anjengo coir in the year 1808 was Rs.45/- per candy.²¹⁴

Coir ropes and cables were also supplied to the Marine Board, Bombay, for the use of the Company's Marine. In the year 1808, objections were raised against the Anjengo coir as the cordage and cables were liable to get damaged during voyage by fresh water. The damage was not easily visible and it could be discovered only too late as such articles would break on being handled without any strain. So the Bombay government decided to purchase coir in yard, in which case the damaged part could be removed before making it up into ropes or cables.²¹⁵

213. Anjengo Diary - 1808, Handley, Anjengo to R.I. Goodwin, Secretary to Governor, Bombay, 18 April 1808, p.244.

214. Ibid., p.245.

215. Anjengo Factory General - 1808, Gudbert Hornhill, Marine Office, Bombay to Robert Scott, Acting Secretary to Marine Board, 24 November 1808, pp.52-53.

Besides coir, other articles of trade were timber, indigo, cowries, lead and tobacco. Timber was earlier used for constructing beams of building and woods for mast, but later on the Company realised the potentiality of timber trade and they decided to tap them. The Bombay government wanted to make 74 gun ships at Colaba and Mazagong dock. For this order was placed to Travancore government to supply timber for making keel pieces and beams of the ship.²¹⁶ Timber trees were found in plentiful at Ayvica and Aycotta,²¹⁷ but procuring exact quantity of timber was expensive as it required elephants to transport them.²¹⁸ Sometimes timber trees near the river were felled and allowed to be floated down stream, sometimes it had to be hauled from the sea to the beach which cost the government a lot. Felling of timber rested solely with the Sircar of Travancore.²¹⁹ There were

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- 216. Anjengo Factory General - 1802, Court of Directors, London, to Governor in Council, Bombay, 5 May 1802, p.417.
 - 217. Anjengo Factory General - 1808, John Smee, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 25 November, 1808, pp.547-548.
 - 218. Anjengo Factory General 1807, I; Watson, Conservator of Forests in Malabar, Calicut to Handley, Anjengo, 19 March 1807, p.278.
 - 219. Anjengo Factory General - 1806, Handley, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 17 March 1806, p.153.

private merchants like Chaccoty who was the most affluent dealer of timber in the entire coast.²²⁰ The Bombay government entered into agreements for timber occasionally with the Travancore government when need arose. However the trade in timber waned as there was no continuous order for it.

Moreover, large quantity of lead was consigned from Anjengo to Bombay where it was consequently disposed of.²²¹ In the year 1809 prohibition was issued preventing the exportation of lead from any commercial Residency for the foreign ports. Consequently lead at Anjengo could not be allowed to be disposed of in this country or to the Arabs or foreigners without the authority of the government. But it could be shipped off to Bombay or Ceylon at the discretion of the Resident of Anjengo.²²²

From the foregoing, it could be ascertained that the English East India Company at Anjengo was engaged in vigorous trade for more than a century with many ups and downs. The secret of the success of the English trade as well as the cause of its subsequent decline was the result of the changing policy of the home government and the prevailing market

220. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Factor, Mahe, to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 20 April 1803, p.27.

221. Anjengo Factory General - 1809, Smee, Anjengo to Macaulay, Travancore, 22 March 1809, p.91.

222. Ibid., Macaulay, Travancore to Officer Commanding at Anjengo, 26 March 1809, p.107.

in England. These were crucial factors that determined the extent of trade at Anjengo throughout its history. The Company's trade at Anjengo fell into two phases. During the first phase the commercial prosperity of the Company was based on its peaceful commerce under the patronage of the Queen of Attingal. Though there was no fixed amount contracted for each year with the Queen, the Company was able to purchase plenty of pepper from the coast. But on the whole the supply was never stable. However, the stable home market for pepper helped them to promote substantial business.

The second phase that started from 1744 constituted an eventful period in the history of the Company. It was a period of significant change. The Rajah of Travancore assumed the pepper trade in the region. Henceforth the Company had to deal directly with the Rajah and were gradually prevented from purchasing pepper from the private merchants. Though pepper trade stabilised and the commodity could be purchased from the Rajah more or less steadily, the Company officials had to undergo humiliation at the hands of the Rajah many a time.

One important lesson that the Company learnt from its dealings with the Rajah was that no reliance could be placed on the treaty obligations or contracts. The Rajah and his

minister would enter into a contract with the Company very happily and would never fulfil the contract on time even after repeated reminders. This unsteadiness and lack of response bewildered the English. But the Rajah could not be blamed entirely for such a situation. At this time, other European powers were offering a better price for the Rajah's pepper than the English. So naturally, the Rajah would have preferred to deal with the other European powers rather than fulfil his contract with the English at a lower rate. Side by side with pepper, trade was also carried on with other local products like cotton, coir and timber. The pepper trade came to a gradual end due to pepper glut in Europe. The eventual winding up of the settlement at Anjengo sounded the death knell of all trade. However, the one important fact that has to be noted about the entire trade at Anjengo is that this trade settlement in the Malabar coast never was able to develop into a strong centre of political power in the region, unlike the case in many other parts of India, where trade settlements gradually acquired immense political importance. The Anjengo settlement was started for trade and it fizzled out when there was no scope for further profitable trade.

THE FACTORY ESTABLISHMENT

Factory Administration:

The English East India Company was constituted in such a manner where its various establishments were organised hierarchically, with the Court of Directors at the apex. Administratively speaking, a factory was a subordinate unit of the Company established for trading purposes. The factories soon assumed the character of settlements. These settlements were subordinated to a President and Board. In fact they were governed by them. A factory also included the commercial Residency. The Residency meant an establishment which had to look after the interests of the East India Company at the court of native rulers.

As trade expanded, many factories grew up under the shelter of the parent factory and then the original factory came to be called Presidency town where the President resided. In this way in course of time, the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal came into existence.¹ They were

1. Baden Powell, Land System of British India (Oxford, 1892) I, p.3.

so called as they were fully equipped factory towns under the supervision of a President and twelve members. Each Presidency was a unit in itself, a complete commercial establishment consisting of merchants, factors, writers, book-keepers, soldiers, sepoy and peons.²

They held weekly meetings and records were kept in minute books which were sent to the Court of Directors to enable them to keep a watch over the affairs of the Company.³ In the beginning a factory was a compact building made of Cadjan leaf which gradually developed into solid building consisting of lodgings of the Chief or President and his subordinates, warehouse, godowns and offices. Originally no provision was made for family life, even the Chiefs were rarely accompanied by their wives.⁴ Later on families were

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2. James H. Gense, Indian History - 1525-1920 (Trichinopoly, 1923) p.171.
 3. Ishwari Prasad, India in the Eighteenth Century (Allahabad, 1973) p.62. In the early days of trade with India it was customary to send home two copies of letters by different routes. The originals appear generally to have been sent by ship, whilst duplicates were transmitted via the Persian Gulf and Aleppo. Unfortunately in great number of cases the duplicates have been preserved and the originals lost or destroyed - Factory Records - General - India Office Library Records, London, p.vi.
 4. P.E. Roberts, History of British India (London, 1938) p.75.

allowed to reside at the factory. Such a factory was generally fortified and a military garrison was maintained to protect it from enemies.

In the factory there were five grades of service. Apprentices, Writers, Factors, Junior Merchants, Senior Merchants and Chief.⁵ Apprentices were trained for seven years after which they became Writers. Writers were cadets sent out between the ages of fifteen and twenty two and their appointment was based on their interest with the Directors. They were appointed in various officers necessary for the conduct of government,⁶ and received a salary merely nominal. At the same time they were given permission to trade as long as their private operations did not interfere with the public trade of the Company.⁷ The writers after three years of service became factors. The factors were entitled to a higher pay and enlarged privileges and they were no longer considered as cadets but as members of the Company.⁸ The next grade was Junior Merchant and then

5. Maclean's Manual of Administration of Madras Presidency (Madras, 1938)I, p.166.

6. Secretariat Outward - 1695, Bombay Castle to John Bra-bourne, Anjengo, 27 June 1695, p.93.

7. Maclean's manual of Administration of Madras Presidency, n.5, p.166.

8. Ibid.

Senior Merchant. Besides, there were also officials like the Chaplain, Surgeon, Paymaster, Linguist, Portuguese Translator, Warehouse-keeper and Secretary.⁹ Their pay was very nominal and most of them eked out a living by indulging in private trade which yielded good profit.¹⁰

In addition to their wages, the men were however entitled to a pension from what was known as the popular fund. "Any Commander, Officer or Seaman or anyone else who had served aboard any of these East Indiamen for eight years and regularly contributed to this fund was entitled to a pension".¹¹ In case, the person had been wounded or maimed or had become incapacitated and incapable of further service at sea, he was still entitled to a pension even under 8 years of service. The size of the pension was based on the amount of capital which the officer possessed.¹²

9. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 20 April 1729, p.56.
10. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1695, 19 August 1695, p.106, Bombay pay-list of January 1716 shows "the Governor received £ 300 per annum, next to him Eight merchants who with him constituted the Council and received respectively one £ 100, one £ 70, two £ 50 and four £ 40 each below them came three senior factors at £ 30 each, three Junior factors at £ 15 and seven Writers at £ 5 each" - Colonel John Biddulph, The Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago (London, 1907), p.106.
11. E. Keble Chatterton, The Old East Indiamen (London, 1914) p.239.
12. Ibid.

The unmarried servants of the Company were lodged at the Company's expense and the married ones received lodging allowances.¹³ Life in the factory was organised according to a certain pattern. Those who lived in the factory were expected to conform to this pattern, as one would do in a Christian monastery. There were rules that regulated the conduct of the Company's servants. All administrative functions were executed by the Board. The entire proceedings were written down and signed by the members present.

Thus on their leaving the country, they left voluminous Records, Diary and Consultation Books which were classified into Public Consultations, Political Consultations, Secret Consultations, Military Consultations, Letters sent and received from various factories, Despatches from England, Despatches to England, Country Correspondence, Ledger Book, Minute Book etc. The factory officials frequently kept in touch with other factories and Presidencies and so they were well informed of the political affairs of not only the country in which they resided but also of various other parts including Europe. All the letters covered even the minor

13. John Biddulph, n.10, p.106. However, in the year 1694 it was decided to permit married men to return to their family after two or three years of service, as otherwise it may discourage others from coming to India thinking themselves to be banished for life - Letters from Fort St. George - 1694, Fort St. George to John Brabourne, Anjengo, 28 September, 1694, p.74.

happenings of the other factories so that in case the correspondence of one factory was lost, their activities could be known to the Presidency while going through the letters of the other factory. They had certainly a very well organised system of communication.

The factory of Anjengo which was established in the year 1694 was at first placed under the President of Surat, but it was subsequently made subordinate to Bombay Presidency.¹⁴ This factory ranked as a very important trading centre and the officials of this factory were ranked second in council in Bombay.¹⁵

In the beginning the factory correspondence were jumbled up without any method. By a despatch of 23 February 1727, the Court ordered that all proceedings of the factory were to be sent to Bombay to be brought into their general books to be periodically sent home.¹⁶ Previously the Military, Commercial and Political letters were all sent to Bombay under one head. In 1758, the Court of Directors instructed the Presidency that in future all the business should be

14. Factory Records - G, India Office Library Records , London, p.1.

15. Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Edited C.D. Maclean (Delhi, 1893, 1982) p.33.

16. Factory Records - G: n.14, p.1.

transmitted in two distinct departments, one to manage the civil affairs and the other military affairs of the subordinate factories.¹⁷ This course continued until 1775, from which date copies of the diary and consultation of the factory were sent to London separately.¹⁸

Communication from Anjengo to the Presidencies were easy as most of the ships touched Anjengo port, and hence not only letters but also stores and packets,¹⁹ slaves, ammunitions and soldiers were frequently sent to and fro from Anjengo.²⁰ Communication within the country was carried on by Pattamars or Brahmins, who could move around the country easily and freely on account of their caste immunity. Towards the 18 Century, Post Offices were established at Anjengo.²¹

17. Military Consultation - 1758, George Pigot, Fort St. George to Charles Crommelan, Anjengo, 27 October 1758, p.498.

18. Factory Records - General, n.14, p.1.

19. Letters from Fort St. George - 1693, Fort St. George to William Hansell, President Fort St. George and Fort St. David, 27 December 1693, p.31.

20. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George - 1693, 2 October 1693, p.140.

21. See Chapter X.

The head of the factory was at the helm of all affairs at Anjengo. He was known as the Chief till the year 1776, from when he came to be called the Resident, as Bombay government in the same year had abolished the Chiefship of Anjengo and had reduced it to a Residency.²² He carried out the civil, military, judicial and executive functions of the factory. He executed treaties and agreements with the native rulers after obtaining sanction from the Council. He also contracted with the merchants for pepper, spices and timber giving money in advance for such purchases. He presided over the proceedings of the factory council and was responsible for the security of the fort. He represented the Company in all important matters. In case of the sudden demise of the Chief while in harness, the next in command took over the charge of the factory till the new chief arrived. Invariably the next in command was appointed, but there were instances when fresh appointments had taken place.

The Chief, however, did not have any power to correspond directly with the Court of Directors. In 1729, John Wallis, the Chief of Anjengo had to pay a dear price for corresponding with the home government. He sent an account

22. Anjengo Diary - 1776, Bombay Castle to Nathaniel Stackhouse, Anjengo, 11 February 1776, p.13.

of the affairs of Anjengo factory accompanied by a packet directly to the Court of Directors.²³ This sparked off indignation among the members of the Council of Anjengo which consisted of the total number of officials in the fort. The Council in their meeting held that John Wallis had no authority or private order for what he had done and that if he was authorised to do such a thing then he should have sent the letter through the proper channel.²⁴ The Council agreed that John Wallis had misused his powers and acted contrary to the rules of the establishment. They therefore suspended him in the interests of their "own security and safety of this settlement which he endeavoured by very indirect method to embroil".²⁵ The Council of Bombay approved of his suspension and recalled him from Anjengo.²⁶ After this incident none of the officials of the Company corresponded directly with the Court of Directors.

23. Public Consultation - 1729, September 1729, p.99. John Wallis first sent his account to Governor Boone of Bombay Castle, but it was returned, wherefore he sent it directly to Thomas Woolsey, Secretary for the East India Company affairs at their house in London. He was hoping that the Company may lay down better measures after going through his account - See John Wallis, A Short Treatise by Way of Essay of Attinga on the Malabar Coast - , 7 September 1727.

24. Letter to Fort St. George - 1729, Hezikiah King, Anjengo to James Macral, Fort St. George, 24 November 1729, p.141.

25. Public Consultation - 1729, December 1729, p.162.

26. Letter to Fort St. George - 1729, n.24, p.141.

Next to the Chief come his Assistants and then Warehouse-keeper, Paymaster, Receiver of Revenues, Gunner, Linguist and others. The Linguist was an important official employed by the factory. He functioned as the Translator and on several occasions mediated between the Company and the local powers. His duty was to interpret and translate all the correspondence of the Resident of Anjengo with the Queen of Attingal, the Rajah of Travancore and other local powers. He also represented in person what ever business the Resident of Anjengo had delegated to him and explained the same not only to the Rajah but also to his minister. This resulted in the Linguist becoming very friendly with the Rajah and his minister.²⁷

In the Anjengo settlement the post of Linguist had become almost hereditary since four generations. The family of Fernandez occupied this post.²⁸ The first Linguist of the Company being Ignatio Malheiros and the last being Sebastian Diaz Fernandez. Many of the treaties between the Company and the indigenous powers were executed in the

27. Political Consultations - 1809, Sebastian Diaz Fernandez, Linguist, Anjengo to Committee at Fort St. George, 31 October 1809, p.2457.

28. Anjengo Diary General - 1809, Stephen Diaz Fernandez, Linguist, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 8 April 1809, p.124.

Portuguese language which served as a common language for all transactions. The usual practice was to translate the Portuguese treaties into English on the opposite of the original document.²⁹

The Company servants received Diet money, and House rent besides their salary. According to the Anjengo Factory Records of 1729, the salary and monthly allowances, given to the servants were as follows:³⁰

Company Servants	Station	Monthly allowance Fanam	Salary per annum £
Alexander Orme	Chief	500	40
Charles Whitehill	Warehouse- Keeper	250	40
James Salisbury	Paymaster	150	40
Nicholas Goodwin	Receiver of the revenues	150	15
Nathaniel Whitewell	Secretary	150	5

Next to the Chief the others were categorised as Senior merchant and then Junior merchant and then Factor. In the

29. Anjengo Diary - 1755, George Scott, Chief, Anjengo to Fort St. George, November 1755, p.29.

30. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Alexander Orme, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 20 April 1729, p.56.

year 1732, the Chief of the factory received the pay viz. £ 40, Senior merchant received £ 40, Junior merchant £ 30, and Factor £ 15.³¹ In the year 1799, Bombay government thought it expedient to abolish all allowances drawn under the heads, Diet Money, House Rent, Servants Wages, Office allowances etc. and so they were abolished.³² The living conditions of a factor were pitiable.³³ The meagre salary was not sufficient to purchase the most essential commodities for them.³⁴ It was therefore not very surprising to note that many of the Company servants were dishonest.

Five minor factories were subordinate to Anjengo.

They were Betture, Retorah, Brinjohn, Colachel and Eddawa.

31. Selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat - Home Series ed. George W. Forrest (Bombay, 1887)I, p.169. See Appendix. IV.

32. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay Castle to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 13 September 1799, p.349.

33. Anjengo factory Records and Diaries - 1751, Factor, Anjengo to Chief, Anjengo, 18 August 1751, p.6. "the olas of my house grown so rotten, that they will not keep out the weather, so that I am obliged to get out of bed and remove from place to place to keep myself dry (in case it rains)... I have for many days past been violently afflicted with a cold and sour throat, the former which is a constant companion which indeed cannot be wondered at considering my situation... neither you nor the Presidency would desire any of their inferiors to live in a barn, where many vermins abound in so much that there is no resting at night. I have suffered a great deal from them, whose bites are insufferable. However gentleman this is not at all I have to complain of, I have no place to cook in, the hovel they gave me for that purpose is impeded.

34. See Appendix.V.

Of these five the first three were established even before the one at Anjengo. These were not full fledged but they had each a warehouse and flagstaff and were maintained mainly for storing pepper in their godowns. These factories were under the charge of the Chief of Anjengo. A Linguist was appointed in every factory who kept the Anjengo Chief informed of the day to day activities of the factories. Apart from serving as store-house for pepper, these factories kept vigil on the coast and on sighting foreign ships on the coast they quickly relayed the message to Anjengo.³⁵ According to orders from Anjengo factory, immediately on sighting foreign ships on the coast, round boats were to be detached to investigate into the purpose behind such ships.³⁶

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35. Anjengo Diary - 1757, John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to Fort St. George, November 1757, p.103. Information was relayed to Anjengo on sighting a French ship from Brinjohn factory. In the year 1759, information was relayed from Retorah factory about two French ships anchoring at Retorah - Anjengo Diary - 1759, Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 26 November 1759, p.96. In 1772, the Linguist of Retorah informed Anjengo that Danish ships were clandestinely carrying off pepper - Anjengo Diary - 1772, Linguist Laade Faria, Brinjohn to Peter Elwin Wrench, Chief, Anjengo, 31 March 1772, p.67. In 1773, Linguist at Brinjohn informed Anjengo of sighting Danish sloop with two masts with cannons, guns, flints, Irons and copper on board landing at Colachel - Anjengo Diary - 1773, Linguist, Brinjohn to Chief, Anjengo, 19 March 1773, p.75. In the same year another letter passed on intelligence to Anjengo that a munchua laden with pepper from Retorah were clandestinely carrying them to a ship - Anjengo Diary - 1773, Linguist, Brinjohn to Chief, Anjengo, 22 March 1773, p.78.
36. Anjengo Diary - 1760, Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 11 January 1760, p.138.

The subordinate factories of Betture, Retorah and Brinjohn did not survive for long. Betture factory was gutted down by the fire, set by the natives in the year 1720,³⁷ and was never rebuilt. By the beginning of the 18 Century, the other three factories ceased to function. In 1779, there occured violent rain unparalleled in the history of Anjengo. In the tempestous rain, Brinjohn and Retorah factory nearly collapsed.³⁸ Once again in 1786, the settlement experienced violent hurricane which partly destroyed the ware-house at Eddawa and Brinjohn.³⁹ Anjengo officials requested Bombay castle to send Rs.15,000/- for repairs of the factory. But Bombay castle did not send them money and in due course the dilapidated building collapsed.⁴⁰ The death knell of the three factories was sounded. As for the subordinate factory at Colachel it had a longer life span. It survived till the year 1802. Colonel Macaulay, the

37. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1720, William Gyfford, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 17 February 1720, p.27.

38. Anjengo Diary - 1779, John Torpess, Anjengo to William Hornby, Bombay, 22 November 1779, p.138.

39. Anjengo Factory General - 1779, John Torpess, Anjengo to William Hornby, Bombay, 16 November 1779, p.131.

40. Anjengo Diary - 1786, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rawson Hart Boddam, Governor, Bombay, 18 April 1786, p.81.

political Resident of Travancore, in the year 1802, restored it to the Danish government of Tranquebar to whom it originally belonged.⁴¹

Union Jack flew from the flag-staff of Anjengo which was hoisted on Sundays, principal holidays and on days when important ships "come in or go out of the roads agreeably to the customs established at the Presidency".⁴² According to the procedure that had existed in the factory, gun salute was made from the rampart of the factory on all important occasions. It varied according to the importance of the occasion. On the occasion of the visit of the Rajah of Travancore to the Anjengo fort, he was usually given a 21 gun salute on his arrival as well as departure.⁴³ On investiture ceremony, a 15 gun salute was made.⁴⁴ On poignant

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41. Political Consultation - 1802, Macaulay, Resident, Travancore to Chief, Secretary, Fort St. George, 12 November 1802, p.1708. "This is to certify to whom it may concern that William Brown of Tranquebar has received by authority from Tranquebar, of Major Macaulay, the British Resident in Travancore all the effects and things belonging to the royal Danish factory at Colletge as per inventory of this factory".
 42. Anjengo factory Records - Diaries and Consultations - 1792, Robert Abercromby, Calicut to John Hutchinson, Anjengo, 26 February 1792, p.17.
 43. Anjengo Diary - 1778, John Torpess, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 21 January 1778, p.14.
 44. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Colonel Macaulay, Resident, to Handley, Resident, Anjengo, 13 August 1803, p.164. The occasion was the investiture of Dewan of Travancore by the most noble Governor General Lord Wellesley "with an honorary Khelaut or dress".

occasions, the procedure was to fire minute guns from the rampart of the fort. In 1750, on the death of the Queen of Attingal, 79 half minute guns were fired with flag at half mast and orders were issued by the beat of drums forbidding fishing or keeping open shops within the space of five days. Five day mourning was followed.⁴⁵ The number of guns fired corresponded to the number of years lived by the bereaved. Similarly in 1782, on the death of the Queen of Attingal, 86 minute guns were fired from the fort. But the state mourning was only for three days, with flag half mast at the fort.⁴⁶ So also in 1807, on the death of the Princess of Attingal, 30 minute guns were fired with flag at half mast.⁴⁷ But the records during this period did not state anything about state mourning, thus proving that with the passage of time the high esteem in which the English held the Queen had dwindled.

Similarly even on the death of the Resident of Anjengo minute guns were fired. In 1787, on the demise of John Hutchinson, Resident of Anjengo minute guns were fired from

45. Anjengo Diary - 1750, 18 March 1750, p.219.

46. Anjengo Diary - 1782, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 11 June 1782, p.128.

47. Anjengo Diary - 1807, Dyne, Anjengo to Handley, Resident, Anjengo, 24 November, 1807, p.873.

the saluting battery.⁴⁸ In 1798, on the death of the Rajah of Travancore, the same practise was followed.⁴⁹ There are occasions when minute guns were fired when prominent officials of the Company passed away. In 1803, when Lord Cornwallis passed away, sixty six minute guns were fired from Anjengo as per orders received.⁵⁰ In the history of Anjengo there was only one occasion when minute guns were fired rapidly from 5 p.m. till sunset. The occasion was the murder of the Persian Ambassador to the British government at Bengal. He was killed while he tried to quell a dispute between European sepoys.⁵¹ This incident was deeply mourned by the Company settlements in India.

The Board of Anjengo met frequently and the Chief had to acquaint the Board with every small incident that had taken place since the previous meeting. Decisions taken

48. Anjengo Diary - 1797, Chief, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 11 December 1797, p.300.

49. Anjengo Diary - 1798, John Dyne, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 19 February 1798, p.843.

50. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Colonel Macaulay, Resident, Travancore to Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 13 August 1803, p.164.

51. Anjengo Diary - 1805, Handley, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 9 November 1805, p.641.

were recorded in the Diary and measures were taken only if they were unanimously agreed upon. The Diary and Consultation book were to be approved by the President and the Governor and Council of Bombay.⁵² Each member of the Board supervised a particular item of work. There were stores under the charge of the Gunner, the Land paymaster, and Resident as well as those under the charge of the Surgeon, the Warehouse-keeper and the Master Smith.⁵³ The assignment of the stores was changed from time to time to enable every member to get training in the department and also to avoid corruption that might arise as a result of the long term service of a person in one department.

The heads of expenditure varied from time to time depending on the frequent change that arose in these departments.⁵⁴ The amount spent on specific purpose but relating to other factories were shown under separate items such as fortification and buildings, Anjengo, fort, 3 Banksaul and one hospital, 3 dwelling houses, Coletche Residency, Eddawa

52. Anjengo Diary - 1770, Approval of the Diary and Consultation of Peter Elwin Wrench, Chief, Anjengo by Thomas Hodges, Governor, Bombay, 22 February 1770, p.69.

53. Anjengo Factory Store Keeper Journal - 1792, 1 May 1792, pp.6-8.

54. Anjengo Factory Journal of Accounts - 1770, Abstract of the charges General of Anjengo books beginning the 1 August 1769 and ending 31 July 1770, p.131.

Residency, Brinjohn Residency, the North Trankier, the South Trankier, the Battery near the Honble Company's house.⁵⁵ The Board verified the account and inspected the balance money in the treasury. Meticulous care was taken to maintain all the records properly. In 1770, William Hornby, Governor of Bombay visited Anjengo. On his arrival it was observed that the person-in-charge had not maintained the account books and diaries in a proper manner. To prevent such a recurrence in future, a standing order was issued that the Secretary must attend all the council meetings and the minutes must be signed regularly by all the members.⁵⁶

A Company official who desired a transfer to other Presidencies could apply for the same.⁵⁷ Officials were also free to change their jobs as they liked. Earlier a factor could resign his job, after making money privately. The Company officials were not restricted in their service, but before resigning their job they had to inform their superiors concerned. Later, this freedom of service began

55. Anjengo Factory Journal of Accounts sundry accounts to Account current Bombay, 1 August 1769, to 31 July 1770, p.2.

56. Anjengo Diary - 1770, William Hornby, Governor, Pombay to Peter Elwin Wrench, Chief, Anjengo, 26 March 1770, p.91.

57. Anjengo Diary - 1776, Council of Bombay to Nathaniel Stackhouse, Chief, Anjengo, 11 February 1776, p.13. Bombay Castle wrote "whether any of the civil servants of your establishment are desirous of being removed to the Bengal establishment".

to be misused by the Company servants. They began to concentrate more on private trade rather than the Company affairs. This tendency was frowned upon by the Court of Directors. Therefore in 1781, the Court of Directors passed an order according to which none of the Company servants could change their job or engage in any other business incompatible with his service.⁵⁸ The servants were not permitted to resign their job and they were also "not to be admitted to the practise as an attorney in the supreme court of judicature".⁵⁹ Whenever a Company official resigned he was compelled to return to England within the time specified, he will not be permitted to remain in India after resignation from the Company's service "without-first having obtained leave for that purpose".⁶⁰

This order was a land-mark in the history of the Company's service. Thereafter no servants could resign and settle in India or accept the service of other powers. In case they resigned they were forced to return to England. As stated earlier, in the year 1776, Bombay government reduced the Chiefship of Anjengo to a Residency. They further

58. Anjengo Diary - 1781, Extract from the Honble Company's command to Bombay, 5 July 1780, p.127.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

limited the civil establishment to a Resident and one Assistant.⁶¹ Earlier the number of Assistants to the Resident varied from one to four.

In 1778, the Court of Directors in their order to Bombay government appointed a select committee for transacting all political, military, and naval affairs as well as all such matters that require, secrecy at Bombay. The orders issued by the committee should be implicitly obeyed by every person in their service or enjoying the protection of the Company on pain of suspension from service or of forfeiting their licence and protection. Further if the select committee decided to suspend any person from the service, he should not be restored otherwise than by the said committee except by order of Directors.⁶²

In 1778, William Hornby of Bombay Castle informed John Torpess, Resident of Anjengo, that according to the instructions received from the Court of Directors a Revenue Department was established at the Bombay Presidency, and so they directed the Anjengo Resident thereafter to address them separately as a Revenue Department on all matters touching

61. Anjengo Diary - 1776, Bombay Castle, to Nathaniel Stackhouse, Chief, Anjengo, 11 February 1776, p.13.

62. Anjengo Diary - 1778, An extract from the Court of Directors to Bombay Castle, 10 April 1778, p.116.

the revenues under their management,⁶³ and also to prepare and transmit to them "an exact statement of the revenues depended on Anjengo in which every branch there of must be distinctly and fully stated and particularly described together with the usual expenses attending the collection thereof and also an explanation of every incumbrance with which the several articles were charged".⁶⁴ At Anjengo the main source of revenues was from taxes on pepper and from rent on Cottadilly farm which was leased out at a public auction for a period of year.⁶⁵

In 1785, the Secret and Political Department was separated from the Public Department. The Secret Department transacted all subjects of a political nature.⁶⁶ All correspondence with the other Presidencies on political affairs and with the Residents at foreign courts and all transactions with foreign nations and country powers which required secrecy were dealt with by this department. Thus henceforth matters pertaining to the above subjects were

63. Anjengo Diary - 1778, William Hornby, Bombay Castle, to John Torpess, Anjengo, 9 November 1778. p.150.

64. Ibid.

65. See Appendix-VI

66. Anjengo Factory Diary - Political - 1785, Bombay Castle, to John Hutchinson, Chief, Anjengo, February 1785, p.6.

to be addressed to the Political and Secret Department and others to the Public Department.⁶⁷

In 1786, a general order for defining accurately the separate powers and duties of civil and military servants stationed at subordinate settlements was sent to all the factories by Bombay government.⁶⁸ Thus all the former publications of the Presidency were annulled and the orders of 1786 were to be considered as the standing orders of the government. The Chief provisions of the order were, Chiefs, or Residents of the subordinate settlements were given superior powers and they were subject only to the immediate order and control of the Governor and Council.⁶⁹ The keys of the fort were to be kept by the Resident "who are to give the parole and receive a general monthly return of the troops from the commanding officer of the District".⁷⁰ The parole was to be sent daily before ten in the morning under a sealed cover to the officer commanding the troops in garrison to be

67. Ibid.

68. Military Consultation - 1786, Extract of general orders of the Honble Company for defining the duties of the Civil and Military servants stationed at subordinate settlements, 31 October 1786, p.2067.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

made known to the troops in whatever manner the military officer deemed most expedient. The Resident was also empowered to employ the troops for public purpose but they must signify in writing their requisition to the officer commanding the troops. They should record and forward to the Governor-in-council all such requisitions made by them for military force.⁷¹

The power of granting leave of absence to civil officials belonging to the fort rested with the Resident of the fort. But the power of granting leave to military officials was vested in the officer-commanding of the district. In case of officers desirous of obtaining leave to visit Europe or other Company's settlement or to go to sea for health, then the power of granting such leave lay with the Governor-in-council channelled through the Commanding officer of the district.⁷²

The military department was under the orders and control of the Chief or Resident but they had no authority to interfere with the discipline or command of the troops as the military command and responsibility were placed in the military officers only.⁷³ The officer commanding had to lay copies

71. Ibid., p.2073.

72. Ibid., p.2075.

73. Ibid., p.2068.

of any orders received from elsewhere to the Resident. Officers commanding garrisons, military posts or stations were not to lend money or take any concern in farms. They were not allowed to buy or sell commodities for trade purpose. They were also forbidden from having any dealings with the Jemindars, farmers, ryots or officers of the revenue.⁷⁴ Besides they were not allowed to seize or confine any inhabitants unless they were guilty of some criminal action, in which case the Company officials had to report the matter immediately to the Resident.⁷⁵ These restrictions were placed on them because they accepted gifts from the natives very often.

The Chief/Residents of the fort were in the habit of receiving gifts from the Rajah of Travancore.⁷⁶ This free acceptance of presents often hampered the smooth functioning of the Company, as the receiver of presents usually granted

74. Ibid., p.2071.

75. Ibid.

76. Anjengo Diary - 1757, Rajah of Travancore to Chief, Anjengo, 5 September 1757, p.28. The Rajah of Travancore presented the Governor of Madras with a neck chain of gold and two wrought gold manillas and his lady with a necklace of gold. In 1809, during the war with Velu Thampi after the termination of war, Rajah presented Colonel Macaulay with a ring, two shawls to Colonel Sentleger who was in-charge of a brigade, two shawls each to other officers as a mark of joy - Secret Sundries Travancore - 1809, Macaulay, Travancore to Falconar, Fort St. George, 27 March 1807, p.1796.

concessions to the donor. The Bombay government therefore in 1796 sent instructions to John Hutchinson, Resident of Anjengo, to prohibit the Company servants from receiving from the natives "any present or offering of whatever such as may be deemed of value or such as are of the utmost trifling consideration down even to fish, fruit or flowers. Any deviation from this order will be treated with severity it deserve".⁷⁷

However, the Company servants at Anjengo continued to work under difficult constraints and conditions. Though their pay was meagre, the Company did not make any arrangements for enhancing their pay. But instead they tried to shut down all avenues of making quick money. When their comrades working in other settlements were given extra half batta, at Anjengo no such arrangement was made.⁷⁸ In 1797, the noncommissioned officers and private soldiers of Anjengo petitioned John Hutchinson pointing out that their friends in other settlements of the coast were allowed half batta by the Governor-in-Council, and therefore they were also entitled

77. Anjengo Diary - 1796, Notice put up by John Hutchinson, Resident Anjengo, 24 February 1796, p.48.

78. Anjengo Diary - 1797, Factor, Anjengo to John Hutchinson, Chief, Anjengo, 14 November 1797, p.23.

for the same and hoped that their request would be granted.⁷⁹ But according to the records nothing seems to have been done for the factors. In the same year, it was decided to reduce the accounts of the Residency. Accordingly, the offices of the warehouse-keeper, General Store-keeper, Land-paymaster and Military paymaster were to be abolished and the whole of the disbursement brought in to the treasury account of the Residency.⁸⁰

In 1799, Bombay Castle informed George Parry, Resident of Anjengo, that the Company's solicitor was instructed to prepare a bond to be executed by all the commercial servants under the Presidency prohibiting their trade whether directly or indirectly or allowing of it in others under them.⁸¹ If caught the superior servants had to pay a penalty of Rs.50,000/- and the Assistants Rs.10,000/- and at the same time they were liable to suspension from the Honble Company.⁸²

By the end of 1799, Anjengo factory's importance was declining. The trade was very backward, Bombay government after perusing the statement of the establishment of Anjengo passed an order abolishing the offices of Secretary, Accountant, Land Pay-office, Warehouse-keeper and Store-keeper and

79. Ibid.

80. Anjengo Factory General - 1797, John Morris, Secretary to Resident, Anjengo, 24 May 1797, p.165.

81. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Robert Rickards, Bombay Castle to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 10 September 1799, p.334.

82. Ibid.

directed that their business be in future conducted by the Resident and two assistants who were to be employed on general duty of the Residency.⁸³ It was also thought expedient to abolish all allowances drawn under the heads Diet Money, House Rent, Servants Wages, Office allowances and allowances for petty stores.⁸⁴

In 1800, when the Travancore government entered into the Subsidiary Alliance introduced by Lord Wellesley, the activities of the Company could not be carried on alone by the Resident of Anjengo. The Bombay government therefore decided to appoint a Political Resident at Travancore. In 1800, Major Macaulay was appointed as the Political Resident.⁸⁵ In 1801, Anjengo factory was officially attached to the Madras Presidency.⁸⁶ But the Commercial department continued under the authority of the Bombay Presidency whereas the Political

83. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 13 September 1799, p.349.

84. Ibid.

85. Anjengo Diary - 1800, Bombay Castle, to Major Macaulay, Resident, Travancore, 16 April 1800, p.139.

86. Anjengo Diary - 1801, Robert Woolf, Fort St. George to George Purry, Resident, Anjengo, 21 April 1801, p.99.

authority remained under Madras Presidency.⁸⁷ Two delegated authorities independent of each other and accountable for their conduct to the government of two Presidencies, naturally led to a lot of inconveniences.⁸⁸ Thus after much thinking the Governor in Council in 1810 decided to place the Commercial factory of Anjengo equally with the Political Resident at Travancore under the control of Madras.⁸⁹

Military Organisation:

Ever since the inception of the fort, the Company had to contend with not only other European powers but also the natives. This would have been impossible without a developed military organisation. The Army consisted of Europeans, who were well versed in the use of all sorts of modern arms. They even recruited soldiers from the natives like the Nairs, Thiyyas, Moors and Topasses. These recruits were thoroughly trained. The first thing that a soldier was taught was "subordination".⁹⁰ The native soldiers were dressed and

87. Ibid., George Parry, Anjengo to Robert Woolf, Accountant-General, Fort St. George, 29 April, p.100.

88. Ibid.

89. Anjengo Diary - 1810, A. Falconar, Fort St. George to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay, 18 September 1810, p.5179. for details see chapter - Last phase.

90. Anjengo Diary - 1798, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 26 May 1798, p.250.

disciplined in the same manner as English sepoys.⁹¹ On important occasions they dressed in the same way as the European soldiers "with drums, rifles and English Union".⁹² During later years soldiers were strictly prohibited from putting ritualistic caste-marks on the face or wearing earrings when dressed in uniform. It was also directed that all the soldiers should be clean shaven in the chin, and uniformity was to be preserved "in regard to the quantity and shape of hair on the upper lip".⁹³

Uniforms were provided by the Company. Sepoys were "scarlet coats faced with green perpets" and belt "covered with green perpets".⁹⁴ The Calliquiloner's had "blue coat faced with green" and thin belt like those of the sepoys. The artillery lascars had blue coats faced and bound with red and no belts. The coats were made to reach just below the knees.⁹⁵ The factory had a cavalry division in the army.

91. Anjengo Diary - 1779, 20 September 1779, p.111.

92. Ibid.

93. Foreign Department Secret Proceedings, Extract from a code of Military discipline established in the army of Fort St. George, 7 August 1806, p.9570.

94. William Logan, Malabar (Trivandrum, 1887, 1981)I, p.449. the term Calliquilon denotes a person from Cali Coylang the Dutch name given to Kayamkulam in South Kerala.

95. Ibid., These reforms were introduced by Hodges during the seven years war.

Whenever they needed more horses, request was made to the Rajah of Travancore. In 1782, the Resident of Anjengo requested the Rajah to provide him 500 horses for service, and asked him to fix his own terms.⁹⁶ Besides this, armed country crafts cruised the seacoast to detect enemy ships and to prevent smuggling of pepper.

In the year 1799, a patriotic institution for raising and maintaining a corps of fencibles was established at Bombay. The Company servants at Anjengo were asked to subscribe to this institution.⁹⁷ Regarding arms and ammunitions used while training, the Directors were careful in enjoining that powder was not to be wasted at exercises. Training was imparted in firing.⁹⁸ The rigorous training and strict discipline imparted to the soldiers inculcated in them a strict sense of duty. This helped the English to effectively control their footholds in the Malabar, even in very difficult times.

96. Anjengo Diary - 1782, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 13 July 1782, p.585.

97. Anjengo Factory General - 1799, John Spencer, Calicut to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 23 March 1799, p.109.

98. Biddulph, n.10, p.118.

The Company army played a vital role in blocking the incursions of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. Apart from counter-ing such external incursions, the native soldiers also rendered effective help in putting down the internal revolt of the Thiyya community in the year 1800.⁹⁹ In 1800, this community revolted against the additional tax imposed by the Dewan of Travancore on coconut trees.¹⁰⁰ When the rising became troublesome, the native troops were sent to quell it. This expedition was not very successful. It was stated that "many fell on both sides, the insurgents increasingly in number".¹⁰¹ Ultimately the revolt of the Thiyyas was suppressed by Velu Thampi with the help of the native forces, and by conceding to their demands.¹⁰²

99. Foreign Secret Department Consultations - 17 May 1804, Colonel Macaulay, Resident, Travancore to Lt. Colonel Kirkpatrick, Secretary to government in Foreign Secret and Political branch, September 1800, p.15350.

100. Ibid., After the imposition of the tax, the Rajah had promised to relinquish this additional tax laid by the Dewan, notwithstanding, "the tax continued to be levied clandestinely for the use of some chiefs in that quarter" - It is strange that none of the historians have mentioned about the Thiyya revolt. Even in a biography of Velu Thampi Dalawa by G. Parmeshwaran Pillai, there is no mention about the Thiyya revolt. G. Parmeshwaran Pillai, Velu Thambi Dalawa (Quilon, 1964).

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

Later on, when the law-maker Velu Thampi himself became law-breaker, the native troops who were thorough with the geography of the country, rendered tremendous help to the Company in stalking Velu Thampi in the deep animal infested jungles of Travancore and ultimately captured him though dead.¹⁰³ Thus the organisation of native militia was helpful to the Company on many occasions in warding off both external incursions and quelling internal troubles.

Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice:

The Chief of the factory was the fountain of justice. He had autonomous power to carry out justice. He settled disputes and punished offenders. But there were some curbs on his power. He had authority only over the inhabitants living within the jurisdiction of the Company. The culprits otherwise were caught and handed over to the Rajah of Travancore for punishment. Punishment varied in accordance with the magnitude of the crime. Minor offences were usually awarded with 12 lashes.¹⁰⁴ Once the head of the coolies instigated his workers to strike work and they obeyed. The

103. For details see Chapter Last Phase.

104. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1807, W. Durbar, Surgeon, Anjengo to Handley, Resident, Anjengo, 13 July 1807, p.507.

striking coolies were caught and "subjected to two dozen lashes throughout the public bazaar"¹⁰⁵ and afterwards subjected to "hard labour in clearing the streets for a space of month".¹⁰⁶

If the crime was repeated they were expelled from the settlement. Stray cattles found in the Company's farm were seized and pounded and were not be restored to the owner till "he has paid such fine as by the impartial judgment of two or more persons shall be deemed adequate to the damage sustained".¹⁰⁷ If any person damaged or destroyed the fences of the Company's farm he was apprehended and brought before the Resident and punished.¹⁰⁸

Once a complaint was made to the Chief that false measures were used in the bazaars. The bazaar was raided and the measure seized. On examination it was found that they were less than the standard measure and had a hole at the bottom stopped with a wax. The culprits were caught and

105. Ibid., Handley, Resident, Anjengo to Dyne, Senior Assistant, Anjengo, 19 July 1807, p.532.

106. Ibid.

107. Anjengo Diary - 1776, 15 May 1776, p.46.

108. Ibid.

fined 200 fanams each.¹⁰⁹ A moor man was fined Rupees 25/- for attempting to sell a girl who was not a slave but stolen from her parents with their knowledge and consent.¹¹⁰ On one occasion a Nair entered the Brinjohn factory with one of the King's elephants and destroyed all the plants and damaged the compound wall.¹¹¹ The Anjengo council decided that "he might meet with a suitable punishment to deter others from committing the like insolency's in future".¹¹² Thus in cases of minor offences committed within the precincts of Anjengo the culprits were punished by the Chief according to his discretion.

The offences committed by the subjects of the Rajah of Travancore were dealt with differently. Once five Nairs broke into the house of a poor woman in Cottadilly to loot some treasure which was supposed to have been there.¹¹³

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109. Anjengo Diary - 1750, 3 April 1750, p.118. The council discovered that the hole at the bottom of the measure was stopped with wax so dexterously that "in the small measure for rice, the purchasers were deceived and cheated by the retailer who fixing upon a great heap of that article pushing up the wax with their fingers just upon turning the measure a part returned to the heap again".
110. Ibid., p.119.
111. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1750, 8 September, 1750, p.49.
112. Ibid., p. 53.
113. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1745, 11 October 1745, p.26.

They plundered the house and broke open everything. They were caught by the Company officials and handed over to the Rajah of Travancore for punishment stating that "Cottadilly is a part of the Honble Company's limit and that no body has any authority to make any seizure, to plunder and beat and insult the inhabitants".¹¹⁴ The Rajah promised to punish them. In another instance, the sepoy's of the Rajah stationed at the fort got drunk. They were caught but then they became violent. They were handed over to the Rajah of Travancore with a remark that "had they been in our employ they most assuredly would have forfeited their lives".¹¹⁵ Henceforth stringent orders were sent to the superior to make sure that the soldiers did not get drunk and misbehave. The cause of excess intoxication was attributed to the consumption of country liquor (arrack) by the soldiers. In this arrack the natives mix the juice of a shrub called milk bush to give it a pungent taste which was extremely destructive to the constitution of those who drank it.¹¹⁶ To stop such practice, orders were sent to Fort St. George to send an "instrument for detecting such pernicious practice".¹¹⁷

114. Ibid., pp.26-27.

115. Anjengo Diary - 1798, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Rajah of Travancore, 26 May 1798, p.251.

116. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1750, 29 April 1751, p.239.

117. Ibid.

Similarly when minor crimes were committed by the Company servants in the territory of the Rajah, they were handed over to the Company officials for punishment. There were instances when the Company officials who came to take pepper, enter the houses of individuals, catch their fowls, cows and carry them away.¹¹⁸ The Rajah notified this matter to the Chief who decided to issue a positive order to hinder the same.¹¹⁹ In the year 1745, the Rajah of Travancore handed over 40 prisoners to the English to be disposed of.¹²⁰ Severe punishment was given by the Rajah to those of his subjects caught smuggling pepper. Smugglers of pepper were "spitted alive and others lost their nose, ears, and eyes".¹²¹ But later on this sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.¹²²

Religious Policy:

In religious matters the English followed a policy of non-intervention. The natives living in the district of the Company were allowed freedom of worship. Many inhabitants

118. Anjengo Diary - 1802, Translate of a letter from the Dewan of Travancore to Resident, Anjengo, 12 January 1802, p.78.

119. Ibid., p.78.

120. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1745, 10 May 1745, p.101.

121. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1750, 11 May 1750, p.160.

122. Francis Day, Land of Ferumals (Madras, 1863, 1909), p.63.

of Anjengo were converted from the lower tribes of Malabar into Christianity. Others were descendants from the Portuguese. But the majority of the natives were Roman Catholic.¹²³ Previously ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Roman Catholics of the English settlement was vested in the Archbishop of Goa and restored to the Carmelite Bishop and Friars of the Apostolic Mission.¹²⁴ Thereafter all the people were asked to pay due obedience in spiritual matters to the said bishop or else incur the severe displeasure of the government.¹²⁵

In Anjengo in the year 1787, there was a minor agitation spearheaded by Vicar Domnigo Vanrose. It happened that the conduct of the said Vicar was found to be improper and unecclesiastical, and so the natives of Anjengo made a representation to the Bishop of Veerapoly who ordered Vanrose to quit the church and appointed Rev. Fr. Lawrence de Macedo Fernandez as Vicar of Anjengo.¹²⁶ But Vanrose refused to quit the church and incited the fishermen and coolies to oppose Rev. Fr. Lawrence from exercising his function.

123. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs (London, 1813, 1834)1, p. 214.

124. Anjengo Diary - 1790, A Proclamation from the Court of Directors to Bombay Castle, 2 August 1791, p.120.

125. Ibid., p.120.

126. Anjengo Diary - 1797, Fernandez, Linguist, Anjengo to Taddy Dyne, Acting Resident, Anjengo, 13 December 1797, pp.389-390.

Matters reached a crisis when on the day of the feast of Assumption when the customary procession was taken to another church in the neighbourhood, the coolies waylaid the procession and attacked them. Several people were wounded in the fight.¹²⁷ The Resident of Anjengo issued a notice that no person should interfere in the affairs of the Church and that different priests should obey such orders as they might receive from the bishop and those who violated were to be punished.¹²⁸ But the coolies continued their agitation. During this period two children of the Company officials died and when the bodies were taken to the Church, the coolies refused to allow them to be buried until the customary money for the graves was paid to them and not to the Vicar as usual. The agitators were caught and punished.¹²⁹

In their dealings with the natives, the Company officials followed the policy of religious tolerance. The Company's soldiers were given permission to attend Tulapurshadanam ceremony as spectators. But the Europeans were not allowed to enter into any religious place of worship in Travancore. In 1804, the Dutch Governor wrote to the Rajah of Travancore that if any of his subject molest a Brahmin,

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid., p.391.

129. Ibid.

commit outrage on women, kill a cow or enter into any religious place of worship in Travancore, they would be punished without any discrimination.¹³⁰

So far, there were only two Roman Catholic Churches at Anjengo.¹³¹ Protestant Christianity came to Travancore only at a later period. Protestantism was in fact first preached by a native of Travancore who was converted from a low caste. He was Maharasan of Mylady. This marked a turning point in the history of Kerala, and from that day Protestantism spread rapidly in Kerala.¹³²

The calibre and capacity of the Chief was the decisive factor in the smooth running of the Company's affairs, especially in their dealings with the native rulers. The organisation of the Company service depended upon the adoption of certain principles of staffing. Officials had to be selected and promoted for their competence and efficiency. They had to obey and be responsible to their superiors. They must be removable upon misconduct and not respecting the norms of the Company. Moreover, they must be adequately paid.

130. Foreign Secret Department, Fort William Records - 1804, Translate of a treaty between Rajah of Travancore and the Dutch East India Company, 12 July 1804, p.19761.

131. Glossary of the Madras Presidency, Edited C.D. Maclean, n.15, p.34.

132. C.M. Augur, Church History of Travancore (Madras, 1903) pp.551-552.

There were in all thirty Chiefs at Anjengo. Amongst them all were not very efficient. Many officers had to suffer disappointments of being recalled to the Bombay Presidency. Some of the officials had defrauded the Company. Nevertheless most of the officials were honest. John Bra-bourne was the first person to lay the foundation of this settlement, over which others have superimposed other structures. In the beginning Anjengo settlement was important only as a commercial centre, but by the efforts of the Company officials it came into prominence. During the crucial period of the Company in its fight with the Mysore Sultan, Anjengo settlement lived up to its mark.

Though most of the officials were honest and tactful, others were brash and dishonest, and some were just indifferent, evincing no interest at all in the Company's affairs. Some of the officials like William Wake, Richard Bouchier, Charles Crommelin, Thomas Hodges, William Hornby, later assumed the Governorship of the Presidency of Bombay. John Spencer became the Governor-General of Bengal thereby exalting the name of Anjengo and proving their capability.

After the year 1790, the situation was in for a drastic change. During the next ten years, the factory began to fade into insignificance. The home government evinced lack of interest in Indian affairs. Their earlier dreams had faded

away. The Company officials lost their enthusiasm about their future in Travancore. In place of the plethora of projects of the earlier period, we find the home government being miserly even for repairing the crumbling fort and factory. In the year 1789, the Company's dwelling house situated near the warehouse which was blown down by the storm of 1786, was put up to public auction by order of the Board and Joseph Laplain the highest bidder obtained the ground for a sum of Rs.257.¹³³ The Company stopped thinking in terms of long term interest, instead it showed more interest in immediate prospects and in solving immediate problems concerning its settlement at Anjengo.

The Company servants who reached high position in India were those who could never have reached the same in their home. Young boys at the age of 15 used to be deputed to India as Writers and they used to return home only after ten or twenty years. In the earlier period they could not bring their families, as a result we have a whole lot of Anglo-Indian community in and around this settlement. This community is the only strong living reminder of English life and organisation at Anjengo.

133. Anjengo Diary - 1789, 16 October 1789, p.143.

ANJENGO DURING THE CARNATIC AND MYSORE WARS

After establishing his sovereignty over the principalities in and around Travancore, Martanda Varma had to face troubles from the Carnatic and later from Mysore. Anjengo seems to have played a certain role all throughout these troubles. It would therefore be worthwhile to explore into the Carnatic and the Mysore war episodes in order to bring out the role played by the Chiefs of Anjengo and the settlement itself, during the troubles.

The Carnatic Wars:

The year 1744 was the commencement of the rule of Nawab of Arcot in the area held till then by the Nayaks, viz, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely.¹ There were two contenders backed by two foreign powers for the throne of Arcot. Chanda Saheb was acknowledged the Nawab of Arcot by the French, whereas Muhammed Ali was espoused by the English.² In the

1. Bishop. R. Caldwell, A History of Tinnevely (New Delhi, 1982) p.87.

2. Ibid., Chanda Saheb was actually the relative of Nawab of Arcot, who had earlier occupied Trichinopoly and Madura but who was defeated by the Mahrattas and sent prisoner in 1741, pp.85-86. Muhammed Ali was the son of the Nawab of Arcot, Anwar-u-din who was appointed Nawab of Arcot by the Nizam in 1744, p.87.

year 1749, Muhammed Ali duly succeeded his father, Anwar-u-din as Nawab of Arcot.³

The Rajah of Travancore acquired from Moodemiah, the Nawab's Pathan Officer-in-charge of the Tinnevelly region, a range of districts extending 30 miles from Kalakadu to Cape Comorin lying at the foot of the mountains that separated Travancore from Tinnevelly. Besides the above, the fort of Kalakadu with several others of less defence were purchased.⁴ On knowing about this transaction, Muhammad Ali dismissed Moodemiah and appointed his general Maphuz Khan in his place. The above tract of land purchased by the Travancore Rajah was the bone of contention between both the parties for many years to come. Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic considered Tinnevelly as belonging to him,⁵ but on the other hand the Rajah of Travancore contended that the part of the country lying in the road from Madura to Tinnevelly belonged to him.⁶

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.97. Moodemiah was the Pathan Officer of Alamkhan, who was a soldier of fortune and who had formerly been in the service of Chanda Saheb, p.91.

5. Military Consultation - 1755, Fort St. George to Chief, Anjengo, 21 April 1755, p.148. Maphuz Khan was the elder brother of Muhammad Ali, who was appointed as his representative - Bishop Caldwell, n.1, p.92.

6. Ibid., Fort St. George to Alexander Heron, Major Company's forces of Coromandel, 5 April 1755, p.133.

The English at Madras were the allies of the Nawab and they were also friendly with the Travancore Rajah and as a result in the cross war between the two powers they were caught unawares. The Nawab sent his army to Tinnevely to collect the revenue due to him.⁷ On hearing this, the Rajah of Travancore panicked. He believed the Nawab had designs of entering his kingdom,⁸ since to go to Tinnevely the army had to pass through part of his country.⁹ The Rajah at once sent an appeal to Fort St. George. On the receipt of the appeal, the English issued instructions to the Nawab's troops against "insulting the territories of the King of Travancore."¹⁰

However, apart from the reason given by the Nawab for the sending of the army to retake a few districts of the Tinnevely country which the Rajah had illegally obtained by bribing Moodemiah,¹¹ it also appears that another reason for sending the army to Tinnevely was to suppress the

7. Ibid., Fort St. George to George Scott, Chief, Anjengo, 5 April 1755, p.133.

8. Ibid., 4 April 1755, p.131.

9. Records of Fort St. George - Country correspondence - Military Department - 1755, Fort St. George to Nawab Annverdy Cawn, 6 April 1755, p.29.

10. Military Consultation - 1755, n.7, p.133.

11. Records of Fort St. George - n.9, Nawab Annaverdy Cawn Bahaudar, to Fort St. George, 16 April 1755, p.34.

Poligar of Tinnevelly who was rebelling against the Nawab.¹²
 The Rajah of Travancore vigorously assisted the rebels against the Nawab and even gave refuge to the deserters of the Nawab's army. For this, the Rajah was reprimanded by the Nawab.¹³

The Rajah conveyed his willingness to settle his disputes with the Nawab amicably.¹⁴ The English army under the command of Colonel Heron reached Tinnevelly with the intention of helping Maphuz Khan in suppressing the Poligars. The Travancoreans finding that they were no match for the combined troops of the Nawab and the English fled from the scene abandoning the districts. Meanwhile, the Rajah of Travancore requested the Madras Governor to intervene and settle the differences between him and the Nawab.¹⁵ Though at one stage the Rajah of Travancore captured Kalakadu with the help of Moodemiah, he gave it up in order to be in the good books of the English.¹⁶

12. Ibid., 7 August 1755, p.57, Poligar was the holder of a palaiyam or estate held on service tenure.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Records of Fort St. George - Military Consultation - 1757, Rajah of Travancore to Fort St. George, 28 June 1757, p.557.

16. Caldwell. n.1, p.98.

By the year 1757, the district of Tinnevelly came under the Company's management. They began to let this district to the merchants and in return they collected rent from them.¹⁷ But the rent could not be collected easily as Maphuz Khan in his turn had rebelled against his own master and started attacking the eastern frontier of the territory of the Rajah of Travancore.¹⁸ The Company at once despatched Captain Callaud with a party of Europeans and sepoys for quelling the internal disturbances. They also requested assistance from the Anjengo fort to the best of their ability. Though Maphuz was finally defeated, he still retained possession of Kalakadu and the eastern district of Travancore. The Nawab outrightly dismissed him and appointed Yusuf Khan as his successor.¹⁹

In 1757 John Spencer succeeded George Scott as the Chief of Anjengo.²⁰ In the meantime the Rajah of Travancore had taken over the entire pepper trade of not only his country but also that of Attingal and several territories of other Kings. He was thus in a very advantageous position, commanding the entire pepper trade of the coast. Knowing fully well

17. Military Consultation - 1757, Fort St. George to George Scott, Chief, Anjengo, 9 February 1757, p.79.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Secret and Political Department Diary - 1757, John Spencer, Chief Anjengo to John Callaud, Tinnevelly, 13 April 1757, p.79.

the power of the Rajah, the English at Anjengo did not want to antagonise him and thus jeopardise their pepper contract with him. So they did not unnecessarily interfere in the internal conflicts of Travancore as long as there was no major war. They knew in such an event he would perhaps immediately put an entire stop to the delivery of pepper to the Company.²¹

In June 1757, the factors of Anjengo wrote to Fort St. George reporting the advantages the Company might derive through friendship with the Rajah of Travancore.²² Martanda Varma once again in 1757 expressed his willingness to have the differences between him and the Nawab settled amicably by the English.²³ But in spite of all the letters exchanged, the Rajah's troops often made incursions not only into Tinnevely country, but also into the limits of the English.²⁴

The very next year Martanda Varma though only 53 years of age, passed away due to sickness. He was succeeded by

21. Military Consultation - 1757, John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 31 May 1757, p.556.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., George Pigot, Fort St. George to John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo, 8 September 1757, p.898.

24. Ibid., 1758, Fort St. George to John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo, 9 January 1758, p.20.

his nephew Rama Varma.²⁵ John Spencer the Chief of Anjengo felt that the new King was good-natured and seemed inclined to maintain a good correspondence with the Company, though, he like his uncle showed an extreme desire to procure arms and ammunitions and could in the end cramp the Company's trade if his wishes were not satisfied to some degree.²⁶

On Rama Varma's accession to the throne, the Company decided to present him with a pair of pistols, a pair of handsome looking glasses, two pairs of rich China damasks, two pieces of ordinary velvets, scarlet fine cloth and six pieces of taffeta.²⁷ Besides these, 65 venetians, rose water, sandalwood and sugar were also given to the Rajah. Spencer accompanied by Bawyer and Moore along with a detachment of military met the Rajah at Caniar.²⁸ The new King assured Spencer of his intention to preserve good relations with the Company.²⁹

25. Ibid., John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 4 September 1758, p.443. Also see Shungoonny Menon, A History of Travancore (Delhi, 1887, 1984)I, p.174.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Anjengo Diary - 1758, 20 August 1758, p.12.

29. Secretariat Inward - 1758, John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 5 September 1758, p.379.

In the month of September 1758, John Spencer handed over the charge of the settlement to Charles Crommelin. Though he remained the Chief only for a year, his term was eventful. As soon as he took charge, George Pigot of Fort St. George informed him that henceforth the whole business of the Presidency was to be transacted by the President and Council-in-General in two distinct departments or offices of which one would manage civil, the other military affairs.³⁰ Besides, military affairs were to be advised separately to Madras.³¹

In May 1759, Thomas Whitehill arrived at Anjengo and took charge of the fort.³² In the same year Yusuf Khan was made the ruler of Madura and Tinnevely countries. He was instructed by the Madras government to preserve the friendship with the Rajah of Travancore. As a result he entered into an alliance with the Rajah of Travancore.³³ Thus arose

30. Military Consultation - 1758, George Pigot, Fort St. George to Charles Crommelin, Chief, Anjengo, 27 October 1758, p.498.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid., 1759, Charles Crommelin, Chief, Anjengo to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 14 May 1759, p.232.

33. Ibid., Fort St. George to Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo, 23 October 1759, p.801.

the friendship between the three powers for a few years to come. Later, in acknowledgement of the readiness with which the Rajah lent his assistance in quelling the rebellious Poligars, Yusuf Khan granted him twelve districts of Kalakad and this grant was confirmed by the Madras Government.³⁴

The Rajah of Travancore could not retain possession of Kalakad for a long period, for Yusuf Khan too rebelled against his master and began to endeavour to shake off the Nawab's authority and establish himself as an independent chieftain. The Madras Government felt this change in Yusuf Khan and was concerned about his desire for independence. They cautioned the Anjengo Chief "to prevent as much as possible his being supplied with fire-arms or war-like stores".³⁵ But Yusuf Khan, to accomplish his ambition, sought aid from the French and then from the Rajah of Travancore. The latter refused to help him as he did not want to go against his old ally, the Nawab, and would not take arms against the English.

Yusuf Khan in resentment marched against Travancore. The Madras Government viewed the rebellious activities of Yusuf Khan with much concern. They sent "the whole of the

34. Ibid., - 1764, Chief, Anjengo to Robert Palk, President and Governor-in-Council, Fort St. George, 20 November 1764, p.827.

35. Military Consultation - 1762, George Pigot, Fort St. George to Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo, 22 October 1762, p.401.

96th regiment on the coast and also a supply of three hundred barrels of gun-powder"³⁶ to Anjengo. Besides this, a small detachment of artillery and stores were sent to Anjengo with discretional directions to the Chief and factors to assist the Rajah of Travancore.³⁷ The Chief of Anjengo was requested by the Madras government to prevail upon the "King of Travancore to join his forces to such as you may be able to send from Anjengo, and with these men, to enter the Tinnevely country at the time we march towards Madura".³⁸ The Rajah in turn assured the Chief of Anjengo that he would keep his forces in readiness to march as soon as he got notice.³⁹ Further, a detachment of artillery consisting of thirty men including two officers arrived at Anjengo from Bombay to assist the Rajah of Travancore in his operations against Yusuf Khan.⁴⁰

But Yusuf Khan soon made up matters with the Rajah of Travancore. Under the terms of the treaty concluded, Yusuf Khan and the Rajah of Travancore pledged to assist each other

36. Ibid., 1763, Bombay Castle, to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 23 March 1763, p.223.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., George Pigot, Fort St. George to Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo, 22 April 1763, p.224.

39. Ibid., Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 25 May 1763, p.363.

40. Ibid., 2 May 1763, p.345.

with their army, in case of attack on any one of them and not to interfere in the internal affairs of one another.⁴¹ But Yusuf Khan continued to rebel against the Nawab. Finally in 1764, he was caught and hanged by the English by the order of the Nawab.⁴²

After the death of Yusuf Khan his successor thought it proper to assume possession of all the countries lying on the eastern side of the Ghats. In 1764, Nawab Muhammad Ali ordered the Rajah of Travancore to retire with his people from Tinnevely and, in case of non-compliance, he threatened to invade his districts of Kalakad ceded to him by Yusuf Khan and ratified by the Company.⁴³

The Rajah however asked the Chief of Anjengo to inform the Madras Government that such measures were inconsistent with the ancient friendship subsisting between the Company and him and that he could not make a difference between the Company's agents at Madras and Anjengo, esteeming that both

41. Military Department - Country correspondence - 1764, copy of an agreement given by the King of Travancore to Yusuf Khan, 16 February 1764, p.369.

42. Caldwell, n.1, pp.129-130.

43. Military Consultation - 1764, Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo to Charles Campbell, Major and Commander of the Company's forces, 26 October 1764, p.796.

acted from one common interest.⁴⁴ But Muhammad Ali soon took possession of the twelve districts of Kalakad. This time the Rajah did not bother to wage a war and delivered up all the districts of Kalakad. He also delivered up the fort and everything in it and retired to Towala.⁴⁵

The Chief of Anjengo, however, knew about the consequences that might follow if the twelve districts were not restored to His Majesty.⁴⁶ This according to him could prove to be fatal to the interests of their settlement at Anjengo. He had also entered into contracts with the Rajah and his subjects for valuable pepper and so he was entirely dependent on him for the fulfilment of his contract. As under these circumstances all the advantages enjoyed by the Company might be frustrated, he simply could not afford to antagonise the Rajah. He wrote to Madras, presuming that they would not "for any trifling advantages on their part give orders so repugnant to the established interest of the Honble Company at this settlement".⁴⁷

44. Ibid.

45. Military Department - Country Correspondence - 1764, Rajah of Travancore to the Governor, Fort St. George, 1 November 1764, p.401.

46. Military Consultation - 1764, Thomas Whitehill, Chief Anjengo to Robert Palk, President and Governor, Fort St. George, 2 November 1764, p.829.

47. Ibid., 26 October 1764, p.797.

The Madras Government referred the matter to the Nawab who sent an envoy, Vencatachillim, to confer with the Travancore minister. Engineer Call, a servant of the Company, was deputed by the Madras Government to arbitrate. The Rajah of Travancore hoped that matters would be settled in such a way as to prevent any future disagreement between the Nawab and him and that he would gain possession of the land.⁴⁸ The Chief of Anjengo assured the Rajah that he would use his ability and make the Nawab do him justice.⁴⁹ After a good deal of discussions and correspondence with the Nawab, a settlement was effected. According to its provisions, the Rajah was expected to relinquish all pretensions to the Kalakad districts and to fulfil all the engagements made with the English.⁵⁰ The Rajah, realising the futility of resisting the Nawab at that critical period, agreed to honour the settlement. Though this was detrimental to his original claims, yet it proved to be a sagacious move as it established a lasting friendship between all the parties.

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48. Military Department - Country correspondence - 1764, Translate of a Portuguese Copy of an Ola from the Rajah of Travancore to Governor, Madras, 2 December 1764, p.856.
49. Military Consultation - 1765, Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo to Robert Palk, Fort St. George, 25 May 1765, p.568.
50. Ibid., 1767, Charles Bouchier, Fort St. George, to Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo, 18 July 1767, p.582.

However, the foregoing proves conclusively that the chiefs of Anjengo were not of much consequence in influencing the decisions taken by the Madras Government with regard to the trouble between the Rajah of Travancore and the Nawab of Carnatic. Neither did they have any influence on the negotiations between the various contending parties. They seemed to have had only one stake in all these troubles which was to safeguard the pepper contract that they had entered with the Rajah of Travancore. For this sole reason, they appeared to support the cause of the Rajah. But as seen above, as far as the larger matters of political relations were concerned, the Chiefs of Anjengo had practically very little role to play. At the most, during the Carnatic wars, the Anjengo settlement and its Chiefs served mainly the military purposes and political designs of their masters at Madras. This trend of affairs seems to have continued, as we are going to see, during the Mysore wars too.

The Mysore Wars:

In 1765, Haider Ali Khan, the Mysore Chieftain who had already established his reputation as a formidable soldier, invaded and took possession of all the northern countries of Malabar. He occupied all the petty states as well as the whole of Zamorin's dominions and thus became master of the

Malabar country between Cannanore and Ponnani.⁵¹ The Cochin Rajah fearing an attack by Haider offered his allegiance to the Mysore Chief and paid a sum of two lakhs of rupees and eight elephants, binding himself at the same time to be a tributary to Haider.⁵² Haider next turned his attention towards Travancore. He demanded fifteen lakhs of rupees and thirty elephants from the Rajah. The Rajah refused to comply with his demands on the ground that he was a tributary of Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic, and that he could not pay tribute to both the persons.⁵³ Haider then threatened to invade Travancore with dire consequences. The Rajah once again turned towards his ancient friends, the English, and asked them to supply him money and arms and also sought their assistance if necessity arose.⁵⁴

51. Denys Forrest, Tiger of Mysore (London, 1970) p.24. Haider's descent into Malabar at the end of 1765 marked the third stage of his involvement with or aggression against the west coast powers. First was his assertion over Zamorin of Calicut, Then came his incursion into Northern Malabar (1763) and an alliance with the Rajah of Cannanore, the only Muslim ruler on the west coast. Then followed a full scale invasion of Calicut, which ended with the Zamorin perishing in the flames of his palace.

52. Shungoonny Menon, n.25, p.200.

53. T.1. Poonen, Dutch Hegemony in Malabar (Trivandrum, 1978) p.160. See also A. Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar (Madras, 1911) p.154, also see Shungoonny Menon, n.25, p.200.

54. Secretariat Inward Letter Book - 1766, Chief, Angengo to Bombay Castle, 13 March 1766, p.225.

The Madras Government who viewed the hostile act of Haider with distaste wrote to Thomas Whitehill, the Chief of Anjengo, to use every means to harass and distress the enemy and to take appropriate measure to overthrow Haider as a security to the Company's settlement on the Malabar coast.⁵⁵ They were even asked to spirit up the Nairs and to try and recover the country taken by Haider. The Madras government sought also the help of Bombay Presidency to equip their marine and land forces to attack Haider's possession.⁵⁶ The Chief of Anjengo was given instructions to induce the Rajah to make a diversion by attacking Haider's possession near the frontiers. He was to be furnished with military stores and every means to enable him to defeat the enemy.⁵⁷ Thus from all quarters preparations were in full swing to meet Haider. While Haider was attempting an entry into Travancore, his dominions were invaded by the Nizam, the Mahrattas and the English. He thus was forced to abandon his attempt on Malabar and returned to Seringapatam.⁵⁸ He sued for peace

55. Military Consultation - 1767, Fort St. George to Thomas Whitehill, Anjengo, 5 September 1767, p.843.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. T.I. Poonen, n.53, p.161.

and a treaty was concluded at Madras with the East India Company in 1769, in which special provisions were made for the future safety of the Rajah of Travancore.⁵⁹

Thomas Whitehill, the Chief of Anjengo, died in harness. He had served for ten years. No major changes had taken place during his chiefship. Most of the correspondence during this time centred around pepper trade. During his Chiefship, presents were made to the Rajah of Travancore three times, once in the year 1760,⁶⁰ then in 1763⁶¹ and then 1769.⁶² After his death he was succeeded by William Taylor who managed the affairs of the factory only for a brief period of three months when he was succeeded by Peter Elwin Wrench who retained office till the year 1774. Wrench improved the defense of the fort. He undertook repairs on a large scale. The terrace of the northern curtain was repaired and the entire plastery of the fort was changed. Sea

59. Shungoonny Menon, n.25, p.203.

60. Anjengo Diaries - 1760, Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo to Linguist, Anjengo, 15 September 1760, p.22.

61. Anjengo Diary - 1763, Rajah of Travancore to Thomas Whitehill, Chief, Anjengo, 11 July 1763, p.199.

62. Anjengo Diary General - 1769, 6 February 1769, p.22.

battery which were in ruins was changed.⁶³ Saluting guns which were decayed and unfit for service were changed and brass cannons were installed in their place which were free from injury from salt water.⁶⁴ During his period, the marriage ceremony of the Princess of Attingal was fixed. As usual presents were taken on this occasion.⁶⁵ In February 1774, Peter Elwin Wrench retired and for two months, S. Ewart acted as the Chief of Anjengo.

Soon in the month of March 1774, Nathaniel Stackhouse took charge of Anjengo. He tried to improve the conditions of the Company's hospital and surgeon's house which were in a deplorable condition.⁶⁶ During his Chiefship orders came from Bombay to reduce the Chiefship of Anjengo to a Residency.⁶⁷ He was asked to reduce the garrison and to give full information regarding pepper cultivation in the country.

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- 63. Anjengo Diary - 1770, Samuel Stedmen to Peter Elwin Wrench, Anjengo, 15 September 1770, p.265.
 - 64. Anjengo Factory Records - 1771, Peter Elwin Wrench, Chief, Anjengo to Thomas Hodges, Governor, Bombay, 31 January 1771, p.30.
 - 65. Ibid., 22 April 1771, p.127.
 - 66. Anjengo Diary - 1774, Fort St. George to Bombay Castle, 31 March 1774, p.57.
 - 67. Ibid., 1776, Bombay Castle, to Nathaniel Stackhouse, 11 February 1776, p.13. Nathaniel Stackhouse was succeeded by G. Bigger in April 1776. He however handed over the charge of the settlement to John Torpers in 1777.

It was only in the year 1774 that Haider Ali again entered the province of Malabar and devastated the country. The Rajah of Travancore became apprehensive of Haider's inroads into Travancore. So, he requested the Chief of Anjengo to acquaint the Bombay government of the whole thing and in case Haider invaded his dominions, he wanted the Company to help him, keeping in view the long friendship existing between the two.⁶⁹ In reply the Madras government convinced the Rajah that there was no cause for anxiety as due to the friendship subsisting between Haider and the English, the former would not take up arms against any power included in an alliance with the English.⁷⁰

However, contrary to the expectations of the Company, Haider did attack and the whole of the territory of the Rajah of Cranganore except the Dutch fort succumbed to Haider's general Sardar Khan. He desecrated and destroyed the pagodas.⁷¹ By the year 1777, John Torpess, the Resident of Anjengo, got

68. Military Consultation - 1776, George Bigger, Chief, Anjengo to Lord Pigot, Fort St. George, 26 October 1776, p.1314.

69. Ibid., p.1315.

70. Military Department - Country Correspondence - 1776, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 6 December 1776, p.199.

71. A. Galletti, n.53, p.173.

information that Haider had entered into a treaty with the Dutch and had even released the officers of the garrison taken prisoner by him and had decided to deliver the fort back to the Dutch.⁷²

Meanwhile war broke out between the English and the French in Europe in 1778. In India too, the two powers were hostile towards one another. Pondicherry was captured by the English in 1778. The French Governor wrote a frantic letter to Haider to take the French settlement under his protection.⁷³ But Haider was not in the least interested in the struggle of the Europeans. Mahe was the only remaining French settlement in South India. The English after their victory over Pondicherry wanted to attack Mahe, but for a time fear of Haider deterred them from attacking it.⁷⁴ However, forces comprising of three battalions of sepoy were sent overland to Anjengo and the Rajah of Travancore was asked to assist them with provision and other conveniences.⁷⁵

In the same month another letter was written to the Rajah to inform about the arrival of Pringle as a pilot party

72. Military Consultation - 1777, John Torpess, Resident, Anjengo to Lord Pigot, Fort St. George, 18 March 1777, p.670.

73. S.P. Sen, The French in India (Delhi, 1971) p.102.

74. Ibid.

75. Military Department - Country Correspondence - 1778, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 23 December 1778, p.367.

to examine the roads leading from Pallamcotah to Anjengo,⁷⁶ through which the contingent would march towards Mahe. In January 1779, the Madras government sent another letter to the Rajah, stating that they had meant to send six hundred soldiers by sea to Mahe, but owing to lack of conveyances, they were being sent overland. Further the Resident of Anjengo was asked to procure vessels for transporting the troops to Mahe.⁷⁷ Mahe was captured in the month of March 1779. This capture estranged Haider's relations with the English.

It was during Torpess's term that the Chiefship was actually abolished and the Residency was established. Torpess was the first Resident of Anjengo. James Morley succeeded John Torpess in November 1780. However he retained the office only for a year.⁷⁸ John Hutchinson took charge of Anjengo in the capacity of an acting Resident in 1781 and was confirmed as the Resident in the following year.⁷⁹ By then, the Dutch at Negapatam and Cochin had united with Haider to break up the friendship between the English and the Rajah of Travancore.

76. Ibid., p.369.

77. Ibid., - 1779, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 20 January 1779, p.15.

78. Anjengo Diary - 1781, James Morley, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 10 December 1781, p.247.

79. See Appendix.VIII

The Rajah was however asked to lose no time in preparing the troops and sending such provisions to the neighbourhood of Cochin as the troops from Britain would stand in need of.⁸⁰ Colonel Humberston commanding at Calicut was not sure whether he must remain at Calicut or proceed overland to Palamcotah. But orders went from Anjengo for the detachment to land at Colachel, a sea port in Travancore dominions about fifteen leagues to the southward of Anjengo, from where Palamcotah was nearby.⁸¹ According to secret information from Anjengo, the Dutch at Cochin had gathered "three hundred Europeans, two hundred Mallays and fifteen hundred sepoyes and topasses, in all about two thousand strong."⁸² But the English were confident of defeating them. Bekel Rajah had sent horses for the assistance of the English. Further even the Nizam supported the English in their fight against the Dutch and Haider.⁸³

However confident the English were about Haider, in the month of 27 July 1782, Colonel Humberston, received a very disturbing news from Anjengo: "1000 horses, 2 battalions

80. Anjengo Residency Diary - 1782, Colonel Humberston, to the Rajah of Travancore, 10 February 1782, p.2.

81. Ibid., John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to Lord Macartney, Fort St. George, 22 February 1782, p.9.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to Colonel Humberston, Calicut, 3 April 1782, p.23.

of sepoys, 1000 peons with two guns belonging to Haider are between Dindigul and Madura".⁸⁴ According to the reports they intended to march towards Calicut. Fierce fighting commenced between the two. But before any decisive result could be achieved Haider Ali passed away.⁸⁵ Tipu succeeded him to the throne of Mysore. But by then the English and the Maratha state had concluded a treaty of perpetual peace and friendship to counter Tipu.⁸⁶ Rumours were soon afloat of a treaty of peace pending between the British and Tipu. The Rajah of Travancore wrote to Hutchinson of Anjengo that, in case of a treaty, his name should be nominally inserted as an ally of the Company. Hutchinson recommended the same to the Bombay government.⁸⁷ In the month of October, Hutchinson received information from Firth at Tellicherry that Tipu had recommenced hostilities at Mangalore and had captured General Macloed and several officers.⁸⁸ This time the English decided to annihilate Tipu Sultan altogether. Captain Fullerton captured Palicachery and prepared to attack Seringapatam.

84. Anjengo Diary - 1782, John Hutchinson, Anjengo to Colonel Humberston, Calicut, 27 July 1782, p.51.

85. S.P. Sen, n.73, p.289.

86. Military Department, Country Correspondence - 1783, Fort St. George to Rajah of Travancore, 30 March 1783, p.82.

87. Anjengo Diary - 1783, Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 14 September 1783, p.775.

88. Military Consultation - 1783, John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to I. Cox. Hipposley, Acting Resident, Tanjore, 9 October, 1783, p.4632.

But this plan was thwarted by the Madras Government who asked him to suspend all operations. It was felt at Anjengo that the Madras Government committed a great folly in asking Fullerton to withdraw his troops.⁸⁹

Meanwhile England and France concluded a peace treaty in September 1783.⁹⁰ Tipu was unwilling to stop hostilities. He accused the French of deserting an ally who had begun war for their sake. But he realised that he could never succeed without assistance from the French. Finally an agreement for the cessation of hostilities was arrived at between Tipu and Major Campbell, Commanding the English forces on the Malabar Coast. The treaty of Mangalore was signed on 11 March 1784 which established peace between the English Company and Tipu Sultan. The Rajah of Travancore was named and included in the treaty as a friend and ally of the English as recommended by Hutchinson.⁹¹

By the month of September 1784, tranquillity had been restored between Tipu Sultan and the Company. The President and the Select Committee at Bombay decided to send back to

89. Ibid., Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 27 November 1783, p.5424.

90. S.P. Sen, n.73, pp.380-381.

91. Military consultation - 1784, John Hudleston, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 22 March 1784, p.1291.

the Malabar coast 1500 sepoys who had been released by Tipu Sultan.⁹² John Hutchinson was asked to make arrangements for the marching of the troops to Anjengo from where they were to be sent to Madras.⁹³ Care was taken to see that the sepoys conducted themselves peacefully and caused no disturbances in the villages on the way.⁹⁴

The treaty of Mangalore provided peace only for a brief period. Tipu continued to nurse a grievance against the state of Travancore. The English were well aware of the acute dislike that Tipu nursed against the Rajah of Travancore and it was in fact to avert a crisis in future that they had included the Rajah's name as an ally of the English in the treaty of Mangalore. But Tipu refused to abide by the above treaty and according to secret information obtained at Anjengo in the month of December 1785, Tipu's army marched towards Malabar.⁹⁵ John Hutchinson of Anjengo wrote to Alexander Davison of Fort St. George giving a detailed information of

92. Military Department, Country Correspondence - 1784, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 25 September 1784, p.359.

93. Military consultation - 1784, John Hudleston, Fort St. George to John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo, 13 September 1784, p.3411.

94. Military Department - 1784, n.92, p.360.

95. Anjengo Diary - 1785, R.H. Boddam, Bombay Castle to John Macpherson, Fort William, 25 November 1785, p.480.

the projected attack of Travancore by Tipu. According to him in the event of an attack the Rajah's forces were incapable of opposing Tipu's troops, owing to lack of arms.⁹⁶ Anjengo settlement was also not fully equipped for any emergency. Their military forces consisted of four battalions of sepoys, "irregulars carrying musquets are about 12,000 and the rest being bow and spear men".⁹⁷ But Hutchinson was hopeful as he knew there were less chances of an immediate attack on Travancore as only after Tellicherry, Tipu would turn towards Travancore.

On 23 April, the Rajah obtained information that Tipu intended to capture the fort of Kodungalloor (Cranganore) belonging to the Dutch which was adjacent to his country from where he could commence hostilities towards Travancore.⁹⁸ He once again appealed to the Madras Government for assistance. The latter assured him of the Company's protection and support, but cautioned the Rajah not to give unnecessary reason for Tipu to attack his dominion and was asked to keep clear of all disputes prevailing in his neighbourhood.

According to the English records hostilities actually commenced between Tipu and the Rajah of Travancore by 22

96. Ibid., 1786, John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to Alexander Davison, Governor, Fort St. George, 23 January 1786, p. 269.

97. Military Department - Country correspondence - 1787, Rajah of Travancore to the Governor, Fort St. George, 2 September 1787, p.151.

98. Anjengo Diary - 1788, Rajah of Travancore to John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo, 23 April 1788, p.1131.

July 1788. Tipu created havoc in the conquered territories. The Rajah wrote to Anjengo officials of the cruelties committed by Tipu against the Rajahs and Brahmins of Calicut, Coteyat and Calinad.⁹⁹ He had unleashed terror everywhere he went. The entire country was laid waste. Hindu temples and Christian churches were equally desecrated by him. Towers of Pagodas, palaces, houses of the nobles, of the rich and even the huts of the poor were committed to flames by this ferocious leader. Also, vast areas of pepper vines were destroyed by him.¹⁰⁰

The Madras Government resolved to send two battalions of sepoys to the Rajah of Travancore and for this, the 10th battalion from Tanjore and the 43rd from Trichinopoly were ordered to move.¹⁰¹ The Rajah was asked to provide quarters for these troops and to make payments to them. For the purpose of settling the accounts between the Rajah and the Company, it was planned to appoint a civil servant as pay master to the detachment and to act as a Resident of Travancore. Accordingly Powney was appointed Resident and paymaster

99. Military consultation - 1788, Rajah of Travancore to John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo, October 1788, p.3248.

100. *Ibid.*, 1789, George Powney, Parvour to John Holland, Governor in Council, 14 December 1789, p.3344.

101. *Ibid.*, Campbell, Fort St. George to Resident, Anjengo, 30 January 1789, p.351.

at Travancore,¹⁰² with instructions that the Company's troops "are to be employed only in the defence of the Rajah's own country".¹⁰³ That Powney was not subject to the control of the Resident at Anjengo and was directly answerable only to the Madras Government clearly brings out the diminishing importance of Anjengo in its relation with the Rajah of Travancore. This appointment would have been at that moment the precursor for the appointment of the Political Resident at Travancore in the year 1800.

Cornwallis, the Governor General of India, took keen interest in the happenings of Travancore. He wrote to John Holland, Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, that if authentic information was obtained of Tipu invading any part of the dominion of the Nabob of Arcot or the Rajah of Travancore, then he was to consider him from that moment as at war with the Company,¹⁰⁴ because in that case Tipu violated the treaty of Mangalore without any provocation.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, if Tipu was being provoked by the Rajah of Travancore by collusive purchases of forts or places in the territory of

102. Ibid., Fort St. George to George Powney, Resident, Travancore, February 1789, p.377.

103. Ibid., 26 May 1789, p.1479.

104. Ibid., Cornwallis, Fort William to John Holland, Fort St. George, 29 August 1789, p.2627.

105. Ibid., 9 September 1789, p.2660.

one of his tributaries, then the Company should refrain from interfering in his favour and the Rajah could no longer count on their friendship.¹⁰⁶

The Rajah was once again asked to observe strict neutrality in all the disputes of his neighbours. He was also asked to restore Cranganore and Aycottah to their former owner and leave them to their fate.¹⁰⁷ This showed the extent to which the Company was willing to go to avoid any war with Tipu. The Rajah was assured of complete protection. At the same time he was cautioned not to engage in transactions which would be considered by all the world as acts of violence and injustice.¹⁰⁸ But in spite of all this, if Tipu dared to attack the hereditary dominions of the Rajah, then the Company would be considered as at war with Tipu.¹⁰⁹

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid., p.2661. The Rajah of Travancore had purchased two towns of Cranganore and Aycottah from the Dutch, situated at the extremity of the Travancore Lines. Tipu demanded these towns on the ground that they belonged to Rajah of Cochin who was his tributary and that the Dutch had no right to sell and the Rajah no right to purchase them from the Dutch, Military Department - Country correspondence - 1789, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 6 December 1789, p.224. See also Denys Forrest, Tiger of Mysore (London, 1970) p.123.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

On 29 December 1789, Tipu declared war against the Rajah of Travancore and commenced hostilities in his territory.¹¹⁰ Lord Cornwallis officially declared war against Tipu Sultan for attacking the territories of the Rajah of Travancore in direct violation of the treaty of Mangalore.¹¹¹ The prospect of Travancore troops seemed very bleak. Powney, the Resident of Travancore, came up with an idea. He thought of creating dissension in Tipu's forces. So, the Rajah was advised to encourage the Moplas and Nairs to revolt against the authority of Tipu assuring them of the Company's protection, and thereby create dissension in Tipu's Camp.¹¹² Powney further wrote to all the petty Rajahs of Malabar and the Rajah of Cochin to co-operate with the English in the war against Tipu.¹¹³ This proves the increasing role of Powney, the Resident at Travancore at the expense of Hutchinson, the Resident at Anjengo, during the war preparations with Tipu.

Fortunately for Travancore, the South-west monsoon broke out with severity impeding the progress of Tipu's troops.

110. Anjengo Diary - 1790, Sober, Lieut. 10th battalion commanding the detachment to John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo, 1 January 1790, p.2.

111. Ibid., Cornwallis, Fort William to Fort St. George, 28 January 1790, p.2.

112. Military Consultation - 1790, Powney, Resident, Travancore to Fort St. George, 19 March 1790, p.748.

113. Ibid., April 1790, p.1013.

Tipu had no idea of the Malabar rains. His arms and ammunitions were washed away. Thus the progress of his troops was blocked. At Alwaye Tipu received intelligence that the British had declared war on Mysore and were marching towards Seringapatam, his capital.¹¹⁴ This compelled him to withdraw his forces from Kerala and return to Mysore.¹¹⁵ Soon peace was called for and in the words of Powney, "Suspension of hostility has taken place".¹¹⁶ Tipu's forces left Malabar destined never to return again. Ultimately he was forced by circumstances to sign the treaty of Seringapatam in 1792.

According to the treaty of Seringapatam, Tipu formally ceded the whole of Malabar country as possessed by him before the war and included in the Calicut district.¹¹⁷ He was forced to cede half of his dominions to the English. Besides the cessation of territories, he had to pay an indemnity of more than three million pounds and to send two of his sons as hostage to the English Company.¹¹⁸ In his schedule of the

114. Denys Forrest, n.51, p.132.

115. Ibid.

116. Military Consultation - 1791, George Powney, Resident, Travancore to Charles Oakley, Acting President in Council, Fort St. George, 28 May 1791, p.2880.

117. Ibid., 1792, R. Abercromby, Camp near Pareapatam to George Powney, Resident, Travancore, 29 March 1792, p.1716.

118. Ramakrishna Mukherjee, The Rise and Fall of the East India Company (Berlin, 1955, 1957) p.271.

ceded districts he included the Travancore districts of Alangaud, Paravoor and Kunathnaud as belonging to him. But when the Malabar Commissioners were appointed by the Company, Dewan Kesava Pillay the first Dewan of Travancore, informed them that these districts belonged to Travancore. Powney was appointed by Lord Cornwallis to investigate into the state of the three taluks and to confer on this subject with the Vakeels or Tipu Sultan.¹¹⁹ This again shows the increasing importance of Powney in local affairs in spite of the fact that Anjengo had a long tradition of experience in its dealings with the natives.

When the Commissioners arrived to investigate into the affairs of three districts, the Rajah refused to co-operate with them, as by then, enmity had arisen between the Rajah and Powney owing to misunderstanding generated by the Dewan Kesava Pillay. The Rajah refused to have any discussion on this issue with Powney as he considered him as insincere and asked for his replacement by a just and trustworthy person.¹²⁰ The Board finally acquiesced to his wish and appointed Boddam to enquire into the facts and report.¹²¹ The enquiry began

119. Military Consultation - 1792, Rajah of Travancore to Sir Charles Oakley, Fort St. George, 23 November 1792, p.6231.

120. Ibid., 14 November 1792, p.6336.

121. Ibid., 1793, Fort St. George to Rajah of Travancore, 4 February 1793, p.604.

and it was found by the Commissioners that Tipu had no right to include the territories in question to his dominions. The Governor General gave a final decision confirming Travancore's undisputed claim to the districts of Alangaud, Paravoor and Kunnathnaud.¹²²

Thus success of the British military power and the conclusion of peace with Tipu afforded immense satisfaction to the Maharajah who was for the moment free from the menace of Tipu Sultan. The English Company then demanded the defrayal of the entire war expenses from the Rajah. They convinced him that it was only owing to the help rendered by them, that his dominions were saved from the hands of Tipu Sultan.¹²³ The Rajah who hoped to have a peaceful atmosphere during the rest of his life was rudely shocked by the repeated request for money by the Company. It is to be noted that it was not the Resident of Anjengo but the Resident of Travancore, who on behalf of the Madras Government, persistently pestered the Rajah to pay more and more war expenses.¹²⁴

122. Shungoonny Menon, n.25, pp.246-247.

123. Military Consultation - 1791, Powney, Resident, Travancore to the Rajah of Travancore, February 1791, p.355.

124. *Ibid.*, Powney, Resident, Travancore to Fort St. George, 7 January 1791, p.587, Fort St. George to Powney, Resident Travancore, 20 May 1791, p.2488, Fort St. George, to George Powney, Resident, Travancore, June 1791, p.3116, Military Consultation - 1792, Fort St. George to Powney, Resident, Travancore, 15 January 1792, p.535.

After the defeat of Tipu, the Rajah of Travancore became too much dependent on the English. He truly believed that but for the English saviours, his dominion would have passed into Tipu's hands. He began to rely more and more on the English, thereby getting entangled profoundly into the intricacies of treaties, subsidies etc. It was only after the year 1791, that the Rajah began to wean away from his sincere attachments to the Company and began to rely more on his Dewan.

On the other hand while the Rajah was being pestered for money, the Residency of Anjengo and the Anjengo settlement itself was well set on the road of decline. This was confirmed in 1793. In 1793, it was decided to appoint a Political Resident at Travancore. An extract from the minutes of Council in the Political department under the 26 April 1793, concerning the appointment runs as follows:

"The Hon'ble the Governor acquaints board that he thinks it necessary to put the Hon'ble Company to the expense of a Political Resident with the Rajah of Travancore as the Supervisor of the Prince of Malabar is fully authorised to transact all matters of the kind, lest should the government of Madras hereafter acquaint us that the affairs of the subsidy is not settled, a temporary Resident may be appointed for that purpose or any other occasional business which may occur".¹²⁵

125. Anjengo Diary - 1793, An extract from the Minutes of Council in the Political Department, 26 April 1793, p.73.

John Hutchinson the longest serving Resident at Anjengo seems not to have attempted to stem this trend of affairs which actually reduced the power, role and importance of Anjengo in favour of the Resident at Travancore. In fact it seems that Hutchinson had no say in the whole affair. However his role as Resident was quite significant. He was the only person who held the office of Resident for sixteen years. During his Residency he tried his best to make an overall repair of the fort though without much success for the Bombay Government disapproved of making such a repair on a large scale.¹²⁶

In the year 1789, the marriage of the Princess of Attingal was celebrated. On this occasion customary presents were made to the Princess of Attingal.¹²⁷ Moreover during his residency the Rajah of Travancore was in dire financial difficulties. He requested for a loan of ten lakhs of rupees at an interest of 6%. Hutchinson decided to make use of this opportunity, and insisted on one condition that in return for the loan, the Rajah must adhere to the previous pepper

126. Anjengo Diary - 1786, 16 April 1786, p.81.

127. Ibid., - 1789, 30 January 1789, pp.16-17.

contracts.¹²⁸ In the year 1797, Jonathan Duncan, the Governor visited the coast on business regarding Pycche Rajah's rebellion.¹²⁹ On this occasion, the Rajah once again requested for a loan of two lakhs of rupees. Duncan sympathised with the Rajah and requested Hutchinson to take two lakhs from treasury of Anjengo and pay the amount to the Rajah.¹³⁰ Hutchinson however wrote back about his inability to raise the amount as the Rajah was already indebted to the Company for Rs.1,47,642.1.12.¹³¹ But before any decision could be arrived at, John Hutchinson passed away at Anjengo and he was succeeded by John Taddy Dyne in the month of October 1797.¹³²

The Mysore wars almost sealed the fate of Anjengo. Its role in the region was restricted with the appointment of a Resident at Travancore. The Rajah of Travancore did not give that much importance to the Anjengo officials as before.

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- 128. Anjengo Factory General - 1795, John Hutchinson Allepe to Hon'ble George Dick, Governor, Bombay, 5 February 1795, p.12.
 - 129. Anjengo Diary - 1797, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to Rajah of Travancore, 30 April 1797, p.134.
 - 130. Ibid., Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo, 26 February 1797, pp.38-39.
 - 131. Ibid., John Hutchinson, Resident, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 14 March 1797, p.54.
 - 132. Anjengo Diary - Political - 1797, Taddy Dyne, Anjengo to Fort St. George, 12 October, 1797, p.136.

Though during the Carnatic wars Anjengo still served to some extent as an intermediary between the Rajah of Travancore, Madras Government and the Nawab of Arcot, yet during the Mysore wars its political role diminished drastically.

However, it was the Chiefs of Anjengo who had up to date details about the situation in South Malabar. The Madras Government depended on the information provided by Anjengo to make decisions concerning the troubles in the region. Each and every move made by the enemy was reported to and from this settlement. The settlement had served the British designs in the Malabar in its own way by being an important arms and ammunitions centre, from where not only soldiers were despatched to the war front, but also information relating to the movements of troops were collected and relayed. Moreover a detailed record of the events during the wars was kept at Anjengo. If Cornwallis was finally able to clip the claws of the Tiger of Mysore, it was at least to some extent due to the Anjengo settlement and the role played by its chiefs in various ways explained above.

The Mysorean invasion had administered a shock treatment to the Travancore society. It sounded the death-knell of the old order and inaugurated a new era wherein the Travancore King became alive to the dangers of the English Company. He realised that they were equally dangerous as

allies or foes. At the same time at Anjeng, the original trading purposes of the Company diminished as the settlement began to serve more and more the political and military aims of the British during the wars. But as a political entity, it could play only a subordinate role in the regional affairs. Nevertheless the diminishing fortunes in trade and the subordinate political role in the wars made the chances of survival of the settlement itself all the more precarious.

THE LAST PHASE

After the Mysore wars, the Company's political ambition in South India underwent a complete change. Rama Varma, the Rajah of Travancore, wanted to conclude a permanent treaty with the English for the defence of his country against enemies.¹ This treaty was duly ratified by the Court of Directors in 1797.² The Court of Directors and the Governor General were exceedingly pleased with the Rajah and his Dewan Kesava Pillay. Though an enhancement in the amount of tribute had been obtained by the English by this treaty, yet the Company expected to derive still greater advantages in due course in return for undertaking the responsibility for the permanent protection of the Rajah. The King and the Dewan were also happy over the success of their negotiations. Reputation of the Rajah spread throughout his kingdom. He was popularly known as Dharma Rajah or even "Kilavan Rajah" (old King). His Dewan Kesava Pillay was held in high esteem by both the English and the Rajah.³

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1. Anjengo Factory Diaries - Political - 1797, Copies of the proposed terms of permanent treaty, 14 March 1797, pp.57.64.
 2. Anjengo Diary - 1797, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to John Shore, Governor General in Council, 31 August 1797, p.1827.
 3. Anjengo Diary - 1798, Kesava Das, Dewan to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 16 February 1798, p.845.

In 1798 Rama Varma passed away and was succeeded by his nephew, Bala Rama Varma.⁴ He was only sixteen years of age on his accession to the throne. He adopted the title of his uncle conferred upon by the Nabob of Carnatic and the same was subsequently adopted by the succeeding sovereigns in Travancore.⁵ Dewan Kesava Pillay continued to serve the young Rajah in his ministerial capacity to the best of his ability.⁶ The young Rajah however did not reciprocate the Dewan's or Company's feelings. Short time afterwards, the Dewan was found dead in his bedroom. In fact, he was foully disposed off by poison by the adherents of the Rajah.⁷ The death of the Dewan cast a gloom over the land. George Parry, who became the Resident of Anjengo in February 1798, succeeding John Taddy Dyne, informed Lord Morington, the Governor

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4. Ibid., John Taddy Dyne, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 19 February 1798, p.843.
 5. Anjengo Factory Records General - 1798, Rajah of Travancore to Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 18 March 1798, p.60. In later years English Records stated "the old Rajah was succeeded by his nephew, a young man whose character seems ever since to have been marked by imbecility, caprice and other qualities which show him to be wholly unequal to the task of government" - Despatches from England, Political Department, 29 September 1809, p.126.
 6. Anjengo Diary - 1798, n.3, p.846.
 7. Foreign Department Secret Consultation - 1804, Colonel Macaulay, Resident, Travancore to Liet. Colonel Kirkpatrick, 20 July 1800, p.15305.

General, about the death of the Dewan. He sent a message of condolence on the occasion.⁸ Colonel Macaulay, the Resident of Travancore considered the death of Kesava Pillay as a great misfortune to the country.

The rift had begun between the young Rajah and the Company. The usual procedure after the death of a Dewan was to consult the Company before making any appointment. It was in the interest of the Company to appoint such a person who was inclined towards them, as the entire pepper contract was to be conducted between the Dewan in the name of the Rajah and the Company. A wrong choice could result in considerable trouble to the Company. However, they found that the Rajah had already appointed his friend Jayanthan Sankaran Nambudiri as the Valiasarvadhikaryakar and invested him with all powers to direct and supervise the subordinate officers. This action of the Rajah dismayed the Company officials as they knew that the Rajah had not heeded to the advise of Lord Mornington who had asked the Rajah to make the selection in consultation with Major Bannerman.⁹

8. Anjengo Diary - 1799, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 20 April 1799, p.159.

9. Ibid., Lord Mornington to Rajah of Travancore, 25 April 1799, p.5544.

The action of the Rajah proved beyond doubt that he was disgusted with the Company's interference in the internal affairs of Travancore. But he soon realised his folly of appointing Sankaran Nambudiri to the high office. The new Dewan was unscrupulously corrupt. He appointed his favourites as subordinate officers. Corruption started creeping inside the administration. In order to tide over the financial stringency he decided to raise a general contribution from the public. He prepared a list of people who could afford to pay and summoned them demanding immediate payment inflicting corporal punishment in case of refusal.¹⁰ This was resented by large sections of the people who rose in revolt under the leadership of Velu Thampi demanding the dismissal of the corrupt Dewan and the abolition of all arbitrary impositions on the people. The Rajah was thus forced to dismiss Jayanthan Nambudiri. He informed the Madras government about the dismissal.¹¹

After the dismissal the Rajah consulted Major Bannerman and appointed Ayappa Chempaka Ramen Pillai as Sarvadhikaryakar.¹²

10. Nagam V. Aiyar, The Travancore State Manual (Trivandrum, 1906) I, p.418.

11. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Rajah of Travancore to Lord Mornington,, 9 July 1799, p.5547.

12. Ibid.

He was held in high esteem by the Rajah.¹³ Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay approved of the selection of Ayyappa Pillay as the Dewan.¹⁴ But even Ayyappa Pillay could not improve the finances of the country. The treasury was empty. Finding no other way the Dewan took out the crown jewels from the strong room of Padmanabhapuram palace and pledged them. George Parry, Resident of Anjengo, wrote to Jonathan Duncan that in the year 1798-1799, the Rajah of Travancore forced his subjects to deliver the full quantity of pepper contracted with the Company without paying a single rupee to them.¹⁵ As a result merchants and local farmers refused to deliver any further quantity of pepper without advance payment.¹⁶ Matters reached such a state that the Rajah himself was obliged "to sell his private jewels to raise sufficient money to fulfil his engagements with the Company".¹⁷ Even though the finances of the state were in doldrums, within a span of six months, Dewan Ayyappa Chempaka Ramen Pillay accumulated nearly six lakhs of rupees through corrupt and fraudulent means.¹⁸ After his death, the Rajah once again appointed Padmanabha

13. Ibid.

14. Anjengo Factory General - 1799, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to Rajah of Travancore, 27 September 1799, p.325.

15. Anjengo Diary - 1801, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 7 March 1801, p.64.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Foreign Secret Consultation Proceedings, 17 May 1804, pp. 15346-47.

Chempaka Ramen Pillay without consulting the Company officials.¹⁹ George Parry took offence at his being kept in the dark about this appointment. He made his displeasure known to the new Dewan.²⁰

After appointing Padmanabha Pillay as Valia Sarwadi-karyakar, the Rajah asked him to be vigilant on two principal duties: first, in the service of Sree Padmanabha Swamy Temple, and second, in the regular fulfilment of the obligation contained in the treaty of ever lasting friendship with the Company.²¹ However, he was found weak and inefficient and within eight months after his appointment was dismissed. He was even accused of complicity in certain crimes. According to the Rajah, the new Dewan so ill-managed even the most trivial affairs that he felt compelled to dismiss him, lest the Rajah's own character was at stake.²² In his place, the Rajah appointed Velu Thampi, a nephew of the late Dewan Raja Kesava Das,²³ as the Valiasarvadhikaryakar in 1801 to transact all the affairs in general.²⁴ On assuming charge

19. Anjengo Diary - 1801, Rajah of Travancore to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 7 April 1801, p.2088.

20. Anjengo Diary General - 1800, George Parry, Resident Anjengo to Thampi Padmanabha Chempakaraman, Valiasarvadhikariakkar, Travancore, 14 July 1800, p.230.

21. Anjengo Diary - 1801, n.19, p.2088.

22. Anjengo Factory General - 1801, Rajah of Travancore to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 6 April 1801, p.86.

23. Anjengo Diary - 1801, n.19, p.2088.

24. Anjengo Factory General - 1801, n.22, p.86.

Velu Thampi wrote to Jonathan Duncan about his appointment. He gave his assurance of continuing the existing relationship between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore.²⁵ The appointment of Velu Thampi as the Dewan constituted one of the crucial factors in the relationship between the English and Travancore. He initially fostered and strengthened the alliance with the Company.

While so many changes were taking place in the Travancore Durbar, drastic changes took place also in the Anjengo Residency. George Parry was informed by the Bombay government of their decision to abolish the offices of Secretary, Accountant, Land Pay officer, Warehouse-keeper and Storekeeper. He was further directed that in future the business of the settlement would be conducted by the Resident and his two Assistants. The allowance of the Resident was to be Rs.260/- per month and that of the Assistants Rs.150/- per month.²⁶

In 1800, Major Macaulay was appointed as the Political Resident at Travancore by the Bombay government.²⁷ The main idea behind this appointment was to secure the revision of the existing treaty with Travancore incorporating the provisions of the subsidiary alliance and thereby bring the Travancore government under the Company's effective control.

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25. Anjengo Diary - 1801, Velu Thampi, Dewan, Travancore to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 7 April 1801, p.2089.
 26. Anjengo Diary - 1799, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to George Parry, Resident, Anjengo, 13 September 1797, p.349.
 27. Anjengo Diary - 1800, Bombay Castle, to Major Macaulay, Resident, Travancore, 16 April 1800, p.139.

He was the first to hold this important office, though previously the Bombay government used to have an official appointed to transact all business with the Rajah for the welfare of the Company.²⁸ But Major Macaulay had wider power than his predecessors. He was instructed to give the Bombay government the amplest support in all its dealings with the state of Travancore. He was also requested to correspond with George Parry, the Commercial Resident of Anjengo and to give him full support in the concerns and transactions with the state of Travancore.²⁹ Henceforth the Resident of Anjengo came to be called the Commercial Resident instead of Resident. Thus Anjengo's importance was considerably lessened along with that of its chiefs. It seems that there was a certain pre-meditation at the higher levels of authority to promote the importance of the Resident at Travancore, at the expense of the Anjengo settlement which on the whole would have been viewed as a liability to the Company due to its diminishing importance in trade during this period.

In the month of November 1800, the Rajah of Travancore requested for the annual presents to be presented by the Company which was in arrears for the previous six years.

28. Anjengo Diary - 1793, Bombay Castle, to the Rajah of Travancore, 1 May 1793, p.80.

29. Anjengo Diary - 1800, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to Major Macaulay, 16 April 1800, pp.5291-92.

George Parry made calculation for six years which came to about Rs.4,884/-. Though the amount was exorbitant, presents were made to the Rajah.³⁰ George Parry was on good terms with the Dewan of Travancore. From the time of his elevation to the office of the Dewan, Velu Thampi was guided by the advice of Major Macaulay. He was keen to foster and strengthen the existing alliance with the Company as desired by Macaulay. However the reluctance of the Rajah to fall in line with his wishes very often raised obstacles in his way. His pro-British policy generated the enmity of the hostile factions in the court of the Rajah. George Parry was also on good terms with the Rajah. In 1801, when the Rajah made an official visit to Anjengo, Parry presented him with a fine grey horse and in return the Rajah presented him with a "Chawdee and Mop Balemalla and Padakam, one beer sapkler".³ It was against the rules to accept presents from any one, so Parry accounted for all the gifts to Bombay government.³² But such a peaceful co-existence between the Political Resident, the Commercial Resident and the Rajah was not destined to continue for long.

30. Ibid., George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan Governor, Bombay, 10 November 1800, p.325.

31. Anjengo Diary - 1801, George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 23 January 1801, p.18.

32. Ibid.

In the year 1801, plans were on foot to transfer Anjengo settlement under the control of Fort St. George. George Parry who was informed about the same much later kept on reiterating "I have received no orders to that effect".³³ There was a raging controversy regarding the transfer, as the commercial concerns of the Company as well as the commercial servants of the settlement were exclusively subjected to the orders of the Governor-in-Council at Bombay,³⁴ whereas the rest of the concerns, civil and military, were transferred from Bombay government to Fort St. George.³⁵ As a result, there existed a dual system of government at Anjengo.

Thus there came to be two Company authorities at Anjengo viz., the Commercial Resident of Anjengo and the Political Resident of Travancore. The Commercial Resident was under the control of the Bombay government whereas the Political Resident was answerable to the Madras government. Of the two, the Political Resident had greater power. He

33. Ibid., George Parry, Resident, Anjengo to John Spencer, Commissioner in Malabar province, 2 March 1801, p.55.

34. Ibid., Clive, Fort St. George to John Spencer, Commissioner of Malabar, 5 September 1801, p.5986.

35. Anjengo Diary - 1802, 29 July 1802, p.4353.

had access to all the records of Anjengo Residency. The Commercial Resident was to furnish him with all the information that he required.³⁶ Previously the Commercial Resident directly corresponded with the Rajah of Travancore. As a result the Political Resident was unaware of the transactions taking place between the Commercial Resident and the Rajah of Travancore. This often ended in accusations and counter-accusations between the two. To avoid such unpleasant situations in the future, the Governor General-in-Council issued an order in 1803 prohibiting irregular intercourse of all Europeans with the Rajah of Travancore or with his minister or with any public officers of His Highness except through the official channel of the Political Resident.³⁷ This order had momentous consequences in the history of Travancore. It made the Political Resident very powerful. Thereafter the Commercial Resident who had till then been very close to the Rajah could correspond only through the Political Resident.

In the year 1803, Major Macaulay entered into an agreement with the Dewan Velu Thampi on behalf of the English East India Company for the supply of pepper.³⁸ While on the one hand Major Macaulay was in friendly terms with the Dewan, on the other, his relation with the Rajah was not cordial

36. Anjengo Diary - 1802, James Augustus Grant, Bombay Castle, to Fort St. George, 11 September 1802, p.314.

37. Anjengo Diary - 1803, Fort St. George to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 17 February 1803, p.75.

38. Ibid., p.76.

at all. The Rajah disapproved of the Resident's interference in his domestic affairs. He was reluctant to allow any change or modification in the existing relations with the Company. However, the Governor General who was very pleased with the Dewan's behaviour invested him with an honorary "Khelaut" or dress in the name of His Excellency. The ceremony of investiture was carried out with all respect and honours on 14 August 1803.³⁹

Meanwhile in the month of August, George Parry was promoted to the seat in the council, and so he left Anjengo after handing over the settlement to Augustus William Handley who was the second Commercial Resident at Anjengo.⁴⁰ During the period of the Residency of George Parry, there existed very good understanding between the Political Resident of Travancore and the Commercial Resident of Angengo. But it was not to be so when William Handley took over.

Macaulay's intrusion into the commercial concerns was detested by Handley. He was of the view that Macaulay had no business to enter into pepper contract with the Dewan

39. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Colonel Macaulay Political Resident, Travancore to the Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 13 August 1803, p.164.

40. Ibid., 12 August 1803, p.163.

as such contracts, were under the jurisdiction of the Commercial Resident. But Macaulay justified his action on the ground "that the contract embraced some subjects of a political nature."⁴¹ The above contract however did not receive the sanction of the Board. They objected to some stipulation in it. Macaulay however managed to maintain the contract. When matters were thus between Macaulay and Handley, the Rajah in his turn refused to fulfil the contract. Handley informed Macaulay about the same and asked him to take steps for the speedy delivery of pepper into the Company's warehouse.⁴²

Moreover, earlier in the year 1802, the Bombay government had given special powers to George Parry of Anjengo and Torin of Tellicherry to obtain timber and planks for making 74 gun ships at Bombay.⁴³ The Dewan however failed to fulfil his contract though he had given his assurances to George Parry. But it was found

41. Anjengo Diary - 1803, Appointment of a political Resident in Travencore in 1800, the correspondence that then ensued with that officer upto 1803, p.5208.

42. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travencore, 25 September 1803, p.19.

43. Anjengo Diary - 1802, Bombay Castle, to Resident, Anjengo, November 1802, p.6789.

that the Dewan had sold off the timber and planks to other European merchants.⁴⁴ Handley asked Macaulay to remonstrate the Dewan for the flagrant breach of contract.⁴⁵

The Political Resident however did not evince any interest in this affair. Owing to the restriction imposed on direct correspondence with the Durbar, Handley could do nothing except repeatedly write to Macaulay. He informed Duncan of his inability to make any move⁴⁶ as usually the Commercial Resident used to have frequent interviews with the Dewan, but in the changed situation, he was helpless.⁴⁷ In December 1803, the Dewan visited Handley at Anjengo fort with the sanction of the Political Resident and assured him of delivering the whole of timber and plank to Anjengo without fail.⁴⁸ This done, Handley tried his best to obtain pepper from Trivandrum. Further, Handley requested Macaulay "to urge the Rajah in the most forcible manner to expedite his pepper deliveries".⁴⁹ Thus the Commercial Resident was

44. Anjengo Factory General - 1803, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Lieut. Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 1 December 1803, p.79.

45. Ibid., p.81.

46. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 1 December 1803, p.87.

47. Ibid.

48. Anjengo Diary - 1803, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 21 December 1803, p.11

49. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to James Augustus Grant, Bombay, 28 December 1803, p.131.

becoming more and more a subordinate to the Political Resident, without whose consent he could do nothing.

With the dawn of 1804, matters between the two took a turn for the worse. The events that led to the friction began in the month of February. Macaulay wrote to Handley that, according to the reports received by him, it was found that individuals living under the protection of the British at Anjengo were clandestinely purchasing and selling pepper and as this was injurious to the Company's interests, the Madras government had prohibited such purchase and sale from all the British ports in Malabar.⁵⁰ Handley took offence at this prohibition. He thought the Political Resident was insinuating about his pepper purchases. So he wrote back that the reports received by Macaulay were baseless and that the Bombay government had authorised "the commercial resident of Anjengo to make purchase of pepper and allowed him to go as far as Rs.145/- per candy".⁵¹ He further pointed out that by this sort of purchases they were able to procure pepper to the Company, which would otherwise have been sold to private merchants and foreigners.⁵²

50. Anjengo Diary - 1804, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 16 February 1804, p.76.

51. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 17 February 1804, p.77.

52. Ibid., p.78.

Macaulay informed that the orders of the Bombay government had been withdrawn and therefore Handley would have to abide by his orders and prevent pepper trafficking by individuals residing at Anjengo.⁵³ Numerous letters were exchanged between them, each upholding his own orders. Matters reached to such an extent that Handley wrote to Jonathan Duncan for clarification on the point, whether the Political Resident in Travancore was warranted in any sort of manner to interfere with the details of the Commercial Residency of Anjengo and whether he had any right to order the Commercial Resident on the purchase of pepper or on any other strictly commercial points of his duty.⁵⁴ Handley even requested to be referred to the Court of Directors in this matter. He felt that "they would be very much surprised to find a military officer interfering in their investments or meddling in the smallest degree with their commercial concerns".⁵⁵

Not to be outdone, Macaulay referred the matter to the Secretary of the Bombay Government. He stated that the Commercial Resident wrongly felt that he was authorised to

53. Ibid., Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 19 February 1804, p.80.

54. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 29 March 1804, p.173.

55. Ibid., p.174.

purchase pepper on the Company's account at a time when it was actually unnecessary, according to the restrictions imposed on the exportation of pepper. Any individual who wished to dispose of his pepper must sell it to the Sircar who were bound to deliver it to the Company, measures having been already taken by the Dewan for collecting all pepper of this description.⁵⁶ Handley totally rejected the validity of the position advanced by the Political Resident. According to him the individuals possessing pepper would never dispose it to the Dewan, they would rather fling it to the sea or bury it than offer it to the Dewan for sale.⁵⁷ Thus the entire pepper would be lost to the Sircar and to the Company.

Much tension was created owing to difference of opinion between the two Residents and the pepper trade virtually came to a standstill. As a last resort Handley once again appealed to Duncan to settle the matter. He made it clear that he would on no account bow down to Macaulay. He emphasised the need to draw a clear line between the Political Resident in Travancore and the Commercial Resident of Anjengo, and henceforth to forbid effectually the interference of the Political

56. Ibid., Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to the Secretary to government, Bombay, 13 April 1804, p.231.

57. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to James Augustus Grant, Secretary to government, Bombay, 13 April 1804, p.233.

Resident in the commercial concerns of Anjengo.⁵⁸ In spite of so many letters exchanged, Macaulay continued to show his superiority over Handley.

Handley had reached the end of his tether. He held that the difference between them had become a talk of the town and so he was deprived of all respect.⁵⁹ All the former Residents of Anjengo were held in high esteem and regarded by every sovereign and minister of the State as good officers; but at present the natives were avoiding the Commercial Resident for fear of incurring the wrath of the Political Resident.⁶⁰ However, the authorities concerned made no effort to bring them to a truce.

58. Anjengo Factory General - 1804, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 1 April 1804, p.183. He wrote "I really have no time or inclination to follow the Lieutenant Colonel through all the mazes and abuse he throws on the Honble Company's servants heretofore high in trust whom he liberally brands, with the epithet of speculators, I presume he knew well, they were all dead long since, or absent from India, I therefore leave it to your candour to judge whether such unqualified abuse is consistent either with a direct spirit of moderation or of justice".

59. *Ibid.*, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 16 July 1804, p.431.

60. *Ibid.*, He stated that the "natives from the Dewan to the lowest subject guided by motives either of fear of incurring the Political Resident's displeasure or figuratively, tho' generally speaking eager to offer up their adoration, to what they conceive the rising sun, avoid the Commercial Resident as one infected with plague and the fort he resides in as a huge Lazaretto".

By the month of August matters had reached a breaking point. Both of them carried their cold war to the timber trade. Macaulay interfered in the timber purchases and as a result Handley could not make the deliveries on time. He held Macaulay responsible for the state of affairs. In his words "if the Dewan is left alone he will fulfill his contract in every point".⁶¹ Handley was surprised as to how the Political Resident interfered in matters on which he was so very ill-informed. Finally the Bombay government and the Madras government decided to look into the dispute. But, meanwhile their attention was drawn towards the Nair revolt in Travancore, in which the Anjengo settlement was also implicated.

Nair insurrection - 1804:

In the month of March 1804, the Nair Brigade revolted against the Dewan of Travancore. The reason was the pro-British policy of the Dewan of Travancore. The Dewan was very close to Colonel Macaulay whose advice he sought on every issue. This sparked off the enmity of some sections in the Court of the Rajah of Travancore. Such opposition only strengthened the resolve of the Dewan in his policy. He

61. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 12 August 1804, p.513.

had always backed up any idea of Macaulay irrespective of its adverse effects on the people. One such matter was the modification of Nair Brigade. The Nair Brigade was to be brought under the control of the Company. The Nairs became restless. The Company officials received prior information of their intended revolt. According to information obtained Anjengo settlement was their target, so the Company ordered for the entire detachment of troops to be sent for the protection of Anjengo settlement.⁶² Likewise another detachment was sent to Quilon for the protection of the Company's property there.⁶³ The Nairs hatched another conspiracy against Dewan Velu Thampi. They decided to murder him. This was planned and piloted by high officers of the state with the consent of the Maharajah of Cochin.⁶⁴ Velu Thampi with the help of Colonel Macaulay unearthed the conspiracy and imprisoned the conspirators. Soon the entire gang was

62. Anjengo Diary - 1804, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 9 March 1804, p.135.

63. Ibid.

64. Foreign Department Secret Consultation - 1804, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Lord William Bentick, Governor, Fort St. George, 25 April 1804, p.6.

arrested.⁶⁵ Macaulay was surprised at the attempt of the Nair militia against their own kith and kin, viz., the Dewan. He suspected the Nairs' design to destroy the Dewan because of his faithfulness towards the British. In the month of November 1804, the Nair militia rebelled once again. This time also they conspired with the Rajah of Cochin to murder Colonel Macaulay and Velu Thampi.

Macaulay cautioned Handley and asked him to take refuge elsewhere as he knew the Nair fury was directed against the entire English nation. But Handley refused to quit Anjengo for safety. He was not perturbed at the agitation. According to confidential news he obtained from spies posted, Anjengo settlement was not in danger.⁶⁶ He felt that, however violent the Nair troops might be, both the subjects from the highest to the lowest have respected the fort of Anjengo as they did one of their own temples and the property of the Company had remained sacred to them.⁶⁷ Consequently, there

65. Foreign Secret Department Consultation - 1804, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Wellesley, 27 March 1804, p.6315. List of conspirators arrested at Travancore by orders of His Highness were 1. Papoo Thampi, an officer of the palace in charge of the ladies department. 2. Mootoo Pillay - Accountant, 3. Palavan Pillay, Commanding the force. 4. Conjee Neelam Pillay - Late Sumprady. 5. Neelacanden Pillay - In charge of Southern division. 6. Huvadatum Pillay - Treasure, 7. Cochie Narayan Pillay - Paymaster General. 8. Gosseyn Gomadegeree a foreign merchant.

66. Anjengo Diary - 1804, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 23 November 1804, p.796.

67. Ibid.

was no cause for worry. But if he were to desert the Anjengo fort at the first alarm it would generate a suspicion that hostile measures were being resorted against them and it might throw the entire country in a greater state of agitation.⁶⁸

But Handley's faith in the rebels proved to be wrong as another plot to murder Handley and his family was discovered. Handley was asked to leave the place immediately and take refuge elsewhere with his family.⁶⁹ But he was adamant in his decision to stay back at Anjengo for he believed that it was against the dictates of prudence to abandon the property of the Company entrusted to his care. The warehouse contained valuable pepper and piece goods amounting to more than four lakhs of rupees and deserting it would alarm the people.⁷⁰ But Macaulay confirmed that the attempt on Handley's life was true. It was the Nair troops, sent to Anjengo for the protection against the rebels, who had planned to murder Handley and his family. But he assured that orders were sent for their arrest. They were to be

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 25 November 1804, p.798.

70. Ibid., 27 November 1804, p.799.

disarmed, stripped and dismissed from the service of His Highness with every mark of disgrace.⁷¹ Handley was shocked at the revelation. Nevertheless, he wanted to know from Macaulay whether the Nairs had intended to wipe out all the officials of Anjengo fort or whether their fury was directed only towards him.⁷² Macaulay did not offer any explanation and this led Handley to think that Macaulay was trying to instil scare in him. He believed that Macaulay's intended perpetration of such unheard barbarity upon him and his innocent family fully corresponded with his behaviour to him in former occasions.⁷³

Thereafter, Handley firmly believed that the intended assassination was a figment of Macaulay's imagination devoid of any truth. He believed therefore that no such crime was ever meditated or resolved to be undertaken by the Nair officer or by any of the Nairs.⁷⁴ Though the rebellion of

71. Anjengo Diary - 1804, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 11 December 1804, p.835.

72. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 12 December 1804, p.838.

73. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 12 December 1804, p.840.

74. Ibid., 16 December 1804, p.856.

the Nairs to overthrow the British was suppressed most brutally,⁷⁵ differences between Macaulay and Handley continued. In the year 1806, Macaulay withdrew the prohibition imposed on corresponding with the Travancore Durbar on his own accord.⁷⁶ Thus it was believed that all was well between the Political Resident and Commercial Resident. But very soon differences cropped up. This time it was neither for pepper nor for Timber but on the issue of giving wedding presents to the Rani of Attingal. It so happened that on 20 May 1806, the Dewan of Travancore wrote to the Resident of Anjengo that the matrimonial ceremonies of the youngest Princess of Attingal would take place in the month of May and requested for the usual presents.⁷⁷ Macaulay was in a rage. He accused Handley for not informing him about the same. He further stated that the Governor-in-Council had approved of the delivery of presents "by the representative of the British government in Travancore to the exclusion of course of all interference in such matters by the Commercial agent of the government of Bombay at Anjengo."⁷⁸ Handley

75. Nagam Aiya, n.10, p.424. The rebels were hanged some beheaded others were blown off the cannon's mouth. One of them, Krishna Pillai had his legs tied to two elephants and the animals were driven in opposite directions tearing the victim to pieces.

76. Anjengo Diary - 1806, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 25 January 1806, p.39.

77. Ibid., Dewan Velu Thampi, Travancore to the Commercial Resident Anjengo, 20 May 1806, p.286.

78. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 23 May 1806, p.291.

attributed the delay in communication with Macaulay to his residence which was out of Travancore dominions on an island in the back water beyond Cochin. He said it required at least six days for an answer to be received from Macaulay and this caused great delay and obstructed the commercial concerns.⁷⁹ Macaulay continued to harp on why presents were being delivered by Handley.⁸⁰ Handley requested Jonathan Duncan to forward all the correspondence to Bengal government for their opinion. Meanwhile the Political Resident imposed restrictions once again on the Commercial Resident because of the controversy over carrying of presents.

However, by the month of June 1806, the Political Resident received a slap in the face when the Dewan declared that he did not receive any presents from Handley for the marriage ceremony at Attingal.⁸¹ Macaulay was forced to acknowledge the innocence of Handley in the carrying of presents. Meanwhile Bengal government reprimanded Colonel Macaulay. Orders came from Fort William to Bumbay government that Lieut. Colonel Macaulay's letter to the Commercial

79. Ibid., Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 24 May 1806, p.297.

80. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 6 June 1806, p.340.

81. Anjengo Diary General - 1806, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 14 June 1806, p.360.

Resident bore the appearance of unnecessary precipitation in condemning the conduct of a public officer without due enquiry into the real existence of the facts on which judgement was formed.⁸² The Bengal government directed the prohibition to be taken off and thus once again direct intercourse was established between the Dewan of Travancore and the Commercial Resident.⁸³ Handley was very pleased with this turn of events. However, in October 1808 Handley suddenly died in office.⁸⁴ Jonathan Duncan appointed Smee as the Commercial Resident of Anjengo.⁸⁵ Thus ended the long and fruitful career of William Handley during which he had made many improvements of the fort of Anjengo and had endeared himself to the Bombay government by his tactful and diplomatic policy.⁸⁶

While bickerings were going on between the Political and Commercial Resident, there was mounting tension in Travancore created by the Dewan. The Company imposed the

82. Anjengo Diary - 1806, N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William to Francis Warden, Secretary to Bombay, 8 September 1806. p.557.

83. Ibid., p.558.

84. Anjengo Diary - 1808, Dyne, Anjengo to the Rajah of Travancore, 2 July 1808, p.367.

85. Anjengo Diary - 1808, Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay to Rajah of Travancore, 12 October 1808, p.119.

86. Ibid., 1805, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 28 August 1805, p.528.

subsidiary treaty of 1805 on the Rajah of Travancore much against his wish. This treaty proclaimed the virtual British paramountcy over Travancore. By this treaty the British government became entitled to advise the Rajah on every issue connected with the administration of the affairs of Travancore.⁸⁷ The Raja could hold no communication with any foreign state and could not allow any European into his service or allow them to remain within his territories without previous sanction of the British government.⁸⁸

According to the treaty the subsidy that the Rajah had to pay the Company was fixed at Rs.8,00,000/- per annum out of which Rs.4,01,655/- was subsidy under the treaty of 1795.⁸⁹ However hard the Dewan tried, that much amount could not be raised from the revenue of the state. The Rajah sought remission from the supreme government. The Governor-General-in-Council authorised remission of payment of one half of this additional subsidy for the period of two years commencing from the date of the signature of the treaty of 1805.⁹⁰

87. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1808, A memorandum by Colonel Macaulay, 10 March 1808, p.49.

88. Maclean's Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, (Madras, 1938) I, p.36.

89. Political Despatches from England, 29 September 1809, p.139.

90. Political Consultation - 1806, Macaulay, Surgeon, Travancore to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 31 October 1806, p.1480.

But this did not improve matters. Velu Thampi had earlier assisted Macaulay in imposing the treaty on the Rajah. But in due course he developed suspicion about the policy of the English who kept on harping for the payment knowing fully well, the Rajah's inability to make the payment. By 1808 there was a sudden change in the mind of Velu Thampi against the Company. He wrote several letters to Bengal, Madras and Bombay indicating the disapprobation of the Rajah to the new treaty. Macaulay was furious. He used strong language against the Dewan regardless of the meritorious service and severe trials that he had faced for promoting British paramountcy in Travancore.⁹¹ At the last extremity, the Dewan was ordered either to expedite payment or relieve the finances of the state by the speedy discharge of the Carnatic Brigade.⁹² They calculated that by disbanding this Brigade, the Rajah could gain 1½ lakh rupees.⁹³ But the Rajah refused to disband the Brigade for he had an emotional attachment to it. These soldiers were indispensable for collecting the finances of the Sircar and they were

91. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1808, Copy of a declaration from Macaulay to the Dewan of Travancore, 9 July 1808, p.22.

92. Ibid.

93. Political Consultation - 1807, Handley, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William, 20 January 1807, p. 87.

regarded as an essential part of his dignity and personal safety.⁹⁴

Macaulay found a radical change in the attitude of the Dewan who seemed to have been bent upon taking the cudgels on behalf of the Rajah. The arrears amounted to Rs.8,00,000/-. The Dewan promised to pay only two lakhs within one month and three more lakhs by next year.⁹⁵ Macaulay was in a rage. He ordered the dismissal of the Dewan and his replacement by someone "who should execute the duties with respect, diligence to the honours and interests of his excellency."⁹⁶ This led to open rupture between them.

Velu Thampi began hostile activities against the Company. He sought the help of the French.⁹⁷ It was believed that even the Cochin Rajah sided with him.⁹⁸ He ordered

94. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1807, Dewan, Travancore to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 10 July 1808, p.24.

95. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, to G. Buchan, Chief Secretary to Government, 3 November 1808, p.92.

96. Ibid., p.93.

97. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1808, John Tady Dyne, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 24 October 1808, p.107.

98. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Buchan, Fort St. George, 2 December 1808, p.103.

the people of every district within Travancore to train in the use of bows and arrows. The Nairs were ordered to drill constantly and to fire ball cartridges.⁹⁹ The Rajah of Cochin was also asked to arm and train Nairs and Thiyya castes in similar manner as was being done at Travancore.¹⁰⁰ Besides this, written orders issued by the Dewan were circulated to public officers instigating the people to turn against the English. Announcements written in cyphers to annihilate British influence in Travancore were also circulated.¹⁰¹

The Madras government ordered Macaulay to immediately arrest the Dewan and his accomplice and to keep them under arrest till peace prevailed in Travancore.¹⁰² When matters stood thus, the Dewan professed his willingness to resign. Macaulay thought this to be the best solution. He promised him a honourable treatment and a large allowance.¹⁰³ However

99. Ibid., p.104.

100. Ibid., Colonel, Political Resident to Colonel Charlmers, Commanding Officer, Travancore, 1 December 1808, p.113.

101. Ibid.

102. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1808, Buchan, Fort St. George to Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 15 December 1808, p.118.

103. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident to Dewan, Travancore 26 December 1808, p.562.

this was only a ploy on the part of the Dewan as that night scheming plans to murder Macaulay at his residence was carried out.¹⁰⁴ He managed to escape miraculously in a boat.¹⁰⁵ This was the last straw. Though Velu Thampi had not personally taken part in the operation, it was proved beyond doubt that he was the brain behind the attempt on Macaulay.¹⁰⁶

The Company swung all their forces into action to capture the Dewan. On his side the Dewan also gathered a huge force.¹⁰⁷ The Company took measures to convince the inhabitants of Travancore of the rash and unprovoked aggression of the Dewan and of the fatal consequences that would follow due to the continuance of opposition to the British.¹⁰⁸ The Rajah thoroughly alarmed at the state of affairs disclaimed any knowledge of Velu Thampi. The Dewan knowing that the

104. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to G. Buchan, Fort St. George, 28 December 1808, p.225.

105. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1809, Grorn Bart, Cochin to George William Gillo, Judge and magistrate, 29 December 1809, p.229.

106. Ibid., Dr. Macaulay, Travancore to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 6 January 1809, p.315.

107. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1809, George Buchan, Fort St. George, to Lieut. Colonel Chalmers, 2 February 1809, pp.780-781.

108. Ibid., Buchan, Fort St. George to Lieut. Colonel Sent-leger, 26 January 1809, p.685.

Rajah had forsaken him fled towards the northern frontiers of the province. Prior to his flight he perpetrated a wholesale massacre of Europeans and thus disgraced himself and his country's cause.¹⁰⁹ Thirty three European soldiers of His Majesty's 12th regiment were seized by the Travancore troops at Alleppey as per orders from Velu Thampi and were murdered on the beach at Forcad.¹¹⁰

The Rajah officially dismissed the Dewan on 12 February and appointed one Comara Pillay to the post under pressure from the Company.¹¹¹ He even undertook the responsibility of capturing Velu Thampi and his associates by which action he claimed to ensure the prosperity of his dominion and maintain the rights which were granted by the treaty of January 1805. Again at the instigation of the Resident, Comara Pillay was dismissed and Womana Thampi was appointed as the Valiasarvadikaryakar. Womana Thampi disliked Velu Thampi and he launched a massive man-hunt for the fleeing Dewan.¹¹² Finally they caught up with him at a pagoda where he had taken shelter, but when they caught him he was

109. Anjengo Diaries General - 1809, John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 11 April 1809, p.113.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Buchan, Fort St. George, 26 February 1809, p.1406.

112. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1809, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Falconer, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 2 April 1809, p.1876.

breathing his last from the stabs which was said to have been inflicted by himself with a poniard and his brother Thampi standing over him with sword drawn.¹¹³

Political Resident Vs Commercial Resident:

When the revolt was going on in full swing in Travancore many things were taking place at Anjengo settlement. With the murder of 33 Europeans at Alleppe, it was feared that the Dewan's fury would then be directed against the Anjengo settlement. During this time Smee was the Commercial Resident of Anjengo. He had succeeded Handley in October 1808. The Rajah gave him assurance that Anjengo settlement was not in danger and that there was no cause for any worry. But Smee received orders from Bombay government not to rely on the promises of the Rajah, since the residency and the lives of the British subjects therein were in danger. They authorised him to use his own discretion and leave the factory and to transport the most valuable things on board the ship "Upton Castle."¹¹⁴ But they placed a condition on his departure. He was expected to address a letter to the Rajah apprising him of the Company's property that was being left behind. The Rajah would be held responsible for any damage

113. Ibid., p.1878.

114. Anjengo Diary General - 1809, F. Warden, Bombay to John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 17 February 1809, p.63.

to the said property.¹¹⁵ As per instructions Smee left Anjengo and retired to Calicut. He returned to Anjengo only after the suppression of the revolt and the restoration of peace.¹¹⁶

On his arrival he found out that during his absence, the Company's linguist was imprisoned by Colonel Macaulay on the suspicion that he had helped the Dewan to escape.¹¹⁷ Smee took strong opposition to the measures taken by Macaulay. A personal enquiry was conducted by Smee into the allegation and he found out that the linguist was innocent.¹¹⁸

The linguist gave his own version of what had elapsed on the day he met the Dewan. On 20 February 1809, the Dewan of Travancore arrived at Cherringah and sent for him. He went as he feared that, the Dewan with his entire retinue might otherwise come to Anjengo and destroy the place and perhaps murder all the inhabitants there as they did at Alleppe. So, in order to avoid such an eventuality, he obeyed

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 9 March 1809, p.69.

117. Ibid., John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to George Barlow, Fort St. George, 22 March 1809, p.2493.

118. Anjengo Diary - 1809, John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 16 March 1809. p.74.

the orders of the Dewan and met him.¹¹⁹ But the authorities were not convinced about the linguist's innocence. Further Macaulay accused Smee of having left Anjengo fort at a crucial time, "consigning the honour of the British flag to the good faith of the traitors and assassins."¹²⁰ Smee answered that he left the fort only after an assurance from the Dewan's deputies that the settlement would not be attacked and such an assurance was adhered to by them. He further clarified that he handed over the fort not to any traitors but to the linguist whose attachment to the Company was well-known and who was next in command of the Anjengo fort.¹²¹ Realising that justice could not be had from Macaulay, he wrote to Jonathan Duncan at Bombay that the Political Resident be called upon to come forward with his evidence in support of his allegations against him.¹²²

Undeterred Macaulay continued with his allegations. He accused Smee of having left Anjengo, when His Majesty's

119. Ibid., pp.82-83.

120. Ibid., John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 28 March 1809, p.104.

121. Anjengo Diary General - 1809, John Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 28 March 1809, p.105.

122. Ibid., p.106.

ship was on the coast and had plans to destroy the fort thinking it to be in the enemy's hands.¹²³ Smee's contention was that his Majesty's ship which was off shore of Anjengo did not undertake to wipe out the fort and factory because they saw the Union Jack still flying from the flag-staff of Anjengo.¹²⁴ If he had carried the flag with him, then probably the entire fort could have been destroyed as when the Majesty's ship on approaching Anjengo, and not seeing the British flag flying would have concluded that the fort was in the hands of the enemy and commenced an attack. So his action of leaving the flag still at Anjengo should be appreciated rather than denounced.¹²⁵

Smee wrote to Duncan that the linguist should undergo judicial investigation.¹²⁶ In the meantime, E.D. Fernandez, the father of the linguist, wrote to Duncan pointing out the length of time, about hundred years, that the senior branches of the family had served the Company without having their attachment of fidelity impeached or suspected. Three generations of their family had served the Company honestly and

123. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Officer commanding, Anjengo, 26 March 1809, p.107.

124. Anjengo Diaries General - 1809, Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 28 March 1809, p.105.

125. Ibid.

126. Ibid., 22 March 1809, p.92.

therefore he appealed for an early investigation into the allegation against his son, whose health was deteriorating in prison.¹²⁷

Smee, clearly expressed that all this misunderstanding was due to the personal prejudice of Macaulay. He pointed out that even earlier, differences between Macaulay and Handley had existed. He further represented to Duncan that free control over the commercial concerns of the Residency which he was entrusted with was being impeded by Macaulay. When he had returned to Anjengo from Calicut, he found that one Matton was in charge of the fort who was relieved by lieut. Osborn.¹²⁸ Osborn refused to hand over the settlement to Smee. When he reported the matter to Macaulay, his letters were returned unopened because he preferred to be addressed as the Resident of Travancore rather than the Political Resident.¹²⁹ Anyway, the letter was redispached after making the correction and Smee was asked to communicate matters via Lieut. Osborn who was the officer commanding there.¹³⁰ Smee was harassed by Macaulay beyond all endurance.

127. Ibid., E.D. Fernandez, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 8 April 1809, p.124.

128. Ibid., Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 26 March 1809, p.97.

129. Ibid., p.98.

130. Ibid.

In the month of May 1809, Macaulay imposed a ban on the Company's servants to have any intercourse with the Rajah of Travancore or his ministers.¹³¹ On the basis of what he termed as "his experience",¹³² Smee questioned this attitude of Macaulay to impose prohibition according to his whims and fancies. He further pointed out how a similar ban was imposed during the time of Handley which was restored to him by the express commands of the Governor-General-in-Council. Smee even went to the extent of alleging that Macaulay could have averted the ravages of Velu Thampi's revolt. He reminded about the plight of the linguist of Anjengo who was imprisoned for the past two and half months, without any cause shown.¹³³ Duncan referred the above matter to the Supreme Government at Fort William.¹³⁴ The Governor General-in-Council, Fort William, viewed the complaints submitted by Bombay government on behalf of Smee and ordered that the investigations into these matters must be entrusted to the government of Fort St. George.¹³⁵ His lordship-in-Council

131. Ibid., 11 May 1809, p.157.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid., p.177

134. Ibid., N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William, to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary to Government, 10 April 1809, p.202.

135. Ibid., p.253.

thought it proper to state some observations on the leading points of the transactions to which the documents refer:

1. The factory of Anjengo was never occupied by the enemy during the late war as stated by Macaulay.
2. It was wrong of Macaulay to entrust the property of the Company and management of the commercial concerns of Anjengo to be vested in the Officer Commanding rather than the Commercial Resident.
3. The haughty conduct of Macaulay in returning the letter addressed to him, under the designation of Political Resident instead of Resident of Travancore by Smee of high rank and character was unjustifiable.
4. His allegation that Smee had consigned the honour of the British flag to traitors and assassins was not warranted by facts or consistent with the laws of decorum.
5. The circumstances of the case explained against the linguist proved that the grounds of these charges were mere conjecture and were not supported by any evidence to warrant the seizure and confinement of the linguist without any investigation of the offences of which he was accused.¹³⁶

136. Anjengo Factory Diaries General - 1809, N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary to Government, 10 April 1809, pp.254-258.

His lordship-in-council directed the immediate release of the linguist suspending however his resumption of duties to his office until the issue of regular enquiry. He was acquitted of the charges referred by Lieut. Colonel Macaulay.¹³⁷ Smee was thoroughly pleased at the decision of the supreme government. He attributed the behaviour of Macaulay towards the members of Anjengo factory to no other motive than that of gratifying his wish to annihilate the commercial intercourse between the servants of Anjengo factory and the Durbar of Travancore.¹³⁸

Consequently, the linguist was released by Macaulay on 10 June 1809 unconditionally. But he was willing to submit his conduct to public enquiries for the disgrace rather than the punishment which he had experienced of the three months and ten days close detention.¹³⁹ In spite of being accused by all and sundry that he was guilty, Macaulay refused to own up his guilt. He wrote to the Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, that if the linguist was brought to trial, there would be little doubt of him being found guilty of high misdemeanour.¹⁴⁰

137. Ibid., p.258.

138. Ibid., Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 30 June 1809, p.259.

139. Anjengo Factory General - 1809, Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Jonathan Duncan, Governor, Bombay, 30 June 1809, p.261.

140. Ibid., Macaulay, Political Resident, to Falconar, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 11 June 1809, p. 319.

Accordingly, the Bombay government directed Madras to bring the linguist under trial and later be acquitted or condemned on the basis of the opinions of those competent to pronounce on his guilt or innocence.¹⁴¹ For this purpose one official from Bombay and another from Madras were deputed to diligently enquire into and impartially deliver their opinions on the charges and proofs that Colonel Macaulay had set forth.¹⁴² Smee was directed to superintend on the part of the defence while it remained with Macaulay either to carry on the prosecution in person or to appoint any authorised person for that purpose and in the event of the two sworn officers on the part of both the government differing in opinion, they should assign reason. But the ultimate decision was to be left to the Supreme Government.¹⁴³ Besides Smee, Major Blackburn was appointed by the Bombay government to enquire into the charges.¹⁴⁴ The committee was to meet either at Anjengo or on the height of Padanellum, about two miles from Anjengo.

141. Ibid., Francis Warden, Bombay to Falconer, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 14 August, 1809, p.322.

142. Ibid., pp.322-323.

143. Anjengo Factory Diaries General - 1809, Francis Warden, Bombay to Falconar, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 14 August 1809, p.323.

144. Political Consultation - 1809, Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Bombay, 5 October 1809, p.2139.

The trial of the linguist commenced on 16 October 1809. He validated each and every act of his forcefully and thereby tore to shreds the accusations of Colonel Macaulay. His eloquent speeches seconded by facts and figures astounded the Jury.¹⁴⁵ He defended himself thoroughly in the most forceful language.¹⁴⁶ A very interesting fact about this case was that when investigation was almost over, the officers were asked to suspend their enquiry.¹⁴⁷ It was widely believed that this was done to save Colonel Macaulay. Smee was called back to Bombay and Coward was appointed to succeed him as the Resident.¹⁴⁸ He was to leave for Anjengo but in the meantime Dyne was asked to take over the charge of the residency till the arrival of Coward.¹⁴⁹ Dyne was in charge of the settlement only for one month in December 1809. Coward took charge of the settlement from Dyne.¹⁵⁰ The hurried

145. Ibid., Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 31 October 1809, pp.2456-2479.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., Fort St. George to Smee, Resident, Anjengo, October 1809, p.2423.

148. Anjengo Factory Diaries General - 1809, Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay to Anjengo, 5 October 1809, p.359.

149. Ibid., R.I. Goodwin, Secretary to Government, to John Smee, Anjengo, 6 October 1809, p.359.

150. Ibid., R. Coward, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Francis Warden, Fort St. George, 28 December 1809, p.403.

manner in which Smee was called by the government bore ample testimony of the Company's attempt to hush up the case of the linguist.

On the other hand, Colonel Macaulay's health had started to deteriorate as early as July 1809. He had earlier relinquished his office due to ill-health. Major Balckburn acted as Resident of Travancore in his absence.¹⁵¹ Until Colonel Munro was appointed as the Resident.¹⁵² Till the arrival of Munro, the official duties were to be discharged by Dr. Macaulay, a surgeon of the Residency, who had been in close touch with the Travancore Durbar.¹⁵³ Colonel Macaulay thus resigned and handed over the charge of the affairs of Travancore Residency to Dr. Macaulay. He intended to proceed by sea to Bombay and from there take a passage to Cape of Good Hope and then to England.¹⁵⁴ It was widely rumoured that Colonel Macaulay was asked to resign from the Residency of Travancore to settle everything in a friendly manner.¹⁵⁵

151. Political Department, Country Correspondence - 1809, G.H. Barlow, Fort St. George to the Rajah of Travancore, 26 July 1809, p.57.

152. Ibid., Minto to the Rajah of Travancore, March 1810, p.56.

153. Ibid.

154. Political Consultation - 1809, Colonel Macaulay, to Alexander Falconar, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 4 March 1810, p.847.

155. Secret Sundries Travancore - 1809, Dewan, Travancore to Fernandez, linguist, Anjengo, 22 January 1809, p.1861.

The final years of Anjengo:

The Anjengo settlement had ceased to be commercially important long back. The factory and fort house were nearly in ruins. The Company authorities did not release any funds for their repair. The causes which hampered the smooth working of this settlement were various. The cause that sounded the death-knell of the settlement was certainly the dual system of government introduced at Anjengo. The settlement was solely under the control of Bombay government until 1801, when it was officially transferred to the Madras Presidency. But the commercial department continued to be under the Bombay Presidency.¹⁵⁶

However, after the political concerns were placed under the Madras government, there cropped up a number of problems. The Commercial Resident of Anjengo continued to be under Bombay government, whereas the Political Resident was under the Madras government. The existence of such a dual government, independent of each other and accountable for their conduct to the government of two different Presidencies, resulted in a number of inconveniences.¹⁵⁷ The proceedings

156. Anjengo Diary - 1801, George Parry Resident, Anjengo to Robert Woolf, Accountant General, Fort St. George, 29 April 1801, p.100.

157. Anjengo Factory Diaries General - 1809, N.B. Edmonstone, Chief Secretary, Fort William to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay, 10 April 1809, p.203.

and transactions of the Commercial Resident were very often at variance with the system of political measures and arrangements pursued by the Political Resident. Thus the principles of uniformity and concurrence which should regulate the intercourse between the two governments were liable to be infringed.¹⁵⁸

The cold war between Colonel Macaulay and the Resident of Anjengo settlement was the unfortunate result of the system. The collision between the political and commercial authorities ended disastrously. To rectify this mistake, and to curb the unnecessary interference of the Political Resident in the affairs of Anjengo, the Bengal government issued orders prohibiting the interference of military authority in the commercial concerns of the factory of Anjengo.¹⁵⁹ But this did not mend matters. In the wake of the rebellion of Velu Thampi, the Bengal government considered the question of placing the entire residency of Anjengo under the authority of the government of Fort St. George.¹⁶⁰ They asked the Bombay government to forward their opinion too.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., N.B. Edmonstone, Chief Secretary, Fort William to A. Falconar, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 13 May 1809, p.258.

160. Ibid., n.157, p.202.

Smee was not in favour of the transfer of the Residency to Madras government. His preference was for Bombay. Since for centuries there existed commercial intercourse between Anjengo factory and the Travancore Durbar, to the entire satisfaction of the Company and since the Commercial concerns of Anjengo were closely blended with those of the Bombay government Smee held that the transfer was not advisable.¹⁶¹ The next point raised by Smee in favour of continuing under Bombay was that the shipping of the investments would be affected by placing the commercial concerns of Anjengo factory under Fort St. George, and thus heavy loss will be incurred by the Company.¹⁶² Further he pointed out that during fair season of the year from October to May communication by sea from Bombay to Anjengo can be performed within few days. Consequently the investments of the Anjengo factory can be consigned to the Presidency in time to be forwarded to Europe by the ships usually dispatched from India in the month of January and in case of emergency, ships from Bombay can easily without loss of time stop at this factory to complete their chartered tonnage.¹⁶³ Moreover,

161. Anjengo Diary - 1809, Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay, 22 May 1809, p.6372.

162. Ibid.

163. Anjengo Factory Diaries General - 1809, Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo to Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay, 22 May 1809, p.206.

it was considered that the European imports of woollens and metals for sale would not be beneficial to the Company,¹⁶⁴ if it was to be sent from Madras, which was quite far away. Especially, the long and contrary winds while making the circuit of the island of Ceylon to come to Anjengo might prove to be disastrous for the Company.¹⁶⁵

After carefully studying the points raised by Smee against the transfer of the Residency to Fort St. George, Francis Warden, the Chief Secretary of Bombay, informed Bengal government his opinion on the subject. According to him Bombay Presidency was regarded as the parent authority to all the British ports to the southward as far as Cape Comorin. He presumed that the assortment of their cargoes depended upon a variety of contingencies and often underwent alterations for which numerous correspondence were made frequently. Therefore the authority should be vested in the Presidency to which the ship had been consigned, where the homeward cargo had been arranged and from where the final orders must issue, in order to avoid delay or confusion.¹⁶⁶

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid.

166. Anjengo Diary - 1809, Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, Bombay to Edmonstone, Fort William, 24 June 1809, pp. 6383-6384.

Besides the above, the home government had vested Bombay government with the control of Travancore forests. Great national importance was attached by His Majesty's government and the Company to the timber resources of Malabar for the purpose of naval construction.¹⁶⁷ England had undertaken construction of war ships considerably and for this, and for constructing a ship yard at Bombay, it was most necessary that the Anjengo settlement abounding in timber and other valuable marine production must be only under the Bombay government.¹⁶⁸ Further, the factory of Anjengo had been allied to the Presidency of Bombay for more than a century and during this period, there existed uninterrupted harmony between them. The relations between the Rajah and the Company officials of Anjengo were always cordial except during the last few years. The respect which was shown by the rebels to the British flag at Anjengo during the height of the troubles was ample proof of their cordial relations.¹⁶⁹ These were all additional reasons for the commercial concerns of Anjengo to be under Bombay.

Nevertheless, Francis Warden stated that the Political or commercial relations of Anjengo should either be placed

167. Ibid., pp.6387-6388.

168. Ibid., p.6389.

169. Ibid., p.6391.

exclusively under the authority of Bombay government or under the Madras government.¹⁷⁰ The existence of the dual government in Anjengo was decried by him. But he left the choice to the Court of Directors and authorities in the mother country.¹⁷¹

However, the Governor-in-Council thought it expedient to transfer the control of the factory of Anjengo to the authority of the Government of Fort St. George.¹⁷² The Resident of Travancore was charged with its duties. Instructions were transmitted to Bombay about the same. Moreover, Fort St. George informed Bombay Castle that the Governor-in-Council had decided to place the commercial factory of Anjengo equally with the Political Resident at Travancore under the control of Madras.¹⁷³ The reason given for the change was that there were "proofs of the evils alleged to have resulted from the inconvenient operation of the authority of the Bombay government at the factory of Anjengo".¹⁷⁴

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid., p.6393.

172. Anjengo Diary - 1810, Dr. Macaulay, Acting Resident, Travancore to R. Coward, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 17 June 1810, p.3733.

173. Ibid., A. Falconar, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 18 September 1810, p.5179.

174. Ibid.

The Bombay government was displeased at the transfer. According to the minutes of 11 October of Bombay Castle, request was made as to "what may have weighed with the supreme and the Madras government to lead to their conclusion, as to the incapability of a system that had stood the test of such a lengthened series of year."¹⁷⁵ The Bengal government clarified that the transfer was effected owing to the evils arising out of the co-existence of two distinct British authorities in Travancore, placed respectively under the control of different Presidencies,¹⁷⁶ and not due to mal-administration or misconduct of the officers of that factory as wrongly presumed by Bombay government.¹⁷⁷

It was considered that the legitimate exercise of power vested in a Commercial Resident, not subject to the control of the Political Resident or responsible to the other government which was charged with the political concerns, would definitely produce evils in the system.¹⁷⁸ This was what happened at Anjengo settlement. Thus Bombay government was cleansed off their guilty feelings towards the Anjengo

175. Ibid., 11 October 1810, p.5186.

176. Ibid., N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William to A. Falconer, Chief Secretary, to government, Fort St. George, 11 August 1810, p.5183.

177. Ibid., p.5184.

178. Ibid., pp.5183-5184.

settlement. Blames were heaped on the system and not on any person or government. Munro the Resident at Travancore was also cautioned about the magnitude of his duty in Travancore. Later the Madras government communicated to Munro about their resolution to abolish the factory of Anjengo, as it was becoming a liability and its duties to be performed by an Assistant under the general supervision of the Political Resident of Travancore.¹⁷⁹

Arrangements were adopted with respect to the servants who were to be returned to Bombay, provision of public investment and the disposal of the Company's merchandise. Munro was of the view that the abolition of the Commercial Residency of Anjengo would result in the reduction of expenses and the removal of many obstacles to the proper administration of the officers of Travancore.¹⁸⁰ The transfer of Anjengo to Travancore Residency was delayed due to the demise of the Rajah of Travancore on 7 November 1810.¹⁸¹ Also, Coward the Chief of Anjengo kept on delaying the transfer until the pepper warehouse was empty because if the factory, fort and apartment

179. Political Department, Despatches from England - 1813, Court of Directors to Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 23 February 1813, p.90.

180. Political Consultation - 1810, Alexander Falconar, Fort St. George to Captain John Munro, 23 March 1810, p.855.

181. Anjengo Diary - 1810, R. Coward, Resident, Anjengo to Bombay, 9 November 1810, p.6273.

were handed over to the Resident of Travancore, then no one would be responsible for the pepper in the warehouse, as once the transfer was done, then he would have no contract or authority in the settlement, not even a place to reside in.¹⁸²

While the negotiations were being carried on Coward died in Anjengo.¹⁸³ He was the last Resident of Anjengo. After him the entire settlement was transferred to the Political Resident of Travancore, John Munro.¹⁸⁴ A committee had assembled at Anjengo for the inspection of the public property. Munro gave a few particulars of the civil and military establishment at Anjengo to the Madras government.

The military establishment of the Bombay Residency at Anjengo were to be sent to Bombay, with the exception of such invalids and prisoners who might wish to reside at Anjengo. According to information given by the late Coward every individual of the military establishment at Anjengo wanted to reside there itself. They did not want to leave Anjengo. Therefore Munro concluded that every one of them

182. Political Consultation - 1811, R. Coward, Resident, Anjengo to Travancore, 20 November 1811, pp.119-120.

183. Ibid., John Munro, Resident, Travancore to Chief Secretary to government, Fort St. George, 1 March 1811, p.887.

184. Anjengo Diary General - 1809, Coward, Anjengo to Francis Warden, Bombay, 28 December 1809, p.403.

were invalids, but on close scrutiny it was found that there were only 8 men belonging to the local corps who were useless and as the length of the service of men gave them in general no claims upon the services, all of them were discharged. Two old men who had served nearly 20 years were to be considered on the principle of humanity to be pensioned.¹⁸⁵ Previously ten lascars were maintained at Anjengo upon the military establishment for the service of the flagstaff. Out of this six were discharged and only four men retained, as they seemed to be sufficient for that duty.¹⁸⁶ Salary was paid to the locals and Lascars before discharging them. According to the statement of the military establishment a sergeant together with the four Lascars were to be received on the invalid establishment of the Madras army and fixed at Anjengo. Authority was given for paying the entire invalids and prisoners at Anjengo from the military department.¹⁸⁷

As for the civil establishment maintained at Anjengo everyone was discharged, except one writer, Derkes Brandenbourg who was given his former salary of Rs.50/-. The

185. Political consultation - 1811, John Munro, Resident, Travancore to Chief Secretary to government, Fort St. George, 1 March 1811, p.889.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid., pp.890 - 891.

settlement required only one Writer, a Cutwal and 4 peons at a police establishment, after the settlement was transferred to Travancore and the allowance of Rs.35/- monthly paid by the Bombay government for the repair of the houses and for contingent expenses at Anjengo were discontinued from the end of February 1811.¹⁸⁸

While going through the inventory submitted by Coward exhibiting the number and valuation of the buildings, stores and merchandise which were to be transferred, Munro felt that the valuation of the buildings and stores had been the same as that stood upon the Anjengo books for a long period of time and was entirely inapplicable to their state when delivered, as most of them were unserviceable and of no value whatsoever.¹⁸⁹ He felt that public property appertaining to Anjengo should be received on the accounts of the Presidency of Fort St. George according to its value at the period of the transfer of that factory for it was unreasonable that unserviceable articles should be received at valuation made many years ago, bearing no reference what ever to their actual condition.¹⁹⁰

188. Ibid., p.892.

189. Political Consultation - 1812 Munro, Padanellum to, Chief Secretary, Fort St. George, 29 December 1812, p.4017.

190. Ibid., p.4018

Munro sealed up the warehouse at Anjengo and created a committee of officers for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity and value of the whole of the property that was transferred to Munro. As military officers were not competent to determine the value of the Company's merchandize which constituted a part of the property, instructions were given to the Committee to insert all articles of that description according to the value which they bore in the Commercial Resident's inventory ascertaining their number and quantity and remarks on their condition.¹⁹¹ On the whole the abolition of the Commercial Residency at Anjengo resulted in a direct saving of Rs.23,037/-¹⁹² for the Company.

The inhabitants of Anjengo on the eve of the transfer were very poor. No tax had been imposed on them, with the exception of the contract for the sale of tobacco. They had incurred heavy loss as a result of the transfer of the settlement from Bombay Residency. Munro felt that they were entitled for a claim on the benevolent protection of the government. The exemption from customs benefitted them but they wanted "more capital and still more industry and moral habits to avail themselves of".¹⁹³ A committee of

191. Ibid., p.4019.

192. Ibid., p.4036.

193. Ibid., p.4037.

officers assembled at Anjengo as requested by Munro and ascertained the value of the property that was transferred. According to the statement submitted the valuation was Rs.1,99,670.66¹⁹⁴ which was much less than the valuation submitted by Coward Rs.3,94,084.¹⁹⁵

Thus by the year 1812, the historical factory and fort of Anjengo which had survived the onslaughts of the natives and the European powers and had seen the ups and downs of Attingal Kingdom and the Travancore Durbar and which was an important commercial military and strategic centre for the English Company on the Malabar coast came to an end. This end did not come about all of a sudden. It started with the decreasing trends in trade and aggravated due to the incapacity of the settlements officials to play a major political role, after the amalgamation of Attingal with the Kingdom of Travancore and especially during the Carnatic and Mysore wars. In fact, it was the amalgamation that brought about the gradual decline of Anjengo, mainly on account of the failure of the Anjengo Chiefs to impose

194. Ibid., Proceedings of the committee assembled at Anjengo to report upon the value of the property and effects belonging to that settlement, consisting of merchandize, military stores, building and dead stock assembled from 11 February, 22 March, 29 December, 1812, pp.4047 - 4076

195. Ibid., p.4020.

their will over the Rajah of Travancore. Therefore the decline of Anjengo has to be attributed primarily to the decision of the Rajah to annex Attingal.

As Anjengo was actually situated outside Travancore, away from the new centres of power, personified by the Rajah of Travancore, it was but natural that there developed in the course of time the necessity for the appointment of an English Resident at Travancore itself, to avoid delay in communication, to speed up political decisions, etc. This appointment by the Company's higher authorities was all the more necessitated by the changed political situation in Travancore due mainly to the Carnatic and Mysore wars. The logical outcome of this measure, was the dual system of English power in the region and the diminishing importance of Anjengo officials, to the advantage of the Resident at Travancore. Having failed to impress at the political front, the Anjengo officials and the Bombay Presidency made a last-ditch attempt to save the settlement by highlighting the commercial interests and advantages of Anjengo in the region. But, given the declining and dismal trade performance of the settlement, the authorities at Calcutta decided to wind up the factory altogether, just in order to prevent Anjengo from becoming a big liability to the Company.

LEGACY OF ANJENGO

The Anjengo settlement which had a continuous history of over a century was the most solidly established of the English East India Company's settlement on the entire Malabar Coast. In the earlier period, this factory was second to Bombay Castle. Biggest and the most productive in terms of profit, this settlement had arrogated to itself a major part of the entire foreign trade of the Travancore region in the course of its history and exerted some influence over the political fortunes of the land.

The English East India Company established themselves in Travancore in pursuit of lucrative trade in pepper, the "black gold" which Europe could not produce. At the time of their arrival, the country was experiencing the extremes of the caste system in which legal sanction was given to the Brahmins over the other castes, which resulted almost in the slavery of large sections of the lower castes. Moreover the country was in disarray due to the aggressive and terrorising activities unleashed by the poolas who often revolted against the sovereigns of the land. The Attingal kingdom was governed by the Queen, who was related to the Rajah of

Travancore. But she was time and again under the influence of the poolas who had become an authority to be reckoned with. The Rajah of Travancore whose dominions lay nearby did not interfere in the affairs of the Attingal until 1730.

The English soon realised the chaotic situation in Attingal and its whereabouts. The Company however decided to overcome all the obstacles and carry out their plans. It was mainly the diplomacy of John Brabourne his adaptability and versatility that paved the way for the Company to acquire footholds in the area where they finally managed to construct a fort at Anjengo to support, protect and extend their trade. While the fortification of the settlement was in progress they had to face stiff opposition from the natives who suspected their intentions. The unfinished factory was attacked by the Queen's forces. Many obstacles were thrown in their way of settling permanently at Anjengo. Provisions were stopped and the entire settlement was blockaded,¹ thinking that this would convince the English about the grave dangers that lurked on the coast and frighten them into leaving the factory. In spite of all such drawbacks and obstacles, they persevered and continued with the

1. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Brabourne, Chief, Anjengo to Court of Directors, June 1704, p.8.

ification and, in the process, convinced the natives and Queen of Attingal that they meant business.

Apart from indigenous hostility, the Company had to stiff opposition from the other European powers, who competed to obtain footholds of trade in the region. In the earlier period of their history, the Company had to counter keen rivalry from the Dutch. But the industrious Company officials took care to keep away from all troubles and tried to trade peacefully. But whenever there was war or peace at home between the English and other European powers it had its instantaneous repercussions in India and before in the Malabar too.

On the whole the Company's aim in the earlier period of their history in Attingal was straightforward trade. They deviated from this policy in later years due to the changing circumstances. However, the Company's policy at Anjengo was characterised predominantly by the idea of non-intervention in local conflicts. They interfered in local affairs only when matters became worse and when assistance was sought by the Queen or the Rajah. The English maintained strict neutrality and a non-interfering stand when Martanda Varma captured Attingal Kingdom,² and the Rajah of Travancore had

Secretariat Inward letter Book - 1743, Chief, Anjengo to Bombay Castle, 23 May 1743, p.166.

imprisoned the Queen of Attingal.³ But they took care to see that the Rajah's policy towards them was beneficial. In fact they hoped that the establishment of the Rajah of Travancore's supremacy in the region would create the necessary conditions for them to trade peacefully and more effectively. However, the relation between the Company and the Rajah was very different from their earlier relation with the Queen. On many occasions, the English swallowed their pride and tried their best to keep Martanda Varma in good humour. By their efforts in course of time they succeeded in winning Martanda Varma to their side. When Martanda Varma sought their help against the poolas it was more or less readily given. They further adopted the policy of sending appeal after appeal to the Rajah fearing that otherwise, he might put a stop to the pepper trade⁴ without which their very existence in this part of India would be of no use to the home government. They wanted pepper and they were prepared to be subjected to any abuses, if they could obtain them.

During the early days of the Company's implantation at Anjengo, the English had contemptuously referred to the Malabaris as cowards. But very soon they were compelled to

3. Ibid.

4. Military Consultation - 1757, John Spencer, Chief, Anjengo to George Pigot, Fort St. George, 31 May 1757, p.556.

change this opinion, by force of circumstances. The first shock came when the natives attacked the fort while fortification was in progress. But greater shock was in store for them. It came in the form of Attingal massacre where 150 British officers were brutally murdered by the natives.⁵ This act taught the Company the extent to which the natives would go to take revenge. Though they were shocked to the core, they did not take any measures to personally apprehend the culprits. They did not even take the law into their hands, as they realised that the massacre was partly the outcome of the nasty behaviour of their own Company servants.⁶ Instead, they appealed to the Queen of Attingal for justice, in spite of the fact that she and her predecessor had earlier extracted exaggerated financial and other benefits from them in return for the permission to trade and build a fort. After the amalgamation of Attingal with the Travancore kingdom, they made similar appeals to the Rajah of Travancore.

The Anjengo settlement by virtue of its being also an arms and ammunitions centre played a pivotal role in the Carnatic and Mysore wars. Arms and ammunitions were sent from this fort to armies stationed at various points. Soldiers

5. Despatches to England - 1722, Fort St. George to the Court of Directors, London, 3 February, 1722, p.68.

6. Factory Records Miscellaneous - 1721, Bombay Castle, to the Court of Directors, 28 December 1721, p.145.

were also sent from the settlement. The army used to disembark at Anjengo from Bombay Castle and from there they proceeded forward.⁷ All through the wars Anjengo was used as a depot for military stores and the point from which first news of outward bound ships reached Madras.⁸ Every movement of the enemy was relayed to the military general from Anjengo. In this way the settlement played a crucial military role not only in the Carnatic wars but also in the destruction of the Mysore power which was a menace to Travancore and also the English. The role played by Anjengo especially during the Mysore wars is worth noting, though hitherto historians have given scant attention to it. Certainly, the Anjengo settlement contributed in its own way to the undoing of the Mysore Sultan.

As far as the administration of the Anjengo settlement was concerned, it had its own complications in spite of the fact that it was fortunate in having the services of many able officers. It was almost impossible to instil discipline into the wayward company servants, including sometimes the Chief of Anjengo himself, who was directly responsible for

7. Military Consultations - 1767, Charles Bouchier, Fort St. George to Thomas Whitehill, Anjengo, 5 September 1767, p.843.

8. Military Consultations - 1775, Nicholas Stackhouse, Chief, Anjengo to Fort St. George, March 1775, p.325.

the administration of the factory. They indulged extensively in private trade, which was detrimental to the Company's interests. Towards the fag end of the factory, there was acute difference between the Political Resident at Travancore and the Commercial Resident of Anjengo, each repudiating the other and exhibiting a bellicose attitude. The existence of dual government, one under the control of the Madras government and the other under the control of the Bombay government was a lack of administrative insight.⁹ According to the rules, the Commercial Resident was to promote the commercial policies and the Political Resident, the political policies of the Company. But as there was no clear cut demarcation with respect to their power, the Political Resident infringed on the area of the Commercial Resident and this resulted in bad blood flowing between them. But the open war between the two, made them a laughing stock among the natives. This demoralised the Company officials. Such a situation was directly responsible for the winding up of the factory.

Though the primary aim of the Company had always been commercial success, yet later the realisation dawned that without political control or at least political influence,

9. Anjengo Diary - 1810, N.B. Edmonstone, Fort William, to A. Falconar, Chief Secretary, 11 August 1810, p.5183.

profitable trade was impossible. In the process, they effected important innovations in the judicial, medical, communications and security systems of the country. By far the most important reforms were carried out in the judicial sphere. All these innovations and reforms had a profound impact on the local society.

The English established a fixed system for the administration of justice in Travancore. Travancore since earliest times was subjected to a Hindu government and to Hindu laws.¹⁰ The drawback was that the Hindu laws formed a part of the religious code of the people and in several instances founded less upon the general principles of morality, equity and jurisprudence that apply to all descriptions of people than upon the peculiar dogmas of the Hindu religion. Many acts declared as capital offence by the Hindu law were not deemed criminal by the Christians and Muslims. Subjecting these men to a penal code entirely repugnant to their manners, laws and religion was unjust and oppressive.¹¹

So, the English felt the necessity of adopting separate codes of criminal laws for every religious group. Muslims

10. Political Consultation - 1811, John Munro, Resident, Padanellum, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, 22 October 1811, p.3853.

11. Ibid., p.3854.

were directed to be tried by the laws of Quran and Hindus by the Shastras.¹² This gave a tendency for the Christians who were numerous in Travancore and also the Parsees and the Jews to be tried by their respective codes of criminal law. As such a diversity of laws was complicating the administration of justice, it became necessary to adopt one code of penal law for the whole country. It was therefore decided to modify the Hindu laws so as to make it applicable to all classes of subjects.¹³ At first it was thought to limit capital punishment to those crimes such as treason, murder and gang robbery which were punished with death. For this, the officials decided to refer to a compilation of Hindu laws "Vivadoo Malikum" containing a full exposition of the Hindu laws.¹⁴ This work constituted the most approved system of Hindu law in Travancore. Translations were made into the Malayalam language and circulated. The rules of trial and judgement were laid down with much minuteness in the Vaivada Malikum. Thus, the English tried to give a uniform system of justice to all the people in the country.

12. Ibid., p.3856.

13. Ibid., p.3858.

14. Ibid., p.3869.

Further the English changed the laws of inheritance of the country. According to the law of Travancore, the Rajah inherited the property of any wealthy man in his country in the event of his death. Moreover during his life time, the owners could not dispose their property at their discretion.¹⁵ Thus the people of Travancore lived in a state of insecurity concerning their property. The Rajah of Travancore was regarded as the heir to every man who was reported to be wealthy. On the decease of such a person, not only are the walls of his house broken, but even the foundations were dug up to search for treasure.¹⁶ The family members were sometimes cruelly tortured to extract a confession of the place wherein the deceased might have concealed his wealth. This peculiar custom stunted the overall progress of the people and impoverished the state. Later on even the poor families were subjected to such a practice. No family considered themselves secure from the visits of the Rajah's people to rummage for money or valuables, upon the death of the member of the family.

15. Foreign Secret Department Consultations - 1805, Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore to Lord Cornwallis, 6 September 1805, p.6.

16. Ibid., p.8.

It was Colonel Macaulay, the Political Resident who decided to root out this odious practice which was oppressive, injurious, and unproductive. Macaulay felt that it was the "solemn obligation of moral duty inseparately connected with the honour and reputation of the British name".¹⁷ He convinced the Dewan of Travancore of the universal satisfaction which the surrender of this practice could result over the country. The abolition of this practice would also enhance the comfort and standard of living of the inhabitants and also augment the dignity of the Rajah. After many discussions, the Dewan gave his consent and offered to carry into effect such measures as might be deemed advisable to conform to every subject "of Travancore the full and free use of his property during his life with the right of disposition at his death".¹⁸ Macaulay advised the Dewan to discuss the issue with the leading citizens of Travancore and with their consent to prepare for the publication of a proclamation that should embrace and define the subjects aimed at, and the proclamation should be engraved on copper and affixed to every public cutchery in Travancore.¹⁹ The Rajah gave full

17. Ibid., pp.8-9.

18. Ibid., p.10.

19. Ibid.

consent to the carrying out of the proposed measure. Macaulay informed Cornwallis "that establishment of the security of the property will ensure to the inhabitants of Travancore the safe enjoyment of a variety of benefits too obvious to dwell upon, from the enjoyment of which every people deprived of that invaluable security seems necessarily excluded".²⁰ Thus the English succeeded in doing away with some age old Travancorean customs and in introducing a new system of justice, which revolutionised the entire society.

The English also revolutionised medicine. The innovations in treatment introduced by the English was something new to the illiterate natives who usually resorted to quacks and witch doctors when they fell sick. Not only in Travancore but also in the entire coast the most dreaded disease was small-pox, which the natives feared more than plague.²¹ They thought that this disease was a curse of the Goddess. From the very beginning of the settlement, the Company had doctors and surgeons in their service. The discovery of vaccine against small-pox heralded a new era in medical science. Surgeons of Anjengo tried to get the co-operation of the Rajah of Travancore and Dewan to popularise the vaccine. In the

20. Ibid., p.11.

21. Military Consultation - 1804, George Euchar, Fort St. George to Colonel Macaulay, Political Resident, Travancore, 26 September 1804- p.4524.

year 1804, Dewan Velu Thampi allowed himself to be inoculated with the vaccine to set an example to others. Inoculation was introduced in Travancore under the leadership of Dr. Macaulay, Surgeon of Anjengo. The Dewan decided to popularise this idea. He intimated his intention to bestow adequate rewards upon all practitioners "who may be disposed to carry on the profession of vaccinating in proportionate to the numbers to whom they may have successfully communicated the infection".²² The Rajah of Travancore himself requested for the vaccination of persons of his family for the purpose of more nearly "observing the progress and effects of this safe and efficacious preventative against small-pox, a disease which within Travancore appears to be peculiarly loathsome and fatal".²³ Thus with the help of the English the dreaded disease was brought under control even though not fully eradicated. For the first time a foreign system of medicine gained a strong foothold in Travancore, due mainly to the Company servants.

Another very important service rendered by the English at Anjengo was the establishment of postal services. Earlier Pattamars were entrusted to carrying letters because of the

22. Ibid., Colonel Macaulay, Travancore to Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, Fort William, 30 August 1804, p.4522.

23. Ibid., p.4523.

caste immunity they enjoyed.²⁴ Later Hircarrahs were maintained for communicating informations between one settlement and another. It was in the year 1766 regular postal system was introduced by Clive for conveying the official communications of the Company as well as private letters of Europeans. The establishment of post office at Fort St. George and its dependencies were divided into three divisions.²⁵

- 1st Division - From Madras north to Ganjam
- 2nd Division - From Madras southward to Anjengo
- 3rd Division - From Madras west to Vellore.

From Madras to Anjengo the distance was 500 miles and was divided into 56 stages and 168 Hircarrahs and 32 Masaulchy were appointed. A Post Master General was appointed at Madras to supervise the activities of the subordinate post offices.²⁶ The English therefore had to be credited with the establishment of post office in the Malabar which made communication easy and helped the people to come into contact with each other, though in those early days the postal organisation was quite primitive.

24. Anjengo Factory Records and Diaries - 1751, Letter sent through Pattamars from Rick Lecker, Cotata, to Chief, Anjengo, 18 August 1751, p.5.

25. Henry Davison Love, Indian Record Series, Vestiges of Madras, (London, 1913) III, p.340. Three tappal peons were appointed to each stage and to some stage addition of Masaulchy (sweepers or peons) were made.

26. Ibid.

As far as the security system in the country was concerned, the establishment of regular a police force was another feather to the cap of the English. Police system was associated with imparting justice. In the early days, as noted earlier, primitive ways of imparting justice had prevailed in Travancore. When the judicial system was reformed, the necessity for an organised police force became the need of the day in order to maintain law and order. Initially the function of the police force was to assist the revenue authorities in revenue collection, to prevent crimes and to administer law and order. The Company's territories were often infested with thieves. For their apprehension, in the early days, Warren Hastings had entrusted police function to the influential Zemindars.²⁷ As this method of policing proved to be defective, Cornwallis reorganised the system with a Thana as a unit and a Darogah as its head. As the personnel of the police were very badly paid, they indulged in corruption and forcible extortion of money from local people. Bribe became the order of the day.²⁸ The Police system was overhauled by Lord Minto in the year 1811. He advised the Madras Government to change the police divisions

27. Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company - Vol.II, p.71.

28. Ibid.

of the country, recommending Courts with native judges.²⁹

Apart from establishing the police force, the English had earlier introduced the modern military system for their defence against enemies. Strict discipline was instilled among the soldiers. Modern techniques of warfare were imparted to the natives by the English. The military equipments were varied and reflected different grades of evolution. The technical progress achieved were incommensurate with the military advancement of the age.³⁰ Principal weapons were rifles, swords, grenades, lances, cannons etc.

One field in which the English East India Company initially showed no interest was education. In the earlier period, they were quite indifferent to the state of education in the country. None of the Company records mentioned anything about the efforts of the Company to educate its natives.

29. Public Consultations - 1811, Resident, Travancore to Chief Secretary to the Government, Fort St. George, 9 August 1811, p.3046.

30. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, John Camiharan, Gunner, Anjengo to William Wake, 15 September 1747, p. 245. He claimed that he could "delinate any kind of fortification by either the interior or exterior poligan, he also knows projectlies and supply them to gunnery which he knows in theory and practise" besides he also claimed proficiency in Geometry, Trignometry, Navigation, Surveying and measuring. He also received excellent instructions for attack and defense of towns and making gun powder and all manner of fire works and warlike stores.

Pre-occupied with commerce and politics, they did not consider the education of the locals as their responsibility. Hence education did not find any place in their official programme till much later. It was only in the year 1804, that the London Missionary Society opened numerous schools in India. In the year 1809, the acting Bishop of Cochin, the most Rev. Friar Thomas de Noronha, sought the permission from Smee, the Commercial Resident of Anjengo, soliciting his aid for opening a school at Anjengo.³¹

The advent of the English also had a profound influence on the economic and social life of the country. The pepper trade of Attingal was the first stepping stone for English expansion. The trade revitalised local markets and also created new markets which increased manifold the production of pepper in the region. Native rulers were eager to participate in the trade to enhance their revenue from customs and other duties. So they delivered more and more articles of trade besides pepper, such as cloth, timber and coir etc. to the Company. Vast quantities of coarse cloth from Travancore were sent to Bombay to sent to England.³² Besides cloth,

31. Anjengo Factory General - 1809, Rev. Friar Thomas de Noronha, Cochin to Smee, Commercial Resident, Anjengo, 21 November 1809, p.368.

32. Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, Salisbury, Anjengo to Court of Directors, 18 December 1736, p.119.

another article exported was the timber of Travancore. Timber for the construction of ships at Colaba and Mazagoan docks of Bombay was provided by Travancore.³³ However the assumption of monopoly in pepper trade by the Travancore Rajah dealt a blow not only to private merchants, but also to the English trade ambitions. This resulted in a drastic change in the entire economic life of the country, with the Rajah of Travancore becoming the sole economic power who regulated not only the economic lives of his subjects but also the fortunes of the English.

Earlier, the English had abolished piracy on the Malabar coast, which was crucial to the development of trade in the region. From the first days of the Company's establishment at Anjengo piracy was rampant on the coast. It was a great hindrance to the maritime trade of the Company. It was difficult to identify the pirates. They hoisted red or black flag and impersonated flags of other nationalities. The Anjengo factory faced grave peril due to this. Captain Kydd was the most notorious of them.³⁴ The Company's trade

33. Anjengo Factory General - 1802, Court of Directors, London to Governor-in-Council, 5 May 1802, p.417.

34. John Biddulph, Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago (London, 1907) p.49.

was severely affected by the degradations of the pirates. It goes to the credit of the English for taking vigorous steps to totally annihilate them. Most of them were caught and hanged. In the year 1717, a royal proclamation was published offering a free pardon to all pirates on the coast.³⁵ After this, stray instances of piracy continued in the Malabar coast. But it was never again organised. The Company thus played an important role in totally wiping out the pirates and making the sea smooth for the continuance of Trade.

As far as the social impact of the Company in Travancore was concerned, it goes to the credit of the Company for uplifting the women folk from their immoral drudgery into which they were embedded. Previously, the women in Malabar were not allowed to cover their breasts. With the exception of a few high class women, the rest walked about with uncovered bosoms. This custom was strongly prevalent in the Attingal kingdom where only royal family members had the right to cover their bosoms.³⁶ Besides them, the Christian women were also allowed to cover their bosoms. In Attingal

35. Ibid., p.66.

36. Marco Polo, the Venetian Traveller who visited Kerala wrote about the Women "they are all black and go naked all save a fine cloth worn about the middle - Sir Henry Yule ed. The Book of Marco Polo (London, 1903) II, p.376.

kingdom even the Queen was sparingly clothed. A traveller commented that the Queen wore "only a fine muslin with costly jewels".³⁷

The native women coming into contact with the decently clad English ladies realised their degraded status. Once a woman who was living with an English lady, dressed up in the European fashion and came before the Queen of Attingal with her breasts covered. "The Cruel despot ordered them to be cut off for such a mark of disrespect."³⁸ Under the influence of the English, the native woman desired for reform. Even though it took years for the reform to materialise, yet it has to be noted that without English influence, any change in the status of womanhood was almost unimaginable. The present generation when they hear of semi-clad European ladies, tend to raise their eye-brow not realising that their grandmothers had lived in the same semi clad state many years ago.

Another important area where the English exerted their influence was in the process of erasing out slavery from the country. Christian missionary activities for the diffusion of gospel and the spread of Christianity had a profound impact on the society. The missionaries moved among the common

37. James Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, (London, 1813, 1834) I p.250.

38. Ibid.

people preaching the gospel of Christ and converting them into Christianity. Most of the inhabitants of Anjengo were Christian of the Romish Church, either descended from the Portuguese or converted from the lower tribes of Malabar.³⁹ It was the missionaries who first raised their voice against slavery of the lower tribes. They drew the attention of the public as well as the authorities to this evil. In the whole of Malabar slave trade had been prohibited by the Commissioners during the last decade of the 18th century. Initially this was vehemently opposed by the orthodox sections of the society, who feared such an abolition might undermine their privilege. The English were however able to abolish slavery from Malabar.⁴⁰ It took some years for its implantation but the ground work was done by the officials of the English East India Company. Even though they could be credited with the initiation of such reforms, it is hard to believe that they undertook this work solely on humanitarian grounds without an eye on conversion.

39. Ibid., p.214.

40. William Logan, Malabar (Trivandrum, 1887, 1981) I, p.179. As early as 1792, British Government issued prohibition against dealing in slaves. A person offering "a slave for trade was to be considered a thief. The slave was to be forfeited and person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value."

The Legacy of Anjengo will not be complete without recollecting the memory of two of its most famous celebrities. The first was Robert Orme known as the British Thucydides and the father of Oriental Studies, born at Anjengo in the year 1728. He was none other than the son of Alexander Orme, the Chief of Anjengo.⁴¹ After spending about 19 years in India, Orme returned to England in 1760 and devoted the rest of his life to historical and other pursuits. He died in England in 1801.⁴²

Another fascinating personality who was born at Anjengo in the year 1744 was Eliza Draper,⁴³ immortalised by Lawrence Sterne and Abbe Raynal. She was the daughter of a subordinate officer in the Anjengo settlement named May Scalter.⁴⁴ At a very early age of fourteen, she married Daniel Draper an Indian official who became Marine Paymaster and subsequently after being the Chief of factory at Tellicherry rose to the

41. Arnold Wright and William Lutley Scalter, Sterne's Eliza (London, 1922) p.3.

42. James Forbes, n.37, p.215.

43. The Calcutta Review - Volume CVII July 1898, p.205. Her father was May Scalter and mother Whitehill who was the daughter of Charles Whitehill, Chief of Anjengo from 1725-26. The Scalter's had three children, Eliza or Elizabeth, May and Louisa. Both the parents died while their offsprings were very young. May Scalter died in 1746 and his wife two years later. Eliza was sent to England at the age of ten.

44. Dennis Kincaud, British Social Life in India - 1602-1937 (London, 1938) p.48. "Draper was gloomy, pompous and twenty years elder to Eliza. He was a victim of nerves and suffering from a spasmodic complaint of right arm a sort of writers cramp" - Wright and William Scalter, n.41, p.18.

Second-in-Council in the Presidency.⁴⁵ In England she met Lawrence Sterne and fell in love with him. Sterne like Draper was also very old but he was so bewitched by her personality, that he wrote a series of love letters to her, which were known for its literary value.⁴⁶ The pleasant companionship received a rude jolt when Draper ordered his wife to join him in India. Heartbroken Eliza returned to her husband in Tellicherry, where he was the Chief. Sterne was grieved. He concentrated on writing and brought out "The Sentimental Journey". Soon he fell ill and died.⁴⁷

Eliza had many other admirers of which were John Wilkes, who was connected with the publication of Sterne's

45. Ibid.

46. Wright and William Scalter, n.41, p.47. "You are not handsome Eliza nor is yours a face that will please a tenth part of your beholders but are something more, for I scruple not to tell you, I never saw so intelligent so animated so good a countenance Something in your eyes and voice you possess is a degree more persuasive than any woman I ever saw read or heard of. Your eyes, and the shape of your face which are perfections that must strike the most indifferent Judge"

"I am half in love with you"

47. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

letter,⁴⁸ then Abbe Raynal, a French writer who had been brought up as a priest and who was expelled from the Jesuit Order to which he belonged. She inspired him to pen what was in fact the greatest tribute ever paid by a French man to an English Woman's genius.⁴⁹ James Forbes was another of her admirer.⁵⁰ Draper was suddenly transferred from Tellicherry to Bombay and appointed as a member of Council. At Bombay she was flattered by factors and cadets.⁵¹ Suddenly her husband began to take interest in the housekeeper Mrs. Leeds. Frustrated, Eliza fled from her husband's house and lived for sometime under the protection of Commodore Sir John Clarke.⁵² In 1774, she returned to England, she was received with great enthusiasm by the literary critics of London, it was here she authorised the publication of Sterne's love letters. She died in 1778 in Bristol at a young age of thirty-five.⁵³

Though the memory of Eliza Draper and Robert Orme may still occasionally linger in the minds of men, yet Anjengo

48. Ibid., p.172.

49. Ibid., p.177. "When I saw Eliza I experienced a sensation unknown to me, it was too warm to be no more than friendship, it was too pure to be love".

50. James Forbes, n.37, p.251. According to him, her "refined taste and elegant accomplishments require no encomiums from my pen".

51. Dennis Kincaid, n.44, p.48.

52. Wright and William Scalter, n.41, p.149.

53. Dennis Kincaid, n.44, p.48. Eliza Draper was the celebrate heroine of the famous novel "A Sentimental Journey - The Journal to Eliza" by Laurence Sterne (London, 1969)

itself which gave birth to them has sunk into insignificance. The present condition of the fort is pathetic. The imposing structure is still intact. On the sea-side there are only seven imposing pillars. All that is left is squalid huts with half clad natives and the wide street is deserted. The grave outside the fort wall is intact though knee deep covered with dirt and leaves.⁵⁴ A portion of the old flagstaff stands erect willing the passers-by to take a look at the old dilapidated fort. There is a dungeon which is sealed by the Archaeological Department. The old fort is deserted covered by thick undergrowth. There is a well inside the fort. The crumbling fort still stands erect with backwater on one side and the ocean on the other side. The stink that emanates from the fishermen's hovel around the fort is a far cry from the prestigious position it commanded during ancient times. This once magnificent fort had thus become a forgotten relic of the past. Abbe Raynal's rhapsody has failed to stand the test of time. He wrote !

54. See Illustration.]]

"Anjengo thou art nothing but thou hast given birth to Eliza, a day will come when the staples of Commerce founded by the Europeans on the coast of Asia will exist no more, before a few centuries are elapsed the grass will cover them or the Indians avenged will have built upon their ruin. But if my work be destined to have any duration the name of Anjengo will not be obliterated from the memory of men".⁵⁵

55. Abbe Raynal, A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies (London, 1783)II, p.86.

A P P E N D I C E S

Translate of a Contract, concluded with the Queen of Attinga
Dated June 29th An^o. 1694.

Because the English[†] I callie hither, have alway bin obedient to mee, & do her by
grant unto them the following priviledges; I give unto them the hill of the Souges, that is
at Anjengo, to fortify with stone, & to abide there for ever; And I will send thither my
officer, to see forth & appoint with stone Land-marks the limits of Land that belonyes mee
that on each side the said hill the Empr^e may build warehouses for their goods, And houses for
their people to dwell in, within which limits they shall rule, without any impeachment, being
obedient to mee; I give unto the Empr^e all the pepper in my Country, that they
may contract, & pay for it, at the price I grant; And if any other do buy pepper, and
carry it forth by sea, then shall the Empr^e use diligence, & take the vessels & goods, And one
half that is taken they shall give unto mee, & the other half the Empr^e shall have;
For every candy of pepper that the Empr^e buy, they shall pay me 5 Ruja; & for other goods
that they imbarque, or disembarque, they shall pay Custome to me 2^½ Ruja; Once
every year before they weigh pepper, they shall visit me at 7^½ Requerey; and they shall
take my people to be present at the weighing of pepper; and for the pepper weighed they shall pay
Custome to my officers; And the pepper that is weighed they may rip off when they please;
Any English vessels that shall be ship-wrecked in my dominions, shall be divided, half for
me, & half for the Empr^e; They shall give passports to the Merchants of my dominions;
& if because of those passports the Dutch take the vessels, the English shall amitt^e for the
boats & goods to the Merchants; And so I ordered this Contract to be made in writing
to the English Empr^e at Luileon this 29 of June, 1694.

* Anjengo Factory Records - 1704-1749, June 29, 1694, p. 12. -
National Archives, Delhi, Microfilm.

152 86c 13
 - Fort St. George, June, 1721. 81-6/

Codervompilla, who is one of the head men, with some more Inhabitants and order'd them to make peace with the English and make satisfaction for all damages done them which they accordingly did. On the 14th-Aprill the Governour with severall other Gentlemen came with 150 soldiers to see me, when they arriv'd at my house the above namd Codervompilla with some Inhabitants combin'd together and fell upon them and cut them all off, which was unknown to me or any of my attendants. As soon as I heard what a treacherous thing the Inhabitants had been guilty of to the English especially at such a time, I with my Family and my Chief man Venga Mutapilla fled into another dominions and have since wrote the Inhabitants that if the English will come and live there as usuall I would return, otherwise continue where I was. I therefore desire you will send some people with forces with all speed and when you arrive I will come with my force and give you all the assistance I can and comply with anything that you shall require, and desire you'll consider it well and send me an answer per the Bearer Kisna Braminy with all speed.

- 23/ Ship Shrowsbury Cap^t John D'Mat arriv'd from Maldives.
- 24/ Rec^d a Gen^l Letter from the Deputy Gov^r & Council of Fort St. David dated the 18th instant.
- " Ship Modena Bux Sheik Allee sail'd for Bengall.
- 25/ Ship St. Lewis Cap^t John Bern Commander arriv'd from Pondich.
- 27/ Ship St. Marcus Coja Avakeen Noquesah sail'd for Bengall.
- " Ship Good Hope Chindadre Cap^t Edw^d Bell sail'd to ditto.
- " Ship St. Lewis Cap^t John Bern Comm^r sail'd to ditto.
- 28/ Ship Jaggerai Colloway Chittee owner arr^d from Pondicherry.

APPENDIX III

TRANSLATE OF AN AGREEMENT WRITTEN IN A SILVER OLA INTO
 BY THE PRINCESS OF ATTINGAL AND EZACHIEL KING ESQ.
 5 APRIL 1729.*

"On the 25th Medam 904 has been wrote this. This is the term agreed for the continuation of Union of the English Company with the Princess of Attingah. That all past accounts to the Duties, Customs and all other things agreeable to a writing passed between the princess mother who had born in the planet called Ashwedy and the chief John Brabourne are to be continued and from the year next ensying of 905 (1750) the Company will present yearly with 75 venetians to the princess as soon after they can begin to receive pepper in the assistance of my writers - to each candy they will give me the custom of five rajeess/50 Chakrams from which I allow 20 percent to the Company. The chief must have good-will and deligence to make the trade more augmented that by which means the estate may have more profits. All pepper that may have in my country I will cause to be transported to the Fort of Anjengo free of any embarrassment whatever in these territories - and the Company must not give to any other person but to the English Company - In witness I Tevan Changaran writer to the Princess by her royal order have wrote this olla of agreement with my own hand in the govern of Chief Ezachiel King - Shri Tullam"

* Anjengo Diary - 1803. Translate of an agreement written in a silver ola into by the Princess of Attingal and Ezachiel King Esq. Anjengo, 5 April 1729. 20 January 1803, pp.15-16. Tamilnadu Archives, Madras.

APPENDIX IV

THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF DIET MONEY, SERVANT WAGES, HOUSE RENT
AND SALARY PAID TO THE COMPANY'S SERVANT FROM THE YEAR
1769 TO 1797.*

Year	Diet Money	Servant Wages	House Rent	Salary
1 August 1769				
31 July 1770	5088.0.0	1408.0.92	402.0.0	1508.1.54
11 August 1770				
31 July 1771	5174.0.0	1398.0.38	1534.0.0	1589.2.13
31 August 1773				
30 April 1774	4868.0.0	1392.0.92	835.0.45	1240.0.0
1 July 1776				
30 April 1777	4504.0.07	1339.1.57	392.0.0	1070.0.43
1 May 1780				
30 April 1781	3408.0.0	1312.0.92	480.0.0	960.0.0
1 May 1781				
30 April 1782	3408.0.0	1312.0.92	480.0.0	960.0.0
1 May 1782				
30 April 1783	3435.0.0	1312.0.92	470.0.0	960.0.0
1 May 1784				
30 April 1785	3867.0.0	1372.0.92	440.0.0	957.3.69
1 May 1785				
30 April 1786	3958.0.0	1385.2.25	459.3.52	979.1.05
1 May 1787				
30 April 1787	4248.0.0	1408.0.92	640.0.0	1089.0.60
1 June 1787				
30 April 1788	4248.0.0	1408.0.92	720.0.0	1160.0.0
1 July 1788				
30 April 1789	4458.0.0	1408.0.92	1880.0.0	1217.3.7
1 June 1789				
30 April 1790	4049.0.0	1404.0.92	1520.0.0	13 0.0.0
1 May 1790				
30 April 1791	3215.0.0	1355.0.92	1000.0.0	1097.0.57
1 May 1791				
30 April 1792	2400.0.0	832.0.98	800.0.0	600.0.0

Year		Diet Money	Servant Wages	House Rent	Salary
1 May	1792				
30 April	1793	2160.0.0	800.0.88	480.0.0	480.0.0
1 May	1793				
30 April	1794	2160.0.0	800.0.88	480.0.0	480.0.0
1 May	1794				
30 April	1795	2190.0.0	798.0.88	420.0.0	460.0.0
1 May	1795				
30 August	1796	2250.0.0	802.0.88	440.0.0	520.0.0
1 May	1796				
30 April	1797	2520.0.0	848.0.88	720.0.0	600.0.0

* Compiled from Anjengo Factory Journal of Accounts - 1769-1797, pp.2-167.

APPENDIX V

PRICE CURRENT OF PROVISIONS AND STORES AT THE SETTLEMENT OF
ANJENGO - 31 JANUARY 1797.*

		Rs.	qts.	Reas.
Rice	per Bombay Maund	1	2	0
Eholl	none to be had	-	-	-
Ghee	per Bombay Maund	9	-	-
Bullocks	per each	12	-	-
Sheep	none to be had	-	-	-
Salt	per Bombay Maund	-	2	-
Firewood	per mill billets	2	-	-
Bags	d each	-	1	-
Water	(per leaguer-boat here included)	3	-	-
Candles	per lb	1	-	-
Biscuits	none to be had	-	-	-
Jingely oil	per Maund	12	-	-
Coconut oil	per Maund	4	-	-
Coir	per Maund	4	-	-
Coir rope	per Maund	2	2	-
Plank	Fr Guz	-	2	-
Red Earth		-	-	30
Nails	-	-	2	-
Twine Country		-	2	-

* Anjengo Diary 1797, 31 January 1797, p.21.

APPENDIX VI

DETAILS OF THE REVENUE DERIVED FROM COTTADILLY FARM*

Year	Rented term	amount	Renter
1728	12		(During this period there was no fixed rent. The renter demanded Rs.5093/- for improvements)
1740	6	6	Name not mentioned
1746	6	-	-
1752	4	-	-
1756	3	7000 fanams per annum	Francisco Ferdinand
1757	6	7000 fanams	" "
1764	12	500 rupees	" "
1776	8 years & 48 days	Rs.1001/-	" "
1784	3	Rs.1291/-	" "
1787	3	Rs.1296/-	" "
1790	3	Rs.1960/-	Francisco Mettol.
1793	6	Rs.1960/-	" "
1799	1	Rs.1530/-	Diaz Fernandez
1800	1	Rs.1530/-	Estavo Diaz Fernandez
1801	1	Rs.1530/-	" "
1802	1	Rs.1530/-	" "
1803	1	Rs.1530/-	" "
1804	14	Rs.1635/-	" "

* Compiled from Anjengo Factory Records - 1728 to 1804.

APPENDIX VII

PROCEEDINGS OF A COMMITTEE ASSEMBLED AT ANJENGO BY ORDER OF COLONEL HAYL COMMANDING IN TRAVANCORE TO REPORT UPON AND VALUE THE PROPERTY AND EFFECTS BELONGING TO THE HONBLE COMPANY AT THE SETTLEMENT CONSISTING OF MERCHANDIZE, MILITARY STORES, BUILDINGS AND DEAD STOCK ASSEMBLED FROM 11 FEBRUARY THE 22 MARCH 1811 -- CAPTAIN IV PORTER 2ND BATTALION 9TH REGIMENT N.I. PRESIDENT, LIEUT. THOMAS ARTHUR ENGINEERS MEMBERS, LIEUT. A. CRAWFORD 2ND BATTALION ARTILLERY.*

Anjengo Fort Red-Stone in Chunan, Foundation				
Length	Breadth	Thickness	Cubic Feet	
226	5	2.8.9	10203	East Face exterior wall
226	5	2.7.9	8163	West " " "
226	5	2.7.9	8163	North " " "
226	5	2.7.9	8163	South " " "
147	6	7.6.63/10	6306	Principle interior wall of East face
460	4	4. 6	8280	" "
193	3	3	1737	Cross walls that have foundations
44	4	3 - 6	616	Magazine
226	14	6.6.6	19662	Exteriors wall of above ground East face to foot of parapet.
226	14	6.4.6	14746	" West face "
226	14	6.4.6	14746	" North face "
226	14	6.4.6	14746	" South face "
481	14	- 2.10	19047	Interior principle wall of 3 sides
115	14	- 3.6	5635	" "
20	14	- 3.6	980	George of one Bastian built up (others included in the interior walls)

Breadth Thickness Cubic Feet

Foot of parapet

14	1.-.6	4179	Cross walls
6.1	4.-.4	315	Verandah Pillars
4	8.1.2	2270	Curtain parapet of 3 sides
14	6	11712	Parapet of 4 bastions banquetts.
14	3	6762	Principle Wall of upstairs house
14	2	1848	Another part of " "
14	1	1470	Crosswalls of " "
7	2	616	Sides and crosswalls of Magazines
5	3-9-8	16783	Parapet and Beach Battery
3	1	999	Banquette " "
		<u>188147</u>	
		=====	

		3094	For 17 embrasures in beach Battery.
-	-	408	For " " Banquette
-	-	973	For 2 exterior and 2 interior principle doorways
-	-	2355	For 26 26 doorways and 36 windows
-	-	500	For three serious fissures in the exterior wall that require cutting and re-building
-	-	300	For several works in the inner wall
-	-	157	For 10 verandah pillars that have fallen from this plumb and are un-serviceable

Total 180360 Red Stone in Chunam which being a good deal decayed is valued at 64 cubic feet

28860.3.20

Length	Breadth	Thickness	Cubic Feet	
				<u>Stone in Mud</u>
Deduct	-	-	4760	Twenty cross walls
Ditto	-	-	<u>246</u>	For 8 doorways
Total			<u>4514</u>	Stone in Mud
				Tilling up three and half bastions with 2124 cut yards of each paving the area of the fort.
				1540 Beams intollerable condition as far as they are seen but very old.
				8707 " greatly decayed and in many places quite rotten and unserviceable.
				1163 Plancking of upstairs house apparantly intollerable but old damaged in a very great degree and partly unserviceable.
				226 Plates to 16, windows and 22 doors old and somewhat decayed.
				902 Frames to 18 and 23 doors old and somewhat decayed
				508 Shutters to 26 " " and 22 " " "
				1676 Timbers in doors and windows somewhat decayed workmanship to do.
				Plates to 22 windows and 9 doors completely rotten no value
				Frames to 19 do and 8 do Shutters to 8 windows and 7 doors very much decayed.

length Breadth Thickness Cubic Feet

Valuation of Large Banksall

Pepper Banksall

263	2	6-3-11	2564	Foundations of principle walls
41	2	6-3-11	399	" of two cross walls
26	2	6-6	390	" of four buttresses
68	10-2	6-3-11	671	" projecting porticos
72	2	2	288	" of two verandah
9	4-1	8.2	31	" seven ditto plasters

Above ground

263	12-6-2	10	9303	Principle wall upto 2nd floor
41	12-6-2	10	1450	Two cross " "
12	12-6-5	-	750	Four Buttresses "
68	10 -12	6-2-6	2150	Projecting Porticos "
72	8	-	576	Two Verandah rooms "
9	4-7-1	1	66	Seven " Pillasters
262	7	2	3682	Principle Wall of upper storey
41	7	2	574	Two cross walls. storey
68	10-7	1	481	Projecting Porticos ditto
			<u>23375</u>	

Upstairs apartment

98 Plates to 12 windows
 57 " to 7 doors
 42 " to 68 small
 264 Frames to 12 windows
 196 Ditto to 7 doors
 60 Ditto to 4 small
 120 Venetian shutters to half of 12 windows
 10 Frames for shutters to half of 12 "
 98 doors
 1104 Teakwood in upstairs apartment door and windows good condition
 562 " in 128 Verandah rafters in Tollerable condition
 242 " Plank of 2 verandahs a good deal decayed workmanship to 1872 toddas
 72 pairs of glass in doors and windows.

The whole of the terrace planking of the curtain being totally decayed unsafe is consequently of no value the above remark also applies to the whole of the plastering.

APPENDIX VIII

LIST OF THE CHIEFS OF THE FACTORY AT ANJENGO

Chief	Date of assuming charge		Date of retirement	
1. John Brabourne		1693		1705
2. Simon Cowse		1706		1711
3. William Kyffin		1712		1719
4. William Gyfford		1719		1721
5. Blackett Midford		1722		1722
6. Alexander Orme	September	1722	September	1728
7. John Wallis	October	1728		1729
8. Hezekiah/Ezachiel King	April	1729		1734
9. William Wake		1735	July	1738
10. Charles Whitehill	August	1739		1743
11. Richard Bouchier		1744	February	1750
12. Thomas Byfeld	February	1750	March	1751
13. Thomas Hodges	March	1751	April	1752
14. George Scott	April	1752	April	1757
15. John Spencer	April	1757	September	1758
16. Charles Crommelin	September	1758	May	1759
17. Thomas Whitehill	May	1759	September	1769 (died in office)
18. W. Taylor (Acting)	September	1769	December	1769
19. Peter Elwin Wrench	December	1769	February	1774
20. S. Ewart (Acting)	February	1774	March	1774
21. Nathaniel Stackhouse	March	1774	April	1776
22. G. Bigger (Acting)	April	1776	December	1776
23. J. Torpess	January	1777	December	1780
24. James Morley	December	1780	March	1781

Chief	Date of assum- ing charge		Date of retirement	
. John Hutchinson (Acting)	December	1781	March	1782
. John Hutchinson (Confirmed)	March	1782	October	1797
. John Taddy Dyne (Acting)	October	1797	February	1798
. George Parry	February	1798	September	1803
. Augustus William Handley	September	1803	October	1808
. John Smee	October	1808	December	1809
. R. Coward	December	1809	December	1810
In the 1810, Anjengo was abolis- hed and was transferred to the political Resident of Travancore.				

Compiled from Anjengo Factory Records 1693-1810.

APPENDIX IX

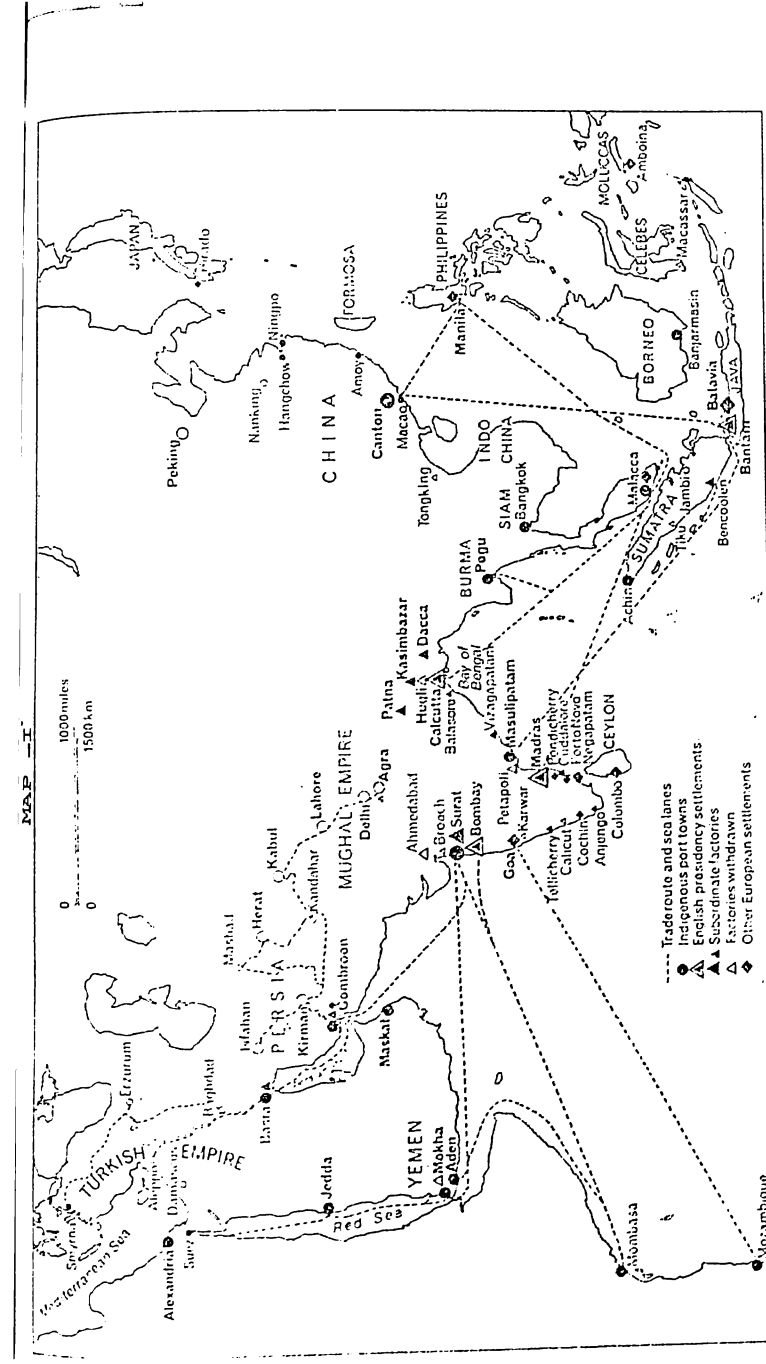
TABLE OF PEPPER EXPORTED FROM ANJENGO FROM 1696-1808*

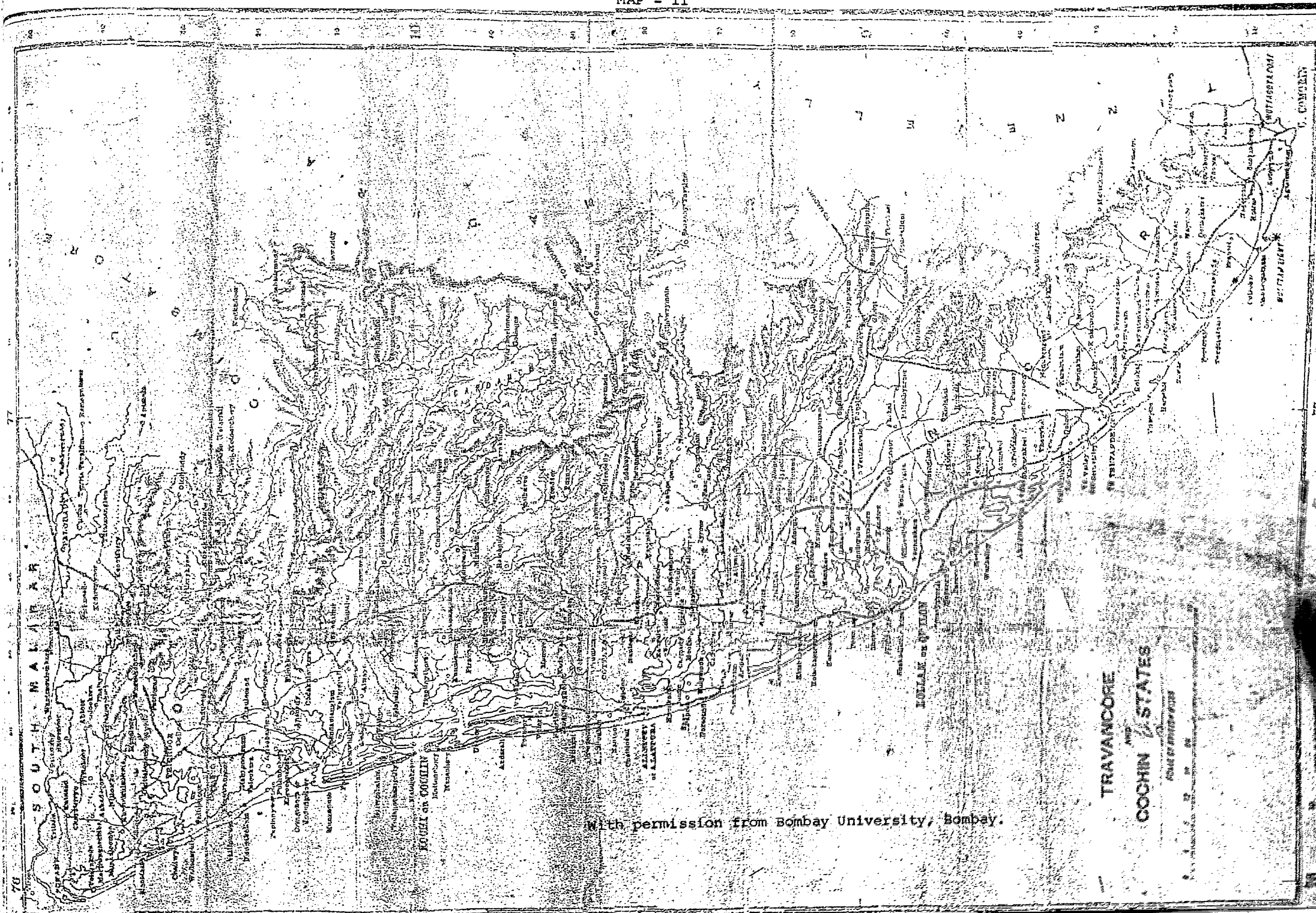
Year	Candies	
1696	200	
1697-1742	(No definite quantity was exported it ranged between 300 to 500 candies)	
1725	1000	Rs.65/- per candy
1727	500	"
1728	300	"
1729	200	"
1730	320	"
1731	328	"
1732	708	"
1733	612	"
1734	607	"
1736	761	"
1738	394	"
1739	677	"
1740	677	"
1741	700	"
1742	400	"
1743	135	"
1744-1748	(Prohibition was enforced so no definite purchases were made)	
1749	500	
1750	1500	Rs.75/-
1751	1500	"
1754	1600	"
1758	1500	"
1759	2000	"
1760	2000	"
1761	600	"
1763	1000	"
1764	2000	"

Year	Candies	
1765	2000	Rs. 75/-
1770	2000	"
1779	2000	"
1782	1000	"
1783	1000	"
1788	1400	"
1789	600	"
1791	2000	"
1793	1000	"
1794	4000	"
1795	1000	Rs. 117/-
1796	3000	"
1798	500	"
1799	3000	"
1800	3000	Rs. 115/-
1801	2573	"
1803	3000	"
1804	3000	"
1805	3000	"
1806	3000	"
1807	3000	"
1808	3000	"

* Compiled from Anjengo Factory Records - 1696-1808.

M A P S





ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION - I



ANJUNGO, on the Coast of MALAKA.

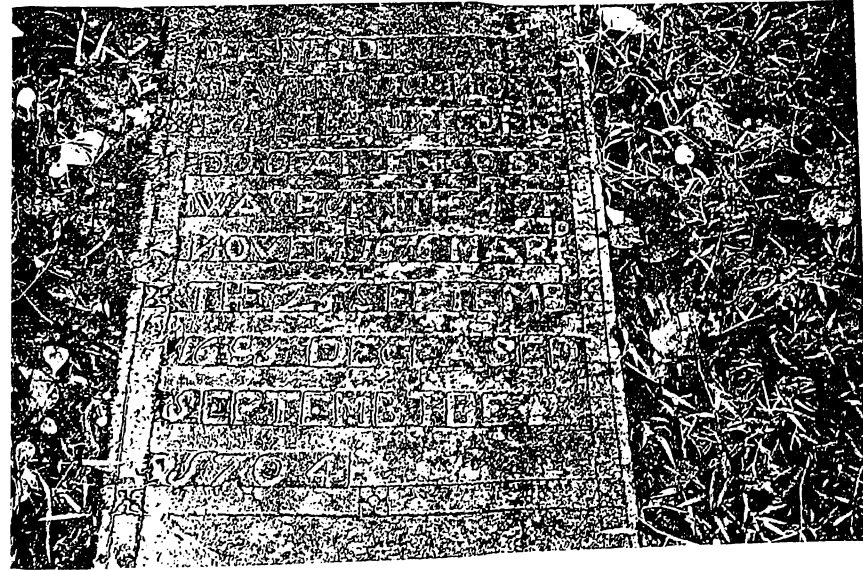
Published by the Government of India, 1881.

With permission from India Office Library Records, London

ILLUSTRATION - II



ILLUSTRATION - III



Tombstone of Deborah Brabourne wife of John Brabourne

G L O S S A R Y

G L O S S A R Y

ANGRIA	: One of the famous Maharatta pirates who terrorised the Arabian Sea.
ARRACK	: Country liquor
BANKSAUL/BANKSALL	: A warehouse
BOMBARAS	: Quick sailing one masted native vessels
BRIGANTINE	: Small boats
CADJAN	: Palm leaf
CAJAWA DOSS	: Kesava Das (a Dewan of Travancore)
CALICO	: Cotton cloth
CALLIEL VIDILL	: The name of a house
CANDY/CANDI	: A weight used in South India varying much in different parts from 640 lbs to 500 lbs.
CATAMARAN	: A raft formed of 3 or 4 logs of wood lashed together
CHEQUEEN	: An ancient gold coin
CHINTZ	: A printed or spotted cotton
CHITTY	: A letter or note
CHETTIES	: Tamil-speaking merchant class whose occupation is that of petty traders
CHUNAM	: Prepared lime
CORDAGE	: Rope
COIR	: Rope
CONICOPOLY/CONCOPLY	: Accountant
COWLE	: A lease or grant in writing

COWRY	: The small white shell
DALAWA/TOLLAVA	: Minister of the Rajah of Travancore
DANAM	: Gift
DAROGHA	: A Magistrate
DESAM	: Territorial division or locality
DEVASWAM	: Property belonging to the temple
DEWAN	: Minister
DEWAN PAISHCAR	: A Deputy Minister to a Rajah, a position similar to that of an Assistant Collector.
DHOW	: Old fashioned craft of Arab build.
EDANGALLI	: A local measure for measuring grains, ten of which are equal to a parah
FANAM	: A silver coin, seven of which are equal to a rupee
FIRMAN	: A Persian term denoting a Government order
GALLEY	: A kind of war boats with oars
GALLEVAT	: The name applied to a kind of Galley
HIRCARRAHS	: Post-man
INTERLOPER	: In olden days, one who traded without the licence or outside the service of the Company
KALARI	: Gymnasium or Military Academy
KALARIPAYATTU	: Training in combat given in Kalari
KARANAVAN	: Uncle and manager of a hereditary Estate/Senior male member of a matriarchal family
KARIAKKAR/CARRIACAR/ KARYAKAR	: An executive agent or supervisor

KIZHAVAN RAJA	: Old King
KOVIL	: Temple
LASCAR	: A soldier
LONG CLOTH	: Indian cotton cloth exported to England
MADAMBI/MADAMBEE	: Native nobles
MASAUICHY	: Sweepers
MANCHUA MUNCHUA	: A large cargo boat with a single mast
MAPPILAS/MOPLAS	: Malabar Muslims
MOODELLIAR	: A caste title, assumed by Tamil people who styled themselves as Sudras or native head-man.
MARKARS/MARCARS	: A community of Muslim Mariners of South India, settled mainly in port towns.
MOORS	: Muslims
MOOTHA THAMPURAN/ MOOTHA TAMBURAN	: The old or Senior Raja/Attingal senior Rani.
MUTHA TAVAZHI	: Senior Branch of a Family
MOPLAS	: Muslims
NUZZER	: A Ceremonial Present
OLA	: Palm leaf/palm leaf manuscripts
PAGODA	: Temple/A Type of Gold Coin
PALMYRA	: The fan-palm commonly cultivated in South India and Ceylon
PARAH	: Malabar measure varying from 6½ to 10 Macleod Seers.
PEISCUSH	: Tribute, rent or tax.

POOLAS	: Pillamars or nobles
ATTAMARS	: Tamil Brahmins
ATTEMAR	: A small vessel filled with one or two sails for carrying goods over the sea - A small ship.
ULAPPEDDI	: Fear from Pulayas a Backward Community.
UNCH	: A kind of drink
AJEES/RAJAS	: A Coin used in Kingdom of Travancore
AJAH/RAJA	: King
ANI	: Queen
EAS/REA	: A small money of account, 25th part of an anna, the 400th of a rupee. Accounts were kept at Bombay in rupees, quarters and reas.
EJADORE	: A Portuguese word signifying Governor or Magistrate of the King.
IX-DOLLAR	: A Dutch silver coin valued at 3½ to 4 rupees in Malabar
ALLAMPORES	: Cotton cloth
IRKAR/CIRCAR	: Government
LOOP	: A Large sized cargo vessel
UDRA	: The lowest category of people in ancient Indian caste system
WAROOPAM	: Dynasty
AMBURATI/THUMBRATTE	: A female member of the royal family
HAMPURAN	: A king
HARAVAD	: A joint family in Kerala

TONY/DHONY	: A small country vessel
TOPASS/TOPAZ	: A name used in the 17th and 18th century for native Christians, generally a slave of Portuguese origin from an Indian mother.
YOGAM	: Congregation or council
YOGAKKAR	: Members of the Yogam

IDENTIFICATION OF PLACE NAMES

IDENTIFICATION OF PLACE NAMES

IRUR	: A collateral Branch of the Cranganore family
NCHUTHENGU	: Attingal Anjengo
PTINGA	: Attingal
YACOTTA	: Ayacotta/Alikotta near Pallipuram in Cochin State
ENCOOLEN	: A settlement on the west coast of Sumatra
OCALA	: Varkala
RINJOHN/BRINJONE	: Vizhinjam
ELICAUD/CALLACAD	: Kalakkad - A village near Tinnevelly frontier.
ELLI QUILONE/ ELLI QUILON	: Kayamkulam
ENGENAUT	: Desinganad/Quilon
ENGOTTA	: A village near Tinnevelly frontier
ETTAVALI	: Chetva, near Cranganore
ILAM	: Quilon
LETCHE/COLACHEL/ LACCAL	: Colachel, a sea port 30 miles south of Trivandrum
OTADILLY/COTTADALI	: Cottudali, a farm ceded to the Company by the Rani of Attingal
OTATA	: Kottar
OTARACARA	: Kottarakara
OTATTE	: Kottayam
OSINGANAD/SIGNATTY	: Quilon

IDENTIFICATION OF PLACE NAMES

AIRUR	: A collateral Branch of the Cranganore family
ANCHUTHENGU	: Attingal Anjengo
ATTINGA	: Attingal
AYACOTTA	: Ayascotta/Alikotta near Pallipuram in Cochin State
BENCOOLEN	: A settlement on the west coast of Sumatra
BOCALA	: Varkala
BRINJOHN/BRINJONE	: Vizhinjam
CALLICAUD/CALLACAD	: Kalakkad - A village near Tinnevelly frontier.
CALLI QUILONE/ KILLI QUILON	: Kayamkulam
CHENGENAUT	: Desinganad/Quilon
CHENGOTTA	: A village near Tinnevelly frontier
CHETTAVALI	: Chetva, near Cranganore
COILAM	: Quilon
COLETCHÉ/COLACHEL/ KOLACCAL	: Colachel, a sea port 30 miles south of Trivandrum
COOTADILLY/COTTADALI	: Cottudali, a farm ceded to the Company by the Rani of Attingal
COTATA	: Kottar
COTTARACARA	: Kottarakara
COTTATTE	: Kottayam
DESINGANAD/SIGNATTY	: Quilon

EDDAWA/EDDOVA	: Eddawa, a place 6 miles north of Anjengo
ELAYADATHU SWARUPAM	: An offshoot of the Venad family
MANGAT	: Alangad
MANGATTY	: Situated between Cranganore and Parur
MARTA	: Karunagappally, with its Capital at Marutukulangara
NEDUMKOTTA	: Travancore
PALATADY	: A Garden included in the Cottudali farm
PALLICHAL	: Pallichel
PALLIPORT	: Pallipuram
PANTALAM	: A small principality comprised of a few village in the present Chengannur Taluk.
PARU	: Paravur
PERITALLY	: Nedumangad
PONDERAH	: Poonthura
POFCA	: Purakad/Porakkad
PULICAT	: Pulicat, a town on the Madras Coast
RETORAH, RETTURA	: Vittoor
TEKKUMKUR/THEKKUMKUR	: Comprises the present taluks of Changanacherry, Kanjirappally, Tiruvalla and Kottayam, a portion of the Minachil taluk and the whole of the highrange.
TENGAPATNAM	: A suburb of Trivandrum
TOWALL	: Tovala
TREVENDRONG	: Trivandrum
TRIPFAPPUR SWARUPAM	: Travancore (the royal dynasty of Venad or Travancore)
VADAKKUMKUR	: Comprises Ettumanur and Vaikom areas and a portion of the Minachil taluk

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B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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