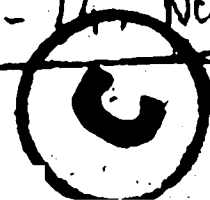


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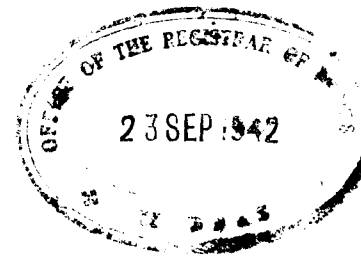
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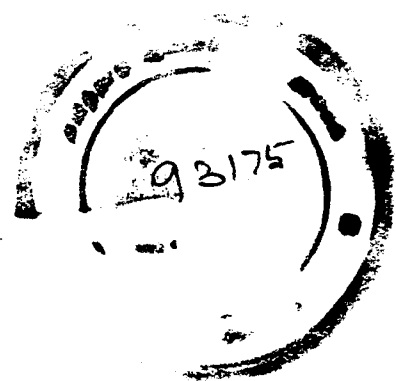
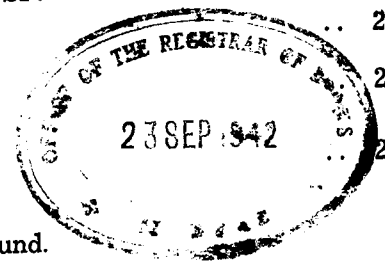


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. BEAUTY By S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI	.. 173
2. ON THREE NEW SPECIES OF COELOPLANA FOUND AT KRUSADAI ISLAND, MARINE BIOLOGICAL STATION, GULF OF MANNAR By D. W. DEVANESAN AND S. VARADARAJAN	.. 181
3. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE TELLICHERRY SETTLEMENT By P. K. KARUNAKARA MENON	.. 189
4. ON THE ANATOMY AND LARVAL ORGANISA- TION OF POLYCLINUM SP. By V. O. SEBASTIAN	.. 251
5. UNIVERSITY NOTES	279
6. REVIEWS:—	286
1. The Cultural Problem.	
2. The Economic Background.	
3. Indian States. By K. M. Panikkar.	
4. Democracy in India. By Dr. A. Appadorai.	
5. American foreign Policy. By D. W. Brogan.	
6. Norway and the War. By Gathorne Hordy.	
7. China. By P. M. Roxby.	
8. Japan and the Modern World. By Sir John Pratt.	
9. Belgium and the War. By G. N. Clark.	
10. Greece. By Stanley Casson.	
11. Great Britain and China. By Sir John Pratt.	
12. Who Mussolini is. By Ivor Thomas.	
13. War at Sea To-day. By Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond.	
14. A New Social Order. By Eddy Asirvatham.	



CONTENTS—Contd.

	PAGE
15. The Early History of Kerala. By T. M. Krishnamachari.	
16. Jainism and Karnataka Culture. By S. R. Sharma.	
17. Kannada Nadina Kathegalu. By Narayana Sarma.	
18. The Political Philosophies Since 1905, Vol. II, Part III. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar.	
19. The Political Philosophies Since 1905, Vol. II, Part II. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar.	
20. Vedantaparibhasa. Edited by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.	
21. Alambanapariksha. Edited by N. Aiyasami Sastri.	
22. Studies on Some Concepts of the Alaiṅkāra Literature. By V. Raghavan.	
23. Collected Poems and Plays of Sri Aurobindo.	
24. Śrī Mātr̥tattva Prakāśa. By T. V. Kapali Sastri.	

7. LIST OF ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	.. 312
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SUPPLEMENT

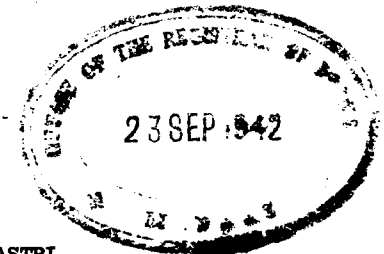
NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S
DIARY

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. .. 1-49

BEAUTY

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI



Apart from the notorious conflict of judgments as to what is beautiful and what is not, there would seem to be another *prima facie* ground for treating beauty as subjective; for it is in essence more an experience than an existence; and what has a more pre-eminent claim to be treated as subjective, than an experience? If our distinction of subjective and objective is drawn on lines like within or beyond ourselves, inside us or out there, beauty would seem to belong to the earlier mentioned class. Unseen blushes and uninhaled fragrances are needlessly distressing figments of poetic fancy. The lovely and the ugly, the sweet-smelling and the malodorous, are all experiences and are subjective rather than objective. While sandal is repugnant to Western nostrils and phenyle is repugnant to most, there are many human beings who revel in the one smell as in the other. The colours of the peacock are fancied by some, while others almost invariably affect sober hues. The Taj Mahal which evokes rapturous encomiums from many visitors, Indian and foreign, strikes the Jestling Pilate as monotonous and induces unfavourable comparisons with Cologne Cathedral. While easy-flowing poetry on conventional lines charms many readers, others delight in obscurity and *vers libre*. Beauty in every form refuses to be standardised and universalised. And this cannot but be so, considering its essentially subjective nature, as experience.

Yet we do admit judgments of beauty possessing a relatively high order of validity. To the musical ignoramus, all tunes may be indistinguishable, and one as bad or indifferent as another; but those who have picked up at least the elements of music agree to a large extent in their appreciation, though they may and do vary in their appraisal of different pieces, composers and executants. And though Eastern music may appear a cacophony to the average Western artists, the latitude in their appreciation of Western music itself is not so very great; and even rag-time despite its wide pre-

valence is generally set down as a jingle calculated to please only the primitive mind.

In their disagreement as well as agreement, artists and critics too proceed on the assumption of standards at least relatively universal. If each individual be a law unto himself, it would be futile to create and even more futile to criticise. Appreciation would be haphazard and it would be pointless to seek it or to regulate it; for, where there is no common ground, estimation and discussion are alike impossible.

It may be urged, however, that the creative artist works under an irresistible urge to express himself, that appreciation comes when it does irrespective of his seeking for it, that his work is really a piece of *niṣkāma-karma*, and that the possibility of results is as irrelevant in aesthetic theory as in the evaluation of an individual production. What applies to the creator applies at least in large measure to the critic as well; for he too sets about his work not because of voluntary caprice or a twist, but as the result of an irresistible urge. It has been said that at least in India from the earliest times the functions of the artist and the art-critic were undivorced, that the first poet *Vālmiki*, was also the first critic, the producer as well as the appraiser of the first *śloka* (in Sanskrit).¹ The impulse to criticism may then be admitted to be as categorical as the impulse to creation. Critic and artist alike set about their work irrespective of the appeal, actual or possible, to others.

Such a position, however, is not free from difficulties. The very attempt to insist on the exclusive individuality of the artist (the critic too being denoted by the term) becomes possible only by stressing the universality of the urge. What is particular, fleeting and finite cannot be categorical; it is limited in space and time, determined by antecedents, directed to consequences; it is certainly end-seeking and indeterminate in itself; as such it cannot be exalted to the status of the absolute, the determinate, the irresistible. If the artist seeks to please others, he must admit the possibility of pleasing, thus postulating necessarily standards which are non-particular; if, again, the artist works because of a call to please himself alone, he will have to admit the universality of at least this

call; hence once again, we rise above the merely particular and subjective. Were this not so, there could be no production at all, each momentary act being at liberty to nullify the prior one, just as much as to amplify it; it would be a mere matter of chance whether the would-be artist produced a painting or a mere daub or smudge. And if it be admitted that the artist's individual moments are not capricious but co-ordinated by and in the light of what is universal, there is no occasion to deny the valency of such a universal in the case of other persons too. Beauty would seem to be objective rather than subjective.

What then becomes of our earlier statement that beauty is essentially experience? We hold that too, without giving up the objectivity of beauty. For the truly objective or real is not other than experience. The distinction of subject and object, knower and known, is made within the whole of experience, knowledge or consciousness. The boundary-line of the distinction will be found to be ever-shifting; the senses know, they are themselves known; the mind knows, it is itself known; knowledge alone is both knower and known, since it is itself luminous and transcends the distinction. Beauty can never be objective if we require it merely to transcend experience; for there is nothing beyond experience. If, however, we require only the stability that rises above the fluctuations of particular subject-object relations, this must be granted to beauty; for beauty is truth and bliss; it is co-eval with consciousness, the sole real. Experience is neither mine nor yours; it is you and I, as well as all that we treat as our objects; how then can it be subjective? For the matter of that, it cannot be objective either, in the sense of being a property of objects, as distinct from the subject or subjects; its objectivity consists in universality.

Assuming that experience is thus the sole real, where is the need to equate beauty therewith? First, because we have admitted the experiential character of beauty; and secondly because of the universality which, as we have seen, is characteristic of the urge to produce and to appreciate. The aesthetic imperative, if it is categorical, must be self-determinate, not other-determined; it must provide justification as well as origin; it should require no explanation in terms other than itself; and this is possible only in regard to the self-luminous, that is to say, consciousness or experience. We have also indicated the other horn of the dilemma, that if the imperative be only hypothetical, we should have contingent deter-

1. I owe this idea to Mm. S. Kuppuswamy Sastriar.

minations by ends, utilities and appreciations, that these necessarily imply a community of standard between the artist and the public, and that with this we must abandon subjectivity.

But now comes an apparently fatal objection. Not all that is is beautiful. However we may treat the standard, whether as subjective or objective, it will generally be conceded that comparatively little in this world can rank as beautiful. The useful preponderates over the beautiful, while the ugly and useless preponderate over both. How can this be if beauty be co-eval with reality? The poet no doubt said that 'Truth is Beauty, Beauty Truth'; but the equation was justified neither in his brief life of suffering nor in the world at large.

This difficulty is not unique to Beauty; for it is paralleled by the query, how if Truth be co-extensive with the real, there is in the world so much of falsehood and error. Truths are opposed to errors; Truth is opposed to nothing, since there is nothing other than itself to which it can be opposed. The true as well as the false is relational; it is a judgment in the form of a relation with a truth-claim; as a relation it cannot but be non-true. The true or truthful is not Truth; hence it is always found by the side of and in opposition to the false or non-truthful.

So too, the beautiful is not Beauty;² the former involves the relation of an appreciating subject to an appraised object, while Beauty is above both subject and object; hence it is that while the beautiful exists always in contrast with the ugly, Beauty is contrasted with nothing other than itself. When we, in ignorance of our own true nature as experience, set ourselves up as experiencers over against objects, seeking to make the latter subservient to our needs, we have a world of utilities and appreciations, according as the satisfactions we seek are more or less finite and momentary. When we rise above this extroversion of the mind and diremption of the self, we see not the beautiful, but Beauty; we do not evaluate, but are value.

The experience that is Beauty demands then a rising above the ego with its opposition between subject and object, and its tension

2. This proposition will not admit of conversion; for the beautiful is less than Beauty, while Beauty is more than the beautiful.

between the present and the not-present. To the ego some things are pleasant, others not; some things are dangerous or frightful, others not. To him that has transcended the ego, there are no things; there is only the self; hence no fears to shun nor favours to seek; it is from a second, verily, that there is fear; when there is no second, where *abhaya* has been attained, supreme bliss is also attained, and bliss is Beauty.

It is this Pure Bliss that is refracted in various degrees in the subjects and objects of our finite world. The greater the refraction, the greater the measure of ugliness. And the measure of the refraction is provided by the conflict of the ego with the object. If there is no tension, if each will just let the other be, if the ego can just sink into the experience without struggling to alter it in any way, there is so far forth the experience of beauty. The realisation is that all is well, that the experience perfectly expresses the harmony and truth of its own being, that everything in it is found, if need be, on analysis, in its proper place and proportion, and that all this is so without the intrusion of the ego and its needs. The panther is not beautiful to him who has to flee for his life; nor is the enraged woman a beauty to him who is lashed by her tongue. The average man finds them beautiful when duly tamed and caged; the artist will find them beautiful even as they are, when he lives not in his ego, but as integral with the very experience that is the angry woman or the leaping tiger. He must be a bare witness, devoid of the conceit of agency and enjoyership. For such a seer, Beauty will be objective; indeed there will be nothing but Beauty; for to him there will be none of the discords and disharmonies that constitute ugliness, and arise only with the intrusion of the ego.

That is why the old and the infirm, the ruinous and dilapidated, the discordant jingle, all are fit materials for the highest artist. For there is beauty in the old as well as in the young, the decrepit as well as in the hale. The sagging wine-skin is not a less beauteous theme than the swelling bosom. Each has its own place in the harmony of the universe; and if we let that harmony speak to us, instead of forcing our interpretations thereon, beauty will be found to pervade the whole, overflowing into each nook and cranny. When I have schooled myself to ignore the age-long superstitious revulsion bred into my tactile sense, woolly hair is no less beautiful than silken curls. Would I then prefer a negress to be my companion? The question is ill-conceived and should not arise; for

'what is beauty' is not a matter of my preferences or dislikes; and so long as we are at the latter level, there lacks the absolute essential for the appreciation of beauty.

To appreciate the tiger's beauty, must you cage it? Not necessarily; but then the ego will have to be caged.³ The tiger situation is one of tension between the ego and the non-ego. If the latter is controlled, that will be one way of ending the tension. But it is not a way which is always available. Not all tigers are caged, nor are all cages reliable. But if the ego could be subdued, that too would end the tension and more satisfactorily; for the aberration of the self, known as the ego, has itself to make the attempt at subjugation; and its chances of success are greater with itself than with the non-ego. Where the object is caged, that is to say, viewed with a certain measure of abstraction, we have idealism in art, an attitude which emphasises the merits and minimises the deficiencies of the object, accentuating the bright and relieving the drab, cutting out clashing elements from the background, and leaving only that which will harmonise. Where, however, the ego is controlled, we let reality speak for itself; even the realist does interfere, but his interference is directed within, not without. Verse is the master of him who disciplines his words, but the humble servant of him who disciplines his thoughts. And the distinction between a stone-mason and an architect or sculptor is that while the former imposes a design conceived by himself or another, the latter but helps in the emergence of the beauteous form he sees in the stone. Even the stone-mason may be an artist; but his artistry will necessarily rank far below that of the sculptor or architect; for while at best he may be a constructionist, he cannot be a creator. To create, you (i.e., your ego) must cease to be, and you must let the Self be. That is why the Arch-Creator, unlike his feeble imitators, would not wish anything to be other than as it is; His creation is the result of tapas, where the ego was not; and in the product, how could He wish a line to be changed, a note to be altered? He has no mistakes to correct nor blemishes to tone down or idealise. In His supreme artistry, idealism and realism are alike transcended; the real is not

3. Not the imprisonment, but the dissolution, of the ego is the ideal; then alone will all tension cease; but discipline is useful as a preliminary; and dissolution is not destruction, but sublimation.

the merely drab, nor the ideal the merely imaginary; the two have blended in the expression of the Supreme Real that is Beauty.⁴

And thus we see Beauty in the rain-clouds as in the dawn, in the dark as in the fair, in the non-human as in the human, in the many-armed as in the two armed, in Kālī as in Sarasvatī, in Rudra as in Viṣṇu, in the cremation ground as in the wedding hall, in the stalwart ruggedness of Rāma as in the toothless gums of Gandhi or the smooth contours of Aurobindo. It is not fearful ignorance, but the height of ego-less appreciation that worships Rudra as the lord of thieves,⁵ for he it is who filches away our egoism almost without our notice, like a master-thief. And it is not the rākṣasas alone but Rāma who admired Rāvaṇa for his person as much as his prowess.⁶ Short of the heights of Rudra and Rāma, however we require the help of abstraction and transformation. Our finitude is an abstraction and has to be cured by a counter-abstraction. Hence the cage or grille, from the fancied safety of which we admire to our heart's content. Such appreciation, however, can rarely be full and final. The true devotee of Beauty will not shun the buffalo while adoring the cow; in the former he will see, if not 'a poem of pity', at least an ode to abundance; and in so far as he evaluates, he will consider what entities are in and to themselves, not what they are to him. As guides to the attainment of this level and as providing convenient resting places on the way, abstraction and transfor-

4. Here again I am indebted to Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar for a suggestion based on the following verse of *Śakuntala* (Act VI, v. 14):

yadyat sādhu na, citre syāt-kriyate tattad anyathā|
tathā 'pi tasyā lāvanyam rekhayā kiñcid anvitam||

5. It is worth remembering that Śiva, the destroyer, is also the lord of Beauty, Sundarēśvara, and the supreme embodiment of Love and Beauty, Kṛṣṇa, is also the master-thief. They stole away hearts, resolving therewith the knot of the heart (hrdaya-granthi).

6. See Rāmāyaṇa *Yuddha*, LIX, 26-29; similar admiration comes from the lips of that supreme exemplar of ego-less service, Hanumān; see *Sundara*, XLIX, 17. Such appreciation has, of course, little in common with the infatuation experienced by many women for Rāvaṇa; they, in the words of the poet, were deluded and carried away by passion (mohitāḥ, kāmavaśam gatāḥ—*Sundara*, IX, 69 ff.). I am grateful to Mr. R. Narayana Iyer, I.C.S. (Retd.), for the references.

mation play their part. At their best, they give us the beautiful, which to a greater or less extent draws sustenance from its contrast with the ugly and is not to be confounded with Beauty. For Beauty there are no contrasts; it is more than the beautiful, not less, and is co-eval with the harmonious, self-luminous, unfettered real that is our own Self. Beauty is subjective, because it is not other than the Self; Beauty is objective, because there is nothing other than the Self.

ON THREE NEW SPECIES OF COELOPLANA FOUND AT
KRUSADAI ISLAND, MARINE BIOLOGICAL STATION, GULF
OF MANAAR¹

By

RAO SAHIB DR. D. W. DEVANESEN, M.A., D.I.C., PH.D., (LOND.)

AND

MR. S. VARADARAJAN, M.A., F.Z.S.,

Since the first paper by us on the Krusadai Coeloplanæ appeared in Vol. VIII. No. 4, April, 1939 of Current Science, attempts were made to make further observations on the Coeloplanæ population of the island and it is gratifying to be able to say that interesting results were obtained. This paper embodies descriptions of three species of Coeloplana new to science.

Coeloplana tattersalli nov. sp.

Distinguishing characters:

The outstanding features are (1) the number of the aboral papillae and (2) their disposition. There are only eight papillae—four on either side of the tentacular plane. If their relation to the parastomachal canal and the paratentacular canal is the same as in other Coeloplanæ, each papilla appears to be placed in relation to the origin of these canals with which they communicate. The position of parastomachal papillae close to the polar field and the position of the paratentacular papillae nearer to the tentacular sheath confirms this view. This is the most simple system of aboral papillae met with till now among the several species of Coeloplana. Even in *Coeloplana mesnili* which has a relatively simple system of aboral papillae, there are four papillae given out by the parastomachal canal and two papillae by the paratentacular canal on each

1. With the permission of the Director of Industries and Commerce, Madras.

side making a total of 24. This extraordinary reduction in the number of the aboral papillae to 8 is very remarkable in *Coeloplana tattersalli*. The minimum number recorded hitherto is 13 in *C. perreri*. The maximum number recorded is 60-64 in *C. agniae* by Dawydoff (18). In *C. tattersalli*, it is not unusual to find in some specimens secondary papillae arising close to the root of the primary papillae. Sometimes the latter appear to be branched. They are generally conical, proportionate in length in the extended state to the body of the animal and appear as diverticula. The polar field is remarkable for its elevated position; it is placed on a summit or hump; the back of this *Coeloplana* therefore slopes all round from this organ. The statocyst and excretory pores are normal in position. The ciliated bands said to represent the vestigial ciliary plates of *Ctenoplana* found in *C. agniae* and *C. bochi* (18) are not traceable.

The animal is translucent suffused with green.

Bionomics:

Very interesting observations were carried out in the Krusadai Biological Station by keeping individuals in captivity. One lived for 21 days (from 4th February 1939 to 24th February 1939, and another lived for 18 days (from 9th February 1939 to 26th February 1939). They were kept alive in a rectangular glass aquarium 6"×3". The sea-water was changed frequently; this had a remarkable effect on their activity. A specimen which had become dull and inactive revived at once when fresh sea-water was added or when the sea-water was changed, moving briskly and throwing out the tentacles. Whereas, if the sea-water was not changed for some time, the specimen attached itself to the bottom of the aquarium and there it remained quiet with its tentacles retracted into the sheaths.

When the animal fresh from the sea is dropped into a glass-dish, it rests first on the bottom, then creeps and when it reaches the side it ascends creeping up by its ciliated oral surface just like a planarian. On reaching the water-margin, it releases its hold and turns turtle floating with the mouth upwards. The tentacles are alternately short out and retracted in, and by this action the animal swims round. When touched with a glass rod, the animal contracts into a lump, descends to the bottom, relaxes and resumes its normal

position only to creep again and ascend the side and repeat its swimming exercises. Whether this behaviour of this *Coeloplana* noticed also in other species is caused by the artificial conditions in captivity or not has not yet been ascertained.

Dawydoff (18) has observed in natural surroundings *C. mesnili* with its mouth upwards and has suggested that this may be due to the habit of occasionally attaching itself to pelagic animals such as salps, medusoids etc. The habit of folding the body along the tentacular axis was noticed with reference to feeding and not in relation to locomotion. Dawydoff says that *C. mesnili* moves by flapping its folds as in the case of *Ctenoplana*. Creeping on a surface like a planarian and swimming with mouth upwards by the action of the tentacles are the two methods of locomotion observed in *Coeloplana tattersalli*. It is needless to point out that this species is free-living unlike most of the other members of the genus which are found associating with alcyonarians, star-fishes, sea-urchins etc. Feeding was generally effected by removing the animal every morning from the rectangular glass aquarium to a petri-dish with fresh sea-water and by adding a few living copepods from the day's plankton. The animal became conscious of the presence of copepods because the latter darted to and fro and possibly produced disturbances in the water to which the *Coeloplana* responded; for the animal moved briskly, throwing out its tentacles, making definite acts at capturing the prey, reminding one of an animal which stalks its prey. A specimen 12 mm. long was observed to shoot one of its tentacles to a length of 38 mm. While the copepods dart to and fro, the *Coeloplana* shoots towards a copepod one of the branches of a tentacle and entangles it, doubtless the colloblasts helping to render the prey motionless. The struggling copepod is slowly brought to the oral plane while the captor folds along the tentacular axis like a book. Evidently the tentacles push the prey into the mouth when the victim is safe and secure in the folds. After intervals varying from half an hour to two hours, the captor moves off leaving behind a mucilaginous residue in which the chitinous shell of the copepod is found. On entering the stomach, the copepods do not die instantaneously; they remain alive for some time. On two occasions, larval bivalves and copepod egg-clusters were swallowed; empty shells of the former were ejected. Not infrequently when larger copepods are caught in the clutches of the tentacles, a regular tussle ensues and finally the copepod may

escape breaking and carrying away a bit of the uniserial branch involved in the struggle. The *Coeloplana* is none the worse for this and has been found to repair it quickly. Among the Copepods forming the prey of this *Coeloplana*, the following species were identified:—*Corycaeus venustus*, *Euterpina acutifrons* and *Microsetella gracilis*.

Strong light is avoided by the animal. When a torch light was focussed on it, it contracted and withdrew the tentacles; under a microscope, when the condenser was raised to the top level giving maximum light, it moved away from the field in the petri-dish.

The specific name given is in honour of Prof. W. M. Tattersall who discovered the animal at Krusadai (vide "Current Science", Vol. VIII, No. 4, April 1939, pp. 157-159). His discovery initiated a research on a most fascinating genus and we take this opportunity to express our gratitude by dedicating this animal to him.

2. *Coeloplana indica* sp. nov.

Only one specimen of this species was collected till now and we have nothing to add to what has been already stated in the article in "Current Science", Vol. VIII, No. 4, April 1939, pp. 157-159.

The chief distinguishing characters are (1) the reduced number of aboral papillae viz., 8; (2) their knob shape; (3) their arrangement in two rows of four, distributed at equal intervals, parallel to the tentacular axis; (4) their relationship to the parastomachal and paratentacular canals cannot be made out externally; (5) the absence of the hump for the polar organ; and (6) their uniform grey colouration. The animal was extremely active assuming all kinds of phantastic shapes.

The experience of other workers like Dawydoff shows the erratic appearance of certain species of *Coeloplana* and this species appears to support their conclusion. With regard to *C. perrieri*, Dawydoff states as follows:—"Indeed it is only by a happy chance that they can be found in the place which they inhabit and they might most easily escape the attention of a naturalist even though he is experienced in this type of research." (18).

3. *Coeloplana krusadiensis* sp. nov.

The discovery of this animal was notified duly in *Current Science* Vol. VIII, No. 7, July 1939, pp. 316 and 317. This is the

second species of the genus *Coeloplana* found associating with a star-fish, the other being *Coeloplana astericola* found on *Echinaster luzonicus* (11).

Distinguishing characters:

The largest specimen which came under observation was 28 mm. long (in the tentacular axis) and 6 mm. wide in the extended state. The same specimen when disturbed by a pipette shrank to 13 mm by 8 mm. One should expect some modification in the ciliation of the oral surface in an animal which spends its time, adhering to the body of a star-fish, but the ciliation is normal. This condition coupled with the fact that the animal performs the usual locomotion when freed from the star-fish argues that transference from one host to another can be effected by it in nature.

The Dorsal papillae vary in number from six to over twenty. It is not possible to discern their distribution with reference to the parastomachal and paratentacular canals. A disposition of the larger tentacles parallel to the tentacular axis on either side of the statocyst can at times be detected. It is likely that any symmetry in their distribution which might exist is obscured by the distorting effect the assumption of phantastic shapes has on the arrangement of the papillae. So constant is the irregular distribution of these as a rule, that one is inclined to doubt whether there is any symmetry in it, a feature quite characteristic of all other known species of *Coeloplana* including *Coeloplana astericola*. These papillae being knobs even in the extended condition, when they contract, they disappear from view.

The disposition of the statocyst and of the excretory pores agrees with that described by Mortensen for *C. astericola*.

Colouration:

The uniform brick red colouration of the animal distinguishes it from *Coeloplana astericola*, the only other species with which it may get mixed up; but in this, two colours produce a motley effect viz., brick-red and milky-white.²

2. Vide Dawydoff (18 p. 156), Mortensen says that the two colours are deep-red and creamy-yellow (11 p. 280).

Bionomics:

The star-fish *Pentaceros hedemanni* abounds in the flats around Krusadai Island up to a depth of six feet. *C. krusadiensis* therefore has a similar bathymetrical distribution.

The animal glides on the aboral surface of the starfish with perfect ease in spite of the stout spines of the latter. None is found in the oral surface. When transferred to a glass dish, they assume all kinds of phantastic shapes usually seen among these aberrant ctenophores. Free locomotion similar to that of *C. tattersalli* is occasionally performed but generally speaking, this species is not so active. Specimens remain attached to the bottom of the glass aquaria for more than 24 hours. Sometimes the animal folds like a book.

The other species of star-fishes found in the same locality viz., *Astropecten*, *Palmines* and *Luidia*, do not bear this animal which leads one to conclude that the association with *Pentaceros hedemanni* is not accidental.

If live copepods are introduced into the glass-dish containing these animals, they respond to their presence by employing their tentacular branches in capturing them but the prey generally escape alive after struggling and at times detaching a piece of the tentacle. This perhaps indicates that the food of this species consists of organisms less active and powerful than Copepods. It is also likely that they depend for food partly on the secretion of the skin of the starfish. We have no evidence that they actually feed on its skin.

The smallest specimen more or less circular found on the body of the star-fish had a diameter of 1 mm. The maximum number found on a single star-fish varied from 50 to 60. Yet no incomplete specimens were found. When examined under a microscope, even the smallest specimens showed a complete organisation; the statocyst was in the centre and the two tentacles were paid out on either side though sluggishly. Mortensen (11) based his theory of propagation by autotomy in *Coeloplana astericola* on the occurrence of small and incomplete specimens on the body of *Echinaster luzonicus*. As such specimens are not found in the case of this species, one is free to offer a different explanation such as a gregarious habit, or individuals belonging to more than one generation living in a state of commensalism with the star-fish.

It is needless to explain that the specific name *krusadiensis* is given to perpetuate the memory of the Krusadai Biological Station, which is visited by Student Parties from all parts of India.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE TELLICHERRY SETTLEMENT

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I

Tellicherry, which in point of size ranks third after Calicut and Palghat, is the chief town of the northern half of the district of Malabar. It is situated in picturesque surroundings, on a group of low-wooded hills running down to the sea. Here, during the eighteenth century, the English East India Company maintained a factory and settlement which, in course of time was destined to become the nucleus of the future British sovereignty in Malabar. The Company's fort, built of laterite in the form of a square, with massive loop-holed walls is still visible in a fair state of preservation, though the small redoubts on most of the outlying hills have long since disappeared, as well as the stone-wall which had surrounded the town. An endeavour is made in the following pages to give a very short account of the origin and development of the fort, until the Company's sovereignty in Malabar became a reality. The history of Tellicherry is, in fact, the history of the English in Malabar.

Malabar, as the Portuguese found it, was divided into numerous petty principalities under certain chieftains who acknowledged the suzerainty of one or the other of the major powers. In the country, the Kolatiri royal family in the north, and the Zamorins in the south, alone possessed the semblance of what we may call sovereign rights. The general political conditions resembled those of feudal Europe, though the principle of feudalism was conspicuously absent. The minor powers themselves owned the land, and their allegiance to the suzerain was mainly intended for military support in times of war. In spite of political isolation, and an apparently primitive organisation, Malabar maintained what Sardar Panikkar would prefer to call an "extra-political social unity." With the establishment of the Portuguese, the number of the petty states

increased, the old methods of warfare yielded place to new, firearms became common, and fortifications assumed an important role in state-organization under the Kolatiris and the Zamorins.

The original Kolatiri kingdom seems to have extended from Kasergode in the north to Korapula in the south. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, however, the limits dwindled considerably, and many portions came, through family alliances or grants, into the possession of chiefs, more or less independent. The executive power was, in theory, divided among the five eldest male members of the Kolatiri family, who held dignities. The Kolatiri himself retained the immediate charge of only the middle portion of the dominion, the Tekelamkur, the second, and the Vadakelamkur, the third, managing the southern and the northern parts respectively. The eldest, however, was the virtual sovereign of all the land. The original family had two branches, Pally and Udayamangalam, but when disintegration showed its hideous face within the same, petty off-shoots broke forth from the parent stems. Gradually it came about that the ablest could wield the real power in the country.

To the south of the Kolatiri kingdom proper, extended the country of Kadatanad, under its head, the Valunnavar, known in the early days to the English as the Boynore or the Baonor of Burgorah (Badagara). His country extended upto Tikkodi in the south, about twelve miles from Mahe. The Valunnavars were lords of the sea, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, assuming a semi-independent position. Besides the Valunnavars, there were the Kottayam Rajas who had established themselves, roughly in the eastern centre of the old Kolatiri country. The Nilesvaram family, allied to one of the Vadakelamkurs by marriage, was trying to assume a separate identity, and its territory formed the southern portion of the taluq of Kasergode. At Cannanore the Mopla family of the Ali Rajas controlled, independent of the Dutch, a large town built at the bottom of the bay with some adjacent territory. The chieftains called the Achemars held immediate authority in the small principality of Randetara while some Nambiar families managed Iruvalinad which had originally included the Nairship of Kurangot also. Virtually they were all the vassals of the Kolatiris. We need not mention here the many other Houses of Nairs and Nambiar, of lower ranks, located in the different parts of the country. All these principalities and kingdoms attained prominence

only on the disintegration of the Kolatiri dominion, and the disruption of the Imperial royal family. In the southern parts, the Zamorin's court maintained some faint semblance of the old grandeur; and he remained the "powerfullest king on the sea-coast of Malabar."

It was in such a political atmosphere, that the English Company thought of establishing a small settlement subordinate to the Governor in Council at Bombay. Very early in the seventeenth century itself, Malabar had attracted their attention superficially; but after 1664, their trade began to prosper on a more definite footing. Though they found very strong rivals in the Dutch Company, yet they could establish a stable factory at Calicut. The English Company used to send their servants from time to time to the different settlements along the coast, whose association with the native powers enabled them to adapt themselves to the native character. In 1687 Bombay became the superior settlement of the Company in the east; and by 1695 they could build the factory and fortifications at Anjengo. The French too were coming into the field, and in 1698 made a settlement at Calicut. Towards the end of the century, the Dutch influence began to wane on the coast, and they were compelled to confine their activities to their settlements at Cannanore, Cranganore and Cochin. The Danish influence was almost negligible.

The English influence at Calicut was daily increasing. After the Union of 1702 the United East India Company began a new career along healthy lines. Sir Josiah Child was just emphasising the aspect of military and naval strength in an atmosphere where the Company could not much rely on the native rulers. The conditions of trade now changed, the Company hiring vessels from the ship-owners who began to form a separate branch of business. The inestimable value of pepper was better appreciated, and the idea of monopolising the entire trade in the commodity motivated the Company's subsequent policy in Malabar.

When their interest in pepper increased, the Company pitched upon Tellicherry, as a better site than Calicut, for easily procuring the article. Our information is not complete, in regard to the exact date of the settlement of a factory at Tellicherry; Birdwood suggests the year 1683; presumably, the company maintained a trading post for some years previous to 1699. The site of the factory be-

longed to the Kurangot Nair, and was obtained from the Vadakelamkur Prince. It possessed no obvious importance, it lacked capabilities of defence. The factory was at first unprotected, and molested by the Kurangot Nair and some Udayamangalam princes. Fortification became a necessity; a house-site and a hill, were taken up, and on them was built a fort, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Vadakelamkur himself. A street of weavers was bought at the same time.

On 20 August 1708, the Prince, by a grant, made over the fort, with its limits, to the Company. He enjoyed the customs revenue on the local trade, but within the area, no one else could "demand, collect and plant." The Prince's grant was fated to become the fundamental basis on which was raised the whole superstructure of the Company's rights later acquired in Malabar.

Subsequently the Dutch became particularly troublesome in the southern parts and the Company's servants were asked to withdraw from Calicut to Tellicherry which was now made the headquarters on the Malabar coast. Pepper and other provisions procured at Calicut came to be sent by sea to Tellicherry. However even in 1714 the general conditions at the latter place were in a bad situation. The inhabitants inflicted much hardship on the Company because of fear or jealousy; or perhaps the Dutch might have incited them. Two servants of the Company were in charge of the settlement, Adams and Francia who, in spite of difficulties pushed on the affairs with zeal. A wall was being built around the fort so as to enclose a large space of ground wherein the several merchants might seek protection; and before many years elapsed, the factory was "well-fortified with stone-walls and cannon."

In 1714 the Dutch were erecting a fort on the Chetwa Island, which on Adam's instigation the Zamorin recovered through stratagem. The English colours flew over the fort; and in 1715 Adams was permitted to build a warehouse at Chetwa. The Dutch blockaded the entire coast from Chetwa to Calicut, and Adams vigorously helped the Zamorin with large sums of money. However the Dutch destroyed the English warehouse, and on 10th April 1717 resumed possession of the island, the war having ended in a dishonourable peace for the Zamorin; yet its benefits did not justify the huge expenditure on the part of the Dutch; and the Batavian Council decided never again to interfere in native wars. The loss of trade at

Chetwa compelled the English to concentrate better than before on Tellicherry.

The disturbances at the settlement to which we referred went on for many years. They were provoked by the Kurangot Nair who adduced his pretensions to certain royalties at Tellicherry, and more by the dissensions within the Kolatiri family. When negotiations failed, the Company stormed the Nair's fortified Moylan Hill on the outskirts of the settlement. On 29th September 1719 the Nair entered into the conditions of capitulation. He ratified the Company's freedom of trading in pepper in his part of the country, and made over to them the Ramem Hill (most probably identical with Moylan). Thus the ground between Tellicherry and Moylan was the first forcible conquest of the Company who could now cultivate and derive a revenue from it. The Nair had also promised to remit the duty on the pepper that Adams might buy and export.

Not long after, the Kolatiri himself, on 23 March 1722, gave the Company all trades and farms in the dominion, from Canharotte down to Pudupatnam; in case of interruption of their commerce by any other European nation, then the Company could "in our name, punish, prevent and drive away." This grant which the Company always invoked in their later commercial competition with the rivals was not intended to exclude the privileges the Dutch had acquired in the kingdom. It was confirmed on 24 February 1724 when the Company's privileges became stabilised. At about this time, Udaya Varman, the Vadakelamkur's nephew of the Pally branch, began to carry out the executive details of government as the Prince Regent, and under his patronage, the Company's virtual monopoly of trade and their influence in north Malabar began to take root.

II

Tellicherry was now administered by a Chief who was the Company's man on the spot, and a Council, usually styled the Factors. The relationship of the factory with the Superior Government at Bombay was placed on the same footing with that of Anjengo or Surat. The Court of Directors took a definite interest in the growing prosperity of the Tellicherry settlement but always enjoined on their servants the adoption of a policy of strict neutrality in regard to native politics. Any interference made by the Company was to be in the capacity of mediators of peace with a view to the promo-

tion, at the same time, of their commercial interests. But such a policy could not be often followed by the men on the spot, and the Company found themselves caught in the vortex of native disputes. Such a situation was inevitable after the establishment of the French at Mahe, so close to Tellicherry.

It would appear that the French had come to occupy Mahe in 1721-22 where they built a fort in 1724 with a purely commercial object. They incited the Valunnavar to make war on the Company, which dragged on till 17 February 1725, when he proposed the capitulations of peace to Adams. He assured the Company's monopoly of the pepper and cardamom of Kadatanad; and he perhaps took steps to drive the French away from Mahe. As a measure of revenge, the French in 1725 prepared to make a descent on Mahe. Kadatanad at this time was torn by internal dissensions, which the Company tried much to compose. In November 1725, Pardaillan Gondrin, Commandant of the French squadron, arrived at Mahe and summoned the Valunnavar to surrender. Mahe seemed impregnable. Yet Labourdonnais, a captain of one of the ships made an audacious landing. Mahe fell by force. The might of the French impressed the neighbourhood and the English were concerned at their success. Now the Kottayam Raja found it convenient to negotiate with the French and attack Kadatanad. But his parleys ended in no substantial agreement, and in August 1726 Adams succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between him and the Valunnavars. The French continued to blockade the entire coast of Kadatanad, and the Company's aid to the Valunnavar was not extensive. Due to the Company's indifference, the latter was hard pressed and finally obliged to "hearken to the French proposals"; the French had already on 4 August 1726 taken possession of a small neighbouring hill. On 8 November the articles of peace were exchanged. The French gained their commercial ends, and became engaged to defend and protect the Valunnavar and make good the loss he might sustain from the Company on account of his breach of faith with the latter. Thus did Kadatanad, though lawfully, by royal grants, the Company's sphere of influence become wedded to the interests of the French.

An annual hunt was customarily organised in Malabar in each man's respective land; the Kurangot Nair, who was now an accomplice of the French, designed to hunt in the Company's territory. This led to some skirmishes between the Company's men and the

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF TELLICHERRY SETTLEMENT 195

Nairs abetted by the French, in October 1726. Some mutual protests followed; however the Company's public appearance in the hunt increased their prestige in the neighbourhood.

The Company's garrison was weak, and the Factors were cautious. On 26th November 1726 a march on the strategic Hill of Putinha was ordered as a security against any possible French advance. The French were feverishly fortifying the Kariakunu Hill, in less than point-blank range of the Company's Ponella Hill; they claimed both Kariakunu and Ponella as a grant from the Kurangot Nair and sought to prescribe the Company's limits and infringe their rights. As a defensive measure, the Factors in December 1726 concluded a friendly agreement with the Iruvalinad Nambiaris.

The French now suggested a conference for the discussion of mutual rights, and the suspension of the claims of either factory in Kurangot, that part remaining with "limits free". The Factors were willing to make Kurangot free to trade and commerce, and the French were not to abet the Nair any more against the Company. The Company's direct rights were acclaimed to extend from "Upalla Canddi to Ponella Malla north and south, and what may be to the westward of said places or with them, and Tellicherry fort, to Moohara (Mora) and Codolee". To bring the Nair to a sense of propriety, the Factors also decided to possess the Tirimalla Hill, lying a little off Moylan.

The desultory conflicts with the French and the increasing cost of the settlement made the Court of Directors uneasy. A peace with the French became essential, for a famine was raging in the settlement. On the basis of instructions from the Bombay Government, the Factors were willing to assign to the Nair all the ground between Putinha and Kariakunu from the southward, reserving to the Company all the space to the north and east of the former, including some hills serving as barriers to their limits.

The negotiations with the French also were set afoot. The French were inclined to hold no more than the spot in front of their Mahe fort which military policy would oblige them to keep; some method was to be adjusted for the purchase of pepper so that the native merchants might not defraud either Company, and an open policy adopted towards the native chiefs so as to prevent political intrigues. An agreement with the French was finally executed on 9th March 1728 for the common benefit and tranquillity of either

settlement. The Kurangot Nair was to remain a common friend of both the Companies, and no fortification without consent was to be raised in his country; neither Company could war with him separately, nor assist him materially or with advice against the other. The hostile designs of other native powers were to be guarded against. A clause was added to prevent desertion of the servants and slaves of either Company, and another regarding the mutual settlement of the price of pepper. Some time later, it was further agreed that no violence should be committed against the factories on the shore and the vessels within sight of the coasts of Tellicherry or Mahe (even when there should be war between the Crowns in Europe) unless otherwise ordered by the respective Companies. The French demolished the Kariakunu fort, but the Factors did not destroy Putinha, a bulwark against the Kurangot Nair. The French had incurred a huge expense during the late struggles and become weak. But they secured a footing in the pepper regions of Malabar. The agreement of course did not cement a perfect friendship and a clash of interests might occur at any time. The French sought to stabilise their positions by upholding the Valunnavars and encouraging them to be fully independent of the Kolatiri sovereignty. The last was now going to be challenged, and an alteration in the ancient political constitution of the country effected.

III

The Anglo-French peace, though it brought tranquillity to the south and east of Tellicherry, failed to do so in the northern parts.

Ali Raja of Cannanore always had designs against Prince Udaya Varman and their mutual struggles had started very early; probably they might have come to terms on 22 February 1722. The Prince was being financially assisted by the Company. In May 1727, however, Ali Raja renewed his hostilities against the Prince under Dutch instigation; and he seized by force a hill-fort which the Factors too were seeking to secure for the Company. Ali Raja promised not to molest the Company's interests of trade; his men began to violate the peace of their new conquest, and the Factors urged the Prince to regain the lost credit in the country. The Prince meanwhile seems to have entered into an agreement with the Kottayam Raja, and landed in the Darmapatam Island and taken one of Ali's forts. Darmapatam was captured by them. The Company provided the necessary supplies for the Prince, without actu-

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF TELLICHERRY SETTLEMENT 197

ally interfering in the struggles, in accordance with their policy. Before 14th of March 1728 Ali Raja sailed for Juddah, but his Mopla subjects carried on the skirmishes. In the same month, Mr. Braddyll took charge of the factory as the Chief.

It would seem that in 1729 the Prince and the Moplas arrived at an agreement through the Company's mediation at Tellicherry; the articles were soon broken, the hostilities started again, and the Prince prepared for a general assault. The Dutch began to intrigue with the Prince, to the prejudice of the Company's trade; their designs extended to the possession of Darmapatam, and they offered to humble the Moplas and bring them to the Prince's terms in return for the grant of that island. The Dutch settlement on Darmapatam meant the commercial uselessness in future of the Tellicherry factory. The Prince, whom the English did not actively support, was prone to listen to the Dutch, and in May 1730 tried to be in touch with their Commodore in Cochin. The Moplas were now reported to prepare a great naval force with intention to attack Baliapatam; and it behoved the Company to keep the Prince to their interest, for Darmapatam alone appeared to off-set the disadvantages in trade that the French occupation of Mahe had created.

Thus in September 1730, the Factors decided to open their purse-strings and store-rooms. A huge loan to the Prince was authorised, and his correspondence with the Dutch stopped. Braddyll took advantage of the Prince's difficulties to obtain from him a new grant of privilege to the Company. The Prince specifically promised not to admit the French or the Dutch into Iruvalinad, Darmapatam and Randetara; and the Company would enjoy liberty to hoist their flag at the latter two places according to convenience. The grant was an immediate blow to the Dutch. The Prince was now enabled to raise a considerable army, and by June 1731 the hard-pressed Moplas sought a peace. The hostilities ceased; the prince was given a big sum; but the restitution of Darmapatam to the Moors was left for later consideration. At the same time, the Company sought to establish easy relations with the Kottayam Raja too.

A new factor was now about to thrust itself upon Malabar politics and affect and complicate the history for some years to come.

In their distress the Moplas had applied for help to the Canarese king at Bednur who thereupon found it convenient to declare war on the reigning Prince. In about May 1731 the Canarese invaded the Kolatiri kingdom. The Prince was thus in troubles both from his "rebellious subjects and usurping neighbours". The Canarese took the Company to task for co-operating with the Prince, and compelled the withdrawal of their factory at Onore. The local pirates too were not remaining inactive. The Canarese steadily advanced southward and by January 1732, they routed the Prince's army and got as far as Mount Dilly. They stormed the Matamy point which strategically held forth bright prospects for them. The Zamorin's army marched to aid the prince, but the defence was entirely mismanaged. The temple at Taliparamba came under the Canarese who were free now to march on Baliapatam.

All this time the Company only assumed a defensive posture without extensively or openly helping the Prince. So, on 21 October 1732, the latter crossed the Baliapatam river, and was conducted to the tent of Ragonat, the Canarese General. A peace was made. The country to the north of Baliapatam as far as Nilesvaram was to be governed by the Prince who would make an annual acknowledgment to the Bednur king. In this part the Canarese could erect three forts, at Madacara, Kavayi and Nilesvaram. The Canarese relinquished all pretensions to the south of Baliapatam and promised help to the Prince in quelling the rebellious Moplas.

Thus ensued the march on Cannanore. The Canarese army crossed the Baliapatam river southward and joined the Prince's forces. Yet all parties distrusted one another but kept up various faces according to the different aspects of the complex situation. The Company planned secretly to assist the Moplas of Cannanore, who by continuing to fight, might keep off danger from Tellicherry for some time at least. The Canarese conquest of Cannanore meant the loss to the Company of pepper of Randetara. The Canarese, to some extent, were getting tired of the expedition. The French were now getting active, so as to invade the Company's rights of trade. Towards the end of 1732, Stephen Law was appointed the Chief at Tellicherry mainly to improve the relations with the Canarese.

Though the Moplas could not embarrass the Canarese fleet, they vigorously repulsed an attack made on one of their forts.

Gradually the French began to be uneasy about the ultimate intentions of the Canarese, and thought of joining the Company against the new peril, which the Prince, in his zeal of revenge on the Moplas, had not apparently appreciated. The French originated certain proposals in December 1732, and it seems that the Company later agreed to some formal articles; the parties, in short, promised to assist each other in case of a Canarese attack on their respective forts. The Prince was secretly won over and prevailed on to retire into the Baliapatam fort; the Moplas were to have taken Madacara so as to secure the Company free communication with the Baliapatam fort. Yet the promising scheme was unwisely upset, and contrary to expectation it ended in the Canarese occupation of Madacara, to the great destruction of the Moplas. The temporary identity of interests between the Prince and the Moplas, as against the Canarese, receded into the background; Ragonat opened fair relations with the Company, and assured that he would not march southward without their consent. Thereupon the Company's articles with the French ended in smoke. The siege of Cannanore was carried on once more in full blast, and all agreed that the Moplas should be reduced first, though for different reasons; the Prince wanted to join them in his ultimate designs against the Canarese themselves, while the Company's concern was only the preservation of their rights.

In 1733 the Kottayam Raja proposed to organise a general confederacy against the Canarese; the Zamorin as well as the Mysore king co-operated in his endeavour. The Company was invited to join the alliance; the French, when sounded, made unreasonable demands to which the Company could not agree. Meanwhile Bednur itself was troubled by enemies, who at the solicitation of the Moplas were insisting on the raising of the Cannanore siege; the Canarese too greatly desired to end the episode. The proposed confederacy never matured. The Company therefore urged the Prince either to push through the plan of the confederacy or to conclude terms with the Canarese by assigning to them certain fortified places and a tribute for the country to the north of Baliapatam. The Prince and the Canarese raised works near the Cadalay fort, and the Moplas attempted in vain to dislodge them. In such a situation of affairs, the Company on the 10th December 1733, got a confirmation of their privileges from Ragonat. At this time, the Dutch entertained some private grievances against the Canarese and hence

impeded the progress of their siege; but towards the end of January 1734, the Dutch came to an agreement with the Canarese and left the Moplas to themselves. The Canarese reduced Cannanore on 11th February 1734. The Moplas sued for peace. Cadalay was surrendered to the conquerors. In this way, the wars with the Moplas ended with the Canarese triumph in Malabar. Further troubles awaited the Malabar chieftains who had been too disunited to act at the proper moment.

IV

For some years past the purchase of Darmapatam had been occupying the attention of the Company. When during the late wars, the island was annexed to the Kolatiri sovereignty, the Kottayam Raja too began to hold forth his own claims to it, based on his agreement with the Prince. He greatly suspected the Company's privilege of hoisting colours over Darmapatam. In 1734, it was reported that England and Holland were at war with France; and when, by all reports, the Kottayam Raja was understood to have permitted the French to possess the island, its occupation became vital to the Company's interests. But certain circumstances seemed to stand against any immediate action, and the Court of Directors too were averse to the project. However the Factors decided to occupy the Grove Island, belonging to Ali Raja's family and adjacent to Darmapatam; they obtained permission to place their men on the island, as an apparent measure of security against the French or the Canarese. On 5th October 1734, the Company's men were sent to occupy the Grove Island. The French were now anxious to fix themselves at Darmapatam, and the Factors kept a vigilant watch over their activities. The Factors started some negotiations with the Kottayam Raja so as to buy off his claims; but perhaps under the instigation of the French, he often changed his terms; he tried to make capital out of the ambition of the two European Companies. The Factors were waiting for their moment. It came when on 3rd February 1735 the Canarese pitched their tents on the low grounds of Darmapatam with a view to attack Kottayam. In his anxiety the Raja permitted the Company to fortify and plant their banner on the island; on the 7th, the Company's men occupied it. Still the Raja could not be reconciled to the Company's demand for a writing by which he was to have relinquished all pretensions to Darmapatam. Subsequently the Prince too granted the island to

the Company "with the lands lying thereon, surrounded by its bordering rivers and the said lands, with the bars and rivers thereunto belonging". The Company's military occupation was thus given a legal character by an absolute grant from the Prince as the sovereign of the land. In return they promised to pay him and his successors the duties on all imports and exports of the island by ships and boats.

Now arose the question of the feasibility of making Darmapatam the head settlement of the Company. Tellicherry was a massive, irregular construction, while the island was the Company's immediate property, under their own administration, and capable of receiving a capital fortification. Yet in moving to Darmapatam, a great sum had to be sunk, and it appeared less convenient for the landing and shipping of goods than Tellicherry. Anyway, no definite conclusions were arrived at in regard to the expensive fortifications at Darmapatam, and the whole scheme was put in cold storage. The Factors still maintained their men on the Grove Island, and they could henceforth enjoy the rents and revenues of Darmapatam.

V

After the fall of Cannanore, the Canarese were remaining quiet for some time, but evidently their idea was to creep southward along the coast with a show of friendship to the Company. In February 1735 they, under General Gopaljee, directed their operations against Kottayam, with a footing on Darmapatam. The Kottayam Raja and the Valunnavar now proposed to join the Company and the Prince against the Canarese; the French too might harass the Canarese at sea. The Prince undertook to defray the Company's expenses in the suggested operations. Yet the scheme failed, for the whole atmosphere was beset with mutual distrust among the parties; and the Company refused to act as principals in the conduct of war.

Meanwhile Gopaljee wanted to build two forts in Kottayam and Iruvalinad and collect the rents therefrom. The Kottayam Raja was reported to have struck an alliance with him who was to wrest Darmapatam from the Company and Baliapatam from the Prince. The Company advised the Prince to conduct himself in such a way as would preserve best his authority; their policy was

just to free themselves from the calamity of the neighbourhood. The Nairs, under the Prince's instigation, besieged Taliparamba but the Canarese obliged them to retire with great havoc. An open rupture between the Canarese and the Prince was in sight. In December, 1735, Stephen Law visited the Canarese General to negotiate the affairs. The latter requested the Company's help against the Prince, but it was declared that their "bussiness was trade and not warr".

Such a political situation was rendered all the more complex by the entry of the French into the field in active opposition to the Company's interests. They began to settle a factory or fort at Peringattur in Iruvalinad proper, about three leagues inland of Mahe. The project was a direct threat to the Company's pepper trade in those regions. The French had no lawful right to build a factory there, and to create the fiction of legal sanction, they brought to Mahe a young member of the Udayamangalam House, who, on a proper present, engaged to give them a grant as to Peringattur. This young prince was encouraged by the French as a rival to Udaya Varman; the Canarese too were apt to play off one against the other so as to further their own aggressive schemes. The French had been making heavy disbursements in support of the Kottayam Raja and hence they tried to reconcile him to the Canarese on a more definite basis than before. The French were expecting some ships from Pondicherry, and sought from the Canarese, liberty to trade in about Randetara. A combination of the French, the Canarese and the Kottayam Raja might endanger the English settlement at any time, and the Factors' situation was not enviable. They were about to pay the price for their inertia, and their general distrust of the natives. They lacked proper instructions from Bombay; nor did they possess any capable sea-force at Tellicherry. However they protested against the activities of the French and excited abuses to them in the Kolatiri country; they also tried to wean the Canarese from the French influence.

In January 1736, the Factors proposed to give a loan to the Kottayam Raja if only he would entirely resign his unhappy claims to Darmapatam after a successful joint endeavour against the Canarese. He was also to assign a Nair force to act with the Prince who was constituting a new confederacy. The Factors were now prepared to distress the Canarese at sea. Even though they held forts at proper distances along the sea shore, the position of the Canarese

was definitely weakening. Bednur was being attacked by an enemy inland, and the Dutch too had turned against them. The Factors just began to take the initiative into their own hands, and some sort of union was already achieved among the native powers. By February 1736, the Company was in public favour with the Kottayam Raja. On the 23rd of the same month he agreed that "as long as my reign continues there will be no difference in my friendship with the Honourable English Company" and "the effect of this friendship will be that all who are enemies of the Company will be our enemies, and all the friends...our friends." He promised to the Company the same trade privileges in his kingdom as they enjoyed in the Kolatiri country.

With the sanction of the Bombay Government the Factors resolved to join the confederacy against the Canarese, organised by the Prince, the Kottayam Raja and the Iruvalinad Nambiars. An ultimatum was in February 1736, given to the Canarese to retire to the northern side of Baliapatam river. It was agreed to occupy the Edekat Point so as to impede them, when the guns in the Darmapatam forts could be called into action. But unexpectedly the Canarese scented danger, and suddenly retreated from their camp in the direction of Cadalay. The Company's militia joined the Nairs at Edekat, and repulsed the Canarese in successive attempts. The latter surrendered the fort of Madacara, and suffered much loss in men owing to the unscrupulous conduct of the Nairs; they also evacuated a fort at Mount Dilly.

Meanwhile in March 1736, the Dutch too determined to join the allies. The Company gave up their pretensions to Cadalay, as well as the Prince, so as to secure their co-operation effectively. Thereupon the Dutch marched to the allied camp at Cadalay, which fell towards the end of the month after smart fighting. General Gopaljee lay dead on the field. The services of the Dutch were very much appreciated by the Company.

As usual everywhere, the retreat became a rout. The Canarese had soon to surrender Madai and Taliparamba. Their garrison at Alikunu was completely destroyed by the Nairs. The Mataly fort came under the victors next. An attempt was now to be made to take the remaining forts in Nilesvaram and step directly into the Canarese territory. But the setting in of the monsoon prevented further activities.

VI

By this time, the dangers that had threatened Bednur cleared, and the Canarese began to think once more in terms of a vigorous push into Malabar. The Bednur king requested the Company to remain neutral in the coming operations, while he was ready to admit them to their former privileges in Canara and confirm those in Malabar. The Company whose coffers were now empty, therefore informed Surapaya, the Mangalore Governor, of their "desire of preserving a friendship with the king of Bednur, as well as to effect a reconciliation between him and the king of Colastree....".

Subsequently the Canarese closed their ports to the Malabar powers, and assembled their forces on the borders of Malabar. The French were now wooing the Canarese favour by offering to act in conjunction with them at sea or on land. Yet the Company could negotiate with the Canarese only when their ports were open to them. To increase their anxiety for a peace, the Factors in October 1736 fell in with the Prince's plan to reduce the Nilesvaram fort. They sent a party to Alikunu with that object in view. But the Canarese were strong and the Prince remained supine. Even now, the Company's peace-talks with the Canarese were going on. If the Prince could be prevailed on to conform to conditions consistent with the Bednur Raja's honour, a general peace might be effected; otherwise the Company was prepared to accept a separate peace for themselves on the basis of the confirmation of their original privileges.

After the action at Cadalay, the Dutch were getting particularly troublesome, and they sought a stipulated quantity of pepper from the Prince on the threat of their siding with the Canarese. The Prince might join them to gain his own ends; and there was no assurance that the main stress of war against the Canarese would not fall on the Company or that the Prince would not evince a greater interest in the Dutch affairs even in the event of victory. The question was if a rupture with the Dutch was more desirable than the continuation of the war with the Canarese. Anyway the Factors proposed to prevent pepper going to the Dutch. In January 1737 it was conjectured that the Dutch had promised the Prince to drive away the Canarese on his payment of a large quantity of pepper; the Factors hoped that the agreement would only lead to future disputes. We may not say the Prince's talks with the Dutch

were intended to give umbrage to the Company, for perhaps he was only making himself secure in the event of their separate peace with the Canarese. His idea was to present an united front to the Canarese, as had been highly effective at Cadalay. But the Dutch parleys led the Factors to a more serious consideration of a separate peace, for a defeat from the Canarese might mean the drain of a major part of their effective garrison. And the Canarese controlled all the river systems as far below as Alikunu; above all, the Company distrusted the Nairs and feared an attack on their rear by the Kottayam Raja who was getting jealous of the growing power of the Prince. The three alternatives for them were either to expend money in war in expectation of future recompense, or promote the Dutch interests by joining them or conclude a separate peace.

However on 9th February 1737, Surapaya agreed to certain conditions for the preservation of mutual amity with the Company; he modified some of the Company's original proposals. Accordingly all the former grants of the Bednur king were to be preserved by the Company who could re-settle at Onore on the basis of original rights. The wrecks of the English vessels on the Canarese shores would be restored, and the exports of rice and other goods from Canara for the use of the Company and their servants, permitted free of the duties called Adlamy; in case of the conquest of Malabar, the king would preserve the Company's privileges of monopoly as to pepper, cardamom and sandal wood, though the other articles might be free to anybody else. He would not erect forts or bring his army within a specified distance, northward from Madacara fort; and in the Company's sphere of influence, extending roughly from Baliapatam southward he would conduct no hostilities. The Company's interests were now apparently safe, and on 16th February 1737, the Chief gave his counter-articles, which, with sundry objections, almost accepted Surapaya's. Thus by the time the Bombay Government sent some cruisers to act against the Canarese, it happened that a truce was already effected; they feared that 'grievous mischiefs' might follow the agreement.

Meanwhile in January 1737 the Canarese had already crossed the frontiers into Malabar. At this time the Company suffered a disaster at Alikunu fort and hence withdrew from it, which was at once surrounded by the Canarese. As a preventive measure against the scheming Dutch and the advancing Canarese, the Factors secured the Madacara fort. It was now that the Company came

to an agreement with the Canarese, leaving the Prince alone; for the Dutch too failed him at the proper time. The Canarese advanced as far as Madai fort, about five miles distant from Baliapatam, and their ultimate designs remained unknown. So in July, the Factors decided to allow a loan for the Prince.

The plight of the latter was the occasion for the Company to receive two certificates from him. By the first, he empowered them to erect a new stronghold on the spot of Madacara, so as to enjoy the 'sole traffic of pepper and cardamoms' and to prevent the Canarese from frequenting that place; another fort might be built at Edekat for the better security of the pepper of Randetara. By the second, the Prince promised not to transact with any European nation on terms of amity "without the consent and approval of those in the direction of Tellicherry."

The Canarese were still on the advance, and when it became certain that they would not mind dislodging the Company from Madacara, if not permitted access to Baliapatam, the Prince was advised rather to conclude terms with them than lose the whole country. The Chief undertook the task of mediation. On this occasion, he first obtained the old Kolatiri's consent to the proposed agreement, so as to avoid disputes in future; and the latter committed the government of the kingdom, remaining to him to the charge of Prince Udaya Varman. This event almost marked a revolution in the history of the Kolatiri constitution; for, though uncrowned, the Prince became the virtual sovereign of the country, the immediate heir having been set aside for want of capacity. And the right to the Regency became henceforth solely confined to the Pally or the Chirakal branch, the Udayamangalam princes reconciling themselves to the circumstance. The Chief did much to moderate the Canarese demands, and on 30th August 1737, the articles of peace were exchanged. The Kolatiri promised to resign to the Bednur Raja all the land from Madai fort "westward, to Urbelly southward, and to the hills eastward, with all the territories northward," bordering on Taliparamba river; he was contented with what extended to the south of the above. Surapaya, the Canarese General, on his part engaged that neither of the contracting parties should with an armed force invade the territory of the other.

Soon after, Surapaya was divested of his office and Ragonat, again came into the field. The renewal of the operations was cer-

tain. By December 1737 Ragonat was already on his way to assume the command of the camp in Malabar. He expected the Company to remain neutral. The Factors, though some indignities were heaped on the Company's vessels at Mangalore, resolved not to engage in the struggles, as they suspected the Prince's sincerity. We are to presume that the Canarese continued to insult the Company until October 1738, when a covenant was adjusted with the hard pressed Prince to war "against the insolence of Canara." Slight skirmishes with the invaders ensued, but in January 1739 the Factors once again found a 'shuffling man' in the Prince. They could expect no detachment from Bombay, and the orders of the Directors were forbidding as to the continuation of the wars. By August the Company hoped for the conclusion of affairs on the footing of Surapaya's agreement.

Meanwhile the Bednur Raja died, and his successor reinstated Surapaya to the command of the army and was for amity with the Company; at Tellicherry, the Chiefship also newly fell to the charge of William Wake. In January 1740, Wake and Surapaya met at Matamy; and on the 18th February some articles were settled for the Company, to serve as an amendment to one of the terms in the previous separate agreement. Accordingly a stipulated quantity of rice, provided annually in any of the Canara ports for use at Tellicherry on the Company's account was to be exempted from Adlamy duty. Surapaya offered a sum to the Company as well as the Prince as a testimony for good intentions in the future. On 27th February 1740 were delivered the Articles of Peace signed by the late Bednur Raja in 1736-37 and Surapaya promised to hand over the counter-part under the seal of the new king. The Bednur king agreed to fulfil the ancient treaties with the Company, to restore their wrecked vessels, and uphold their monopolies in the conquered land. The Company's vessels trading at the Canara ports were to pay the Coddivisa duty, though they could be free from Adlamy collected lately. The Company might retain Madacara, while he would not design against their settlements to the south of Baliapatam; they were not to help the Raja's foes but remain firm in the service of the state, supply his army with provisions of war and leave the communications unmolested. The Prince also was given the former terms of peace, ratified and renewed by the new king. Affairs seem to have remained in this state for some time.

VII

Meanwhile the competition for pepper between the English and the French Companies was daily growing in intensity; and the native merchants, taking advantage of the same were increasing the price of the article. So the French made a proposal to fix the maximum each Company could buy of pepper, but they could not agree to the English demand for a larger share of the total produce.

In August 1739 a war developed between the Iruvalinad Nambiaris on one side and the French, the Valunnavar and the Kurangot Nair on the other; on 2nd September the French carried the Poitterra Hill, secured by the Nambiaris. Obviously the aim of the French was to reduce the Nambiaris to a state of subservience, with whom therefore the Company concluded an agreement on 7th September 1739, so as to secure their privileges in Iruvalinad on a better footing and to prevent the French from pretending to any prior rights in the country. Both parties became mutually obliged not to help any power attacking either; yet the Nambiaris could gain little, from the nature of the agreement. The Valunnavar, as well as the Kurangot Nair carved out a wedge into Iruvalinad for themselves, and the Nambiaris, before long, were obliged to desert Chembra also for want of provisions, which hill-fort was at once occupied by the Nair and the French.

In October 1739 the French desired to accommodate all matters with the Nambiaris, and some articles were drawn up, though abruptly withdrawn by themselves. The French gave out that the English Chief was holding underhand dealings against them. The operations against the Nambiaris were made more vigorous, and the French were able, perhaps by treachery, to take Mannakunu.

These troubles in the country were not as much a contention among the native powers as a forced design of the French to wrest the Company's pepper. So the Bombay Government empowered the Factors to help the Nambiaris to persist in their defence, though by no means was any grant of privilege to be obtained from them, as such an act, which as vassals of the Kolatiris, they had no right to make would furnish the French with a pretext for procuring the like. However the Nambiaris could not hold out any longer, and before 18th December 1739 they concluded terms with the French. Thus Chembra and Poitterra came under the latter who were also to receive a huge sum as war-expenses. The Nambiaris engaged to

raze some of their fortifications, and the French promised to defend them against unjust aggressors. Their disputes with the Nair and the Valunnavar were to be settled by arbitration, and they were asked to renounce their agreement with the Company if that were prejudicial to the French commerce.

The French also made feverish efforts to extend their business all over the coast. They had tried to establish a fort in Punator, in south Malabar, but the efforts of the Dutch and the hostility of the Zamorin prevented the same. The French flag was flying at Tanur, to the south of Calicut, where the Company too maintained a factory subordinate to Tellicherry. The French activities extended as far as Colachel in Travancore, and a clash with the Dutch interests was expected to ensue.

Kadatanad was now under a minor Valunnavar, the old governor having died some time before, and the Mother-Regent controlled the reins of administration. Her relations with the French were not smooth. In December 1739 the French occupied a place which commanded Mahe, and fortified it, and in June 1740 built two forts out of their limits, contrary to her desire. These forts were Fort George, Fort Conde and Fort Dauphin. The defiant acts of the French were highly resented and the issue was being fought out. Meanwhile at the instance of the French, the Kurangot Nair closed a passage, which, leading to Iruvalinad and Kottayam, greatly influenced the Company's inland transport. Fearing the use of force by the French, the Factors sent a party to Andalamala which commanded that part of the country. As the French were apparently on the offensive, it was judged necessary to divert the neighbouring powers from their influence. The French fortified many parts of the country, but their entrenchments were destroyed by the Company's party in June 1740. The French and the Valunnavars too came to be marshalled in opposite camps; a few operations followed in which the French losses were severe. A minor confederacy was formed against the French, and the Company was invited to co-operate with the scheme. The Nambiaris were now to be encouraged to revolt against the French influence. Though the Directors had enjoined on the Factors a policy of strict neutrality in native disputes, the point at issue here was the loss of pepper consequent on the reduction of petty principalities; and the Factors resolved to interfere against the French.

Early in May 1741 it was reported the French were about to treat of a peace with the Valunnavar. However some time later, the Nambiars formed a league with the latter, and the Company who expected a war to break out with the French, tried to engage both to their side. But when in November 1741 Labourdonnais came to Mahe to make war on the Valunnavar and blockaded the Kadatanad coast, the Factors only agreed with his request "to act with greater heartiness and frankness for the future." On 22nd November 1741, Labourdonnais took a hill and entrenchments in the Valunnavar's possession. In consideration of the expenses borne by both the Companies in keeping the numerous posts and forts, the Factors concluded some articles with the French on 23rd December, whereby the respective works, newly erected in Iruvalinad were to be immediately evacuated and destroyed; a clause was added to secure the freedom and openness of the trade of Iruvalinad. Several other articles for the common benefit of the two Companies were delivered by Labourdonnais and agreed to on 25th December; the original agreement of 1728 was still to remain in force; and measures for the prevention of any rise in the price of pepper were provided for.

Before long, the French concluded an agreement with the Valunnavar also. He permitted them to keep the fortified hills and assigned to them 'small limits below those forts from the river to the sea.' The French were to retire to Mahe from such other places which they were before in possession of. By another agreement the Nambiars gave up fourteen cocoanut gardens near Mahe for the benefit of the French and engaged never to help the enemies of the latter. Having settled the affairs on the coast, Labourdonnais sailed from Mahe in January 1742. On account of the peace, a reduction was effected in the garrisons at Mahe and Tellicherry, and by February 1743, John Geekie was appointed the chief, Wake having assumed charge of Bombay as Governor.

VIII

Meanwhile the Canarese were possessing a large part of the Kolatiri kingdom. In about October 1743, the Prince, without consulting the Company made his final adjustments with them, though unfortunately the negotiations proved futile. There were sundry risings in the country against the Prince's government occasioned

by some discontented members of the royal family. The rebels were suppressed with some difficulty, and the revolts which extended from 1739 over a period of five years indeed proved a great menace to the country. Another source of equal concern was the renewal of the activities of local pirates.

The Prince and the Company were gradually drifting apart. The Prince felt the Company was interfering in his government, and also wanted, as it seems, to get back the Madacara fort. He was concerned at the Factors' regard for his younger brother, Kunhi Raman, who, he feared, might overthrow himself. So when Ali Raja of Cannanore and the Moplas turned against the Company, the Prince too in September 1745 prepared to join them in an attack on Madacara; but the Company's party defeated them in two or three warm engagements. The Factors on 1st October 1745 struck an agreement with the Kottayam Raja who accordingly promised not to permit his subjects to assist the Company's enemies. They also tried to effect a reconciliation with the Prince, who however again fell under the influence of Ali Raja and even marched with his men to Kadirur, within two leagues of Tellicherry. In February 1746, George Dudley assumed the charge of the Chiefship. The Factors once again took Kunhi Raman into their confidence, who was asked to chastise the Prince's evil counsellors and round whom all the country now flocked. The Prince submitted to the necessity of the situation and tacitly consented to the assumption of the government by his younger brother. "And thus a revolution was brought about at the expense of very little blood and treasure." On 5th June 1746 the Prince breathed his last. Thus ended the active career of Udayavarman, full of events and changing fortunes. It was an irony of fate that his last days were spent in fighting with the Company though their privileges had really taken root under him.

Rama Varma, as the immediate brother of Udaya Varman, was the next heir to the regency, though he was content to entrust the reins of management to Kunhi Raman, the youngest. Meanwhile certain transactions were developing between the Company and the Prince and the Achemars in regard to Randetara. On 1st March 1741, the Achemars had mortgaged all the lands in Randetara to the Company in consideration of a loan, and they were apt to look on themselves as under the Company's protection.

IX

When in 1744 war broke out in Europe between England and France, there appeared at first no repercussions on the Malabar coast. The French suffered some losses at sea, and could carry on their commerce only in Dutch ships, while the Company became almost the sole buyer of pepper. But in about the middle of 1746, the French at Mahe were reported to be preparing to 'say Mass in Tellicherry'. Both at Mahe and Tellicherry some protective measures were adopted, though the Company would not wage "war but when their property was in danger."

There was an attempt by the two Companies to rally the native powers round themselves. Ali Raja was a firm supporter of the French, while the Prince Kunhi Raman was an enthusiastic friend of the Company. On 2nd March 1747 the Factors came to an understanding with the Second Raja of Kottayam also, regarding his assistance in case of any eventuality. Meanwhile the French had already been worsted near Fort St. David, and though some of their ships came to the west coast subsequently, they brought no considerable force but sailed away without making any attempt on Tellicherry. On the departure of the ships, Ali Raja was left alone and asked pardon for "his past follies". He promised never again to act against the Company, and in July 1747, the Chief assured him that as long as he "abided by his obligations to pay the debt to... Company, as well as continue to act in the same good manner as his predecessors have heretofore done.....he need not doubt of having shown him the same estimation....as was to his predecessors".

Meanwhile the Prince's government was being threatened by internal rebellions, though he succeeded in conciliating the disturbing elements. The Canarese to the northward constituted another serious threat. In March 1748 a party of the Canarese arrived and pitched their camp on the side of the Ram Dilly river with intention to invade the country, and the Company advised the prince to pacify them. The Company's privileges in Canara had often been violated since 1744, and in 1747-48 the Factors got them renewed after some negotiations with the Bednur Raja. Matters remained in this state for some time, as it appears, without further procedure on the part of the Canarese.

In May 1748, when Robert Rawdon became the Chief at Tellicherry another attempt was made to secure the full co-operation of the Kottayam Rajas against the French. The second Raja was at first prevailed on to send his forces against the Company's enemies, when necessary. On 31st July the Senior Raja too came to an important agreement with the Company. He gave them the sole privilege of carrying pepper and cardamom out of Kottayam, to the exclusion of other European nations. This agreement, later confirmed in 1759, formed the basis of the extension of the Company's privileges from the Kolatiri kingdom to Kottayam. During the wars with the French, the Company's application against them in Malabar was more vigorous in the sphere of trade than in any other.

Those wars still went on. The tables were gradually being turned against the French. In April 1748, it was reported that the Dutch also had declared war on them. In October, the Factors were informed about the king's proclamation for the cessation of arms both on land and sea. Finally in September 1749 came the news of the general peace concluded in Europe and the royal proclamation thereon; the proclamation was read on the 26th, the day being spent in "proper demonstrations of joy".

X

Chief Rawdon died in October 1748 and was immediately succeeded in the office by Byfield, the second in Council.

Prince Kunhi Raman, who was allied by marriage to the Kadatanad family was thinking of making over Iruvalinad to its benefit; for his son was the heir to the governorship of the country. Accordingly the Valunnavar prepared to occupy Iruvalinad with the assistance of the French. The assertion of the French influence in that country was unexpected and prejudicial to the Company's interests. And the Nambiars were planning to preserve the integrity of their own principality.

Meanwhile many disputes sprang up between the Company and the Prince. He levied additional duties on pepper imported into Tellicherry and ravaged some of the Company's gardens in Darmapatam. He was led astray by his counsellors to whom he portioned out parts of the Kolatiri kingdom. In Randetara, already mortgaged to the Company he sought to collect the rents and revenues. With the cessation of the Anglo-French war, the Factors

could assume a firm attitude towards the Prince. Any way an agreement was arrived at in January 1749 by which most of the Company's specific grievances were removed. Protection was assured to the Company's merchants, and the proper mode of the revenue collection in Randetara settled. Easy relations were apparently established, and in February 1749, the Factors could well say that "no difference at present exists between us and the country powers, being upon good terms with all the others round us....."

For some time past, disputes and struggles were going on between the Vadakelamkur, who belonged to the Udayamangalam family and the two Princes, Rama Varma and Kunhi Raman. They led to the absolute ruin of the country, each party destroying the estates of the adherents of the other. The Prince's advisers once again gained hold in the country, though on 6th May 1749, Kunhi Raman had a friendly interview with the Chief at Madacara. An agreement was subsequently arrived at. The Company obtained a grant of the Madacara Island "extending from the Creek Imoit-Adaro southward to Imay Creek northward, from the Company's fort of Madacara westward, to the Creek called Imay eastward, with all privileges, profits, lands and emoluments of what kind so ever belonging thereunto, to cultivate and improve the same....." The Company gained the absolute power to administer justice in the island, as at Tellicherry. Meanwhile the Vadakelamkur became a state prisoner at Baliapatam, and in hope of freedom, he on the 9th May 1749 relinquished all claims to the hereditary rights of Udayamangalam, and made over to the two Princes all the fields and gardens of that family, "from the river Quilavelly to Urbelly southward". This agreement, rather forced on the Vadakelamkur was to have reduced the Udayamangalam House to subservience. The Chief therefore impressed on the Princes the illegality of their procedure and the agreement was declared ineffective. Another engagement was arrived at, when the Vadakelamkur, of his free will consented to the Princes enjoying the estates of his family, southward of Cherukuru, provided he and his heirs could possess the remainder of all their inheritance without further oppression. In this way the supersession of the Pally branch over Udayamangalam became complete. Still some of the heirs of the Vadakelamkur continued to disturb the general peace, but by the beginning of 1750 most of the differences were already being made up.

The Prince now made over the paddy fields belonging to two temples on the Darmapatam Island, in part of his debts to the Company and confirmed the previous grant relative to their ownership of the Island. The Valunnavar too made up his accounts with the Company. On 5th September 1749 Byfield made some friendly proposals to the Valunnavar who was to maintain the Company's privileges and assist their merchants in the purchase and transport of commodities

The Prince was bent on his project of making Iruvalinad a part of Kadatanad, to the benefit of his own son. The Valunnavar, if opposed, might call in the French to help him, who thereupon might gain further territorial concessions and commercial privileges to the prejudice of the Company. The Factors therefore proposed to fall in with the plan, rather than join the Nambiaris and prolong the war. Accordingly some articles were drawn up, to which the Prince and the Valunnavar agreed in October 1749. The Prince was to bear all the charges of the war against the Nambiaris, and the Company to extend no pretensions to any conquests to be made in Iruvalinad; and the Company's privileges in the country were to be preserved. The Company's fears were not justified, for the French never took a favourable view of the Valunnavar's expedition. The general affairs at the settlement were in this state when Byfield left, and Dorril assumed charge of the Chiefship.

XI

Dorril's administration unfortunately forms a sad chapter in the history of the settlement.

As we saw, an alliance was just formed against the Nambiaris when in March 1750, the Valunnavar, with the connivance of Prince Kunhi Raman, took the revolutionary and unprecedented step of proclaiming himself the Raja of Kadatanad. This act, contrary to custom, disgusted the neighbouring powers, who thereupon tried to organise a confederacy against him. But Dorril took care not to commit the Company to any specific undertaking. In March 1751, the Factors were surprised to know that the Prince had abruptly designed to attack Tellicherry itself. We do not know how the misunderstanding between the Company and the Prince suddenly developed nor how far the Factors' linguist, Rodrigues, was responsible for fanning the flame of distrust. Meanwhile the Canarese

were once again threatening the northern parts of the Kolatiri dominion; the Nilesvaram king, who wanted to use the French force against the invaders for the security of his country, prevailed on the Prince to consent to the French settlement in the northern parts with the advantages of trade that the English were enjoying. The increasing influence of the French meant certain war with the Canarese.

Such a situation made the old Kolatiri uneasy, who sought to remove Kunhi Raman from the Regency by constituting on 21st April 1751, Amboo, a "raw and uncultivated youth" of the Pally family, the 'regent and governor' of the realm. The legality of the Kolatiri's act was open to question, but Dorril acquiesced in it as a stopgap arrangement. Subsequently, Dorril went to Cotacunu on a visit to Rama Varma; but the visit unfortunately ended in the exchange of fire between the members of either party and widened the gulf of difference. Events developed fast, and everything was ripe for distressing the Company in the settlement; the differences were going to be settled by the sword, and not by negotiation. All the native powers joined against the Company save Ali Raja who promised to remain neutral. Meanwhile the French managed to obtain all the ground about Nilesvaram, and the Canarese remained encamped on the plains of Hosdurg, though their actual designs could not be known. In July 1751 the French were pushing their northern project ahead; they hoisted their colours at the entrance of the Ram Dilly river, fortified Alikunu and Nilesvaram and built two banksauls; their intention was to check the progress of the Canarese southward.

The Factors adopted suitable measures against the French designs and the growing hostility of the Prince. They even invited the Canarese to march down so as to divert the attention of the latter. Yet the peace subsisting in Europe prevented the Factors from declaring war on the French directly. This attitude of neutrality was resented by the Canarese who construed the Company's friendship only in terms of supplies to them of war-like stores.

The Prince strongly fortified Pallikunu, between Madacara and Baliapatam. The Company made two profitless engagements with the Prince's Nairs in the neighbourhood of Agar. There was another hot engagement at Edekat; after this the Prince showed signs of accommodation, but again flung the negotiations off when

the French gave him a fresh assurance of assistance. On 18th October 1751, the Prince attacked Ponellamala and the heat of action continued for some hours. Subsequently Tirimalla was surprised and taken. The troops at Tellicherry were demoralised and no reinforcement could be expected from Bombay. For the defence of Tellicherry itself, the Factors were forced to abandon Ponellamala. In November, however, they managed to make an agreement with the Kottayam Raja, which weaned him from the Prince's faction. The enemy possessed the hills in the neighbourhood of Tellicherry and the Factors were blocked up in their forts in want of rice and stores.

Meanwhile the French landed at Neracure, to establish a storehouse, the more easily to supply the Prince from time to time. They tried to negotiate with the king of Bednur also but could effect nothing. On the other hand, the Company's representative managed to conclude certain 'celebrated covenants' with the king on 25 October 1751. The Raja assured the continuation of the Company's privileges, while they were to assist him with warlike stores and act as mediators in case of peace.

The Prince continued to attack Meylure and Madacara. Either the Factors had to seek peace or lengthen the war until the arrival of succour from Bombay. Yet when the Dutch offered to settle the affairs by negotiation, their interference was waived by the Factors. However the Kottayam Raja promised to oblige the Prince to withdraw from the Company's limits, and he acted up to his word. Firing ceased temporarily, towards the close of November 1751. Meanwhile the Nairs inflicted a heavy defeat on the indiscreet Canarese at Mataly: their success turned the Prince's head and he adduced impossible demands as the basis of peace. The suspended operations started again, and the walls of Moylan registered considerable damage from the cannon of the enemy. The negotiations for peace were set afoot a second time, and before 21st May 1752, all the batteries ceased fire. A rough draft of the peace was made and given to the Prince, to whom was also returned the original grant of Madacara. The Company promised not to impede the government of the Prince, who thereupon was not to meddle in their exercise of privileges and trade. An attempt was now made to attribute the whole struggle to the machinations of Rodrigues, the linguist, but the Factors' part was also open to question. They lacked discretion and forbearance throughout struggle which was

ill-conducted and proved expensive and profitless. Dorril was suspended and subsequently dismissed from the service, and in March 1754 Thomas Hodges assumed the charge of the Chiefship.

There were some disputes between the Iruvalinad Nambiars and the Valunnavar; the former were actively assisted by the Kottayam Raja, but in about the middle of 1754 the troubles subsided, upon the interference of the French. Before January 1755 the Company also recognised the assumption of kingship by the Valunnavar, and it was of no further significance at all to enquire of its merits.

Even after the peace, minor disagreements with the Prince continued. The latter's government itself was troubled by internal struggles in the country. In 1752 the Prince had agreed to take the revenue collection of Randetara into his own hands, offering to discharge the debts due to the Company, but in 1754 the Factors were not willing to give up their claims to the district; their attitude was of course unfair to the Prince. For some time the affairs remained in the same situation.

In regard to the northern parts, a Raja of the Nilesvaram family had his own struggles with the French in which he often worsted them with heavy losses. However before the end of July 1756 the Raja was forced to come to terms. He was allowed to possess the forts of Veremalla, Pallay, Madurengay and Nilesvaram; but the French did not fulfil their terms; and continued to oppress the people in the neighbourhood of their northern settlements. The disturbed political situation was also availed of by Ali Raja who undertook predatory incursions into the Canara country, which itself was suffering from many internal and external troubles at this time.

XII

In October 1756 the Factors came to know of the king's proclamation of war against the French. The garrison at Tellicherry was weak, and the fort almost defenceless. Yet any additional fortification was deemed imprudent, as the shifting of the headquarters to Darmapatam as a measure of economy was once again engaging the attention of the Directors. The French began to make military preparations at Mahe, but they seem to have been of the

opinion that, in spite of hostilities elsewhere, a neutrality might yet be struck up between the two Companies on the Malabar coast.

Hodges now tried to form alliances with the various native powers to secure their co-operation against the French. The Company's relations with the two Princes showed signs of gradual improvement. On 3rd November 1756, Prince Kunhi Raman had a secret conference with the Chief, at which he promised to aid the Company if the French were to attack Tellicherry; as he had for some time past espoused the French interest, he did not choose to break with them abruptly. The Chief at length drew out some articles of agreement, tending to put him on more certain terms with the Company; they were entirely defensive on the Company's part. The terms were not executed until April 1757, when the Prince wished they might last "so long as the sun and moon". Accordingly he was to join the Company and exercise his influence for them, if the French or any other nation were to go against them; the Company in return promised to aid him in a similar situation; the allied army was to be under the sole control of an English officer.

Later, the Prince started operations against the Chulali Nambiar, who had set himself independent and made head against his sovereign. The Factors did not participate in the war, which lasted until the beginning of 1759 when an accommodation was brought about. The Nambiar agreed to give up the places where he had resisted, and subject them to the Prince's authority.

Hodges next tried to win over Ali Raja to the Company's side, whose relations with the French, for some time past, had remained lukewarm. The Factors advanced him a loan, and before 15th March 1759 some articles were concluded with him. Thus if the Company were to be involved in hostilities against the French or the native powers, he was to act on their part, both offensively and defensively.

The next ruler whose co-operation was vital for the security of Tellicherry was the Raja of Kottayam. At first he put forth certain demands which were considered extravagant by the Factors. The latter thereupon amended some of the original proposals, and presented some articles of an agreement as the best they could consent to. The Raja adhered to his own demands, and the Factors had to bide their time. In about August 1757 the Raja died, and the third Prince became the "full and ample vice-regent of the

kingdom". One year later, the Regent's younger brother, Vira Rajan, rose in revolt, and it was impolitic to permit him to wrest the government of the kingdom wherefrom the Company got much of their pepper; for the regent was a friend of the Company, though he had hesitated to come to any specific terms of agreement; and the French might try to support Vira Rajan and establish their own influence in the country. The rebels possessed themselves of Pinarai, but were soon obliged to retire to Chirakal. In August 1759 there was another revolt when the rebels captured the fort and palace at Nettur. Here was the opportunity for the Company, for the Raja was willing to give them more advantageous terms than originally proposed. On 23rd of the same month an agreement was signed by the Raja in the presence of the nobility of the country. The grant of monopoly in the staple production of the country, given in 1748 was confirmed. Though the Raja might not join the Company in an offensive against the French, he would help them in defending Tellicherry against the latter; and if the Company's men might leave the settlement to make war, his men were to guard and protect the fortifications. In return the Company promised to help him with stores of war whenever necessary, and try to settle his disputes, if any with other powers. Thus was a "treaty accomplished with the kingdom of Cotiote whereby our Hon'ble Employers are possessed of the trade of those dominions, exclusive of all other European nations and such an offensive and defensive alliance now established as makes the Hon'ble Company's and that king's interest in a manner inseparable".

After the agreement, the Factors tried in vain to compose the differences between the two royal brothers. They then sent a detachment under Gore to Nettur, and another under Captain Wardman to serve as an auxiliary force to the Raja. The disposition of the troops was expected to cause a sure diversion for the enemy. But unfortunately through mismanagement, the whole expedition proved a "failure of success". Anyway, the Chief administered a severe warning to the rebels, which caused a consternation in their ranks and led them to surrender unconditionally. Yet the rebellion desultorily dragged on for some time more, and in March 1761, the revolted promised obedience to the established government.

As regards the Kadatanad Raja, the French had not at first acknowledged his title to kingship; the Raja seemed favourable to

the Company, but he never cared to translate his promises into action. Subsequently his differences with the French were made up through the mediation of the Prince. In 1759 it was also reported that the French might give up some of their forts to the Raja, though no agreement was as yet concluded.

Meanwhile in Canara the Bednur king had already died, and the new king, a minor, was guided by three ministers who composed the regency. The Company's privileges in Canara were not being respected for some time past, and so the Factors sent their representative to Mangalore to establish congenial relationship. His visit had the desired effect and the obstacles newly imposed on the Company's trade were all removed, and it became free again.

XIII

In spite of hostilities elsewhere between the English and the French, and the feverish efforts of Hodges, to secure the co-operation of the natives, the west coast on the whole presented a quiet aspect. Yet the French did much to hamper the trade of the English by selling considerable quantities of pepper to Portuguese ships and permitting their chief merchants to transport it for sale to Calicut. The Prince was anxious that both the Companies should maintain neutrality in Malabar. As the years went by, the victories of the English elsewhere were being regularly reported at Tellicherry. The Bombay Government were of the view that no public pact of neutrality could be concluded with the French, though a private one might be made with Louet, the French Chief, regarding the cessation of mutual hostilities, so that the garrison charges would be reduced considerably; they were apt to suspect the sincerity of the French who might secretly foment the native powers against the Company.

The prospect of a small crop of pepper, and the large tonnage to be provided for the homebound ships, and the certainty that the French would continue to prejudice the Company's trade made the reduction of Mahe a desideratum. Besides the French were in a much-distressed situation. Early in 1761 the Factors had occasion to inform the neighbouring powers about the surrender of Pondicherry. Meanwhile Major Munro, who disembarked at Tellicherry with the king's troops, urged the immediate investment of Mahe by sea and land. All the neighbouring powers became warm allies of

the Company, though the Nambiars remained cold, the Kurangot Nair neutral, and the Kadatanad Raja hesitant.

On 3rd February 1761 Louet was asked to surrender Mahe and its dependencies. But he chose to defend. The English made all the necessary preparations for a siege; on 8th a battalion under Major Piers and the Company's Irregulars marched and encamped at the southern end of Ponellamala. The next day the proposals of capitulation came, and a temporary cessation of hostilities was agreed on. Major Munro made some objections to the terms of peace offered, and finally when everything was settled, the conditions were accepted on 12th February 1761, "on the part of His Britannic Majesty whom God long preserve". The exercise at Mahe of Roman Catholic religion was assured, and the garrison permitted to march out with the honours of war, and embark to Bourbon Island or to the Cape of Good Hope or France. All deserters were to be pardoned, and the domestic effects of all civil and military persons preserved. The inhabitants of Mahe could remain in unmolested possession of their rights and privileges, and enjoyment of lands and tenements with freedom to remain or remove. Along with Mahe, the French possessions in the northern quarters were also surrendered, while the victors consented that their factory at Calicut might enjoy the privileges of neutrality observed there. The actual delivery of Mahe was carried out at noon on the 13th, and the British flag was displayed over it. Thus "by a fortunate co-operation of the closet and the camp in which each did but its duty, Mihie fell". It fell before the struggle developed.

The forts at Ram Dilly, Mataly, Nilesvaram, Veremalla and Mount Dilly were the strongholds to be given up to the English according to the capitulation. Meanwhile Ali Raja had surprised and taken Mount Dilly without the Company's knowledge, though however he restored the same to them. Some of the forts the French Chief had given up to a nephew of the Prince, whose Nairs refused to surrender them to the Company. A party had to be sent under Major Munro who took Ram Dilly by force. The Nairs at Mataly continued a stubborn struggle, but finally things were amicably settled. But all the forts were strategically useless and hence razed, save Mount Dilly, the retention of which was necessary for the protection of trade from Tellicherry to Mangalore. The Bombay Government ordered the demolition of Mahe and other forts against which Munro protested; and he chose to abandon their

command; in June, when Munro and the king's troops deserted Mahe, the Company occupied the same. The unhappy dispute between Munro and the Company was the natural result of the dual system of the army and the navy, maintained by the king and the Company. Upon the insistence of the Bombay Government, the systematic reduction of all the French forts was begun, and by February 1763 completed, except that of the Fort George.

XIV

Prince Kunhi Raman died on 9th May 1759. The government by right of course belonged to his elder brother, Rama Varma, who had now attained the dignity of the Vadakelamkur. But it was not certain if he might assume or delegate his authority. Later it appeared that he had appointed Ravi Varma, his nephew as the manager of business. Under the instigation of the Dutch, Ravi Varma raised the standard of revolt against his own uncle. In his plight the Vadakelamkur gave a writing to the Company on the 9th September 1760, confirming the original grants and privileges. The Company might maintain their men in any part of the kingdom to prevent the Dutch or others from purchasing pepper. The Vadakelamkur gave up the royal right to all wrecks on the Kolatiri coast, of vessels belonging to the Company or those under their protection. All the Regents in future were to be nominated only on the approbation of the Chief at Tellicherry, in case of the absence of any proper and immediate heirs. In regard to the customs revenue which the royal family had enjoyed ever since the establishment of the fort, the Vadakelamkur was willing to accept an annual stipend fixed in lieu of the same. On the same day, he mortgaged to the Company the revenues of three districts including Randetara, so that they might defray out of the revenues the debts due from his family and the Achemars. The instrument originally passed in exchange for the grant of Darmapatam, alluding to its customs, could now be rendered null. After the grant, the Company actively assisted the Vadakelamkur, and in October 1760 the rebel Prince sued for peace; before March 1761 the original harmony was restored. From now on the Factors began to cultivate Ravi Varma's friendship, and it was primarily under his influence that the Vadakelamkur finally granted to the Company, on 11th March 1761 the right to levy customs "in all and every places under their protection throughout our dominions....". The annual stipend was fixed,

Towards the end of December 1761 the Factors concluded an agreement with the Kadatanad Raja also. Accordingly the Company got the sole and unrestricted privilege of buying the pepper, cardamom and sandalwood of his country; and the customs to be paid to the Raja were fixed. The Raja promised to return to the Company their vessels wrecked on his coast as well as their deserters who might take shelter in his country. In return he was to be helped, for external defence or internal peace with men and warlike stores. Hitherto the Company's privileges in Kadatanad existed only in theory, and the agreement, coming after the fall of Mahe, was that which might naturally be expected from the advantageous situation of affairs. The Company assigned to the Raja the revenues of Mahe, and since the agreement, they held little influence became the Chief at Tellicherry.

Meanwhile there developed an open rupture between the Kolatiri family and Ali Raja about a golden spire which the latter, contrary to custom, had put up on the top of one of his mosques and about his increasing interference in the affairs of the kingdom. The troubles continued for some time, and the Factors were ready to act indirectly against Ali Raja; they asked for the grant of Madacara Island in vain. But the Bombay Government disagreed with the Factor's decision, for the Court of Directors had ordered complete non-interference in native disputes. However in 1762 an accommodation was brought about with Ali Raja. In 1764 Byfield became the chief at Tellicherry.

The young Prince, Ravi Varma, was the person, now fully responsible for the government of Chirakal. The Dutch at Irriure were impeding the Company's sandalwood trade, and he issued absolute orders that pepper from any part of the country could only become the Chief at Tellicherry.

As early as 1762 Ravi Varma had proposed to transfer to the Company the collection of the revenues of Randetara. The whole pepper of the district could thus be secured, and the Company might also hope for a perpetual grant for keeping a fort there which might encourage the inhabitants to cultivate the waste lands without oppression. On 23rd March 1765 Ravi Varma ceded to the Company the protection of Randetara and abandoned its rents and revenues to their benefit in discharge of the Achemars' debt. He confirmed in full force the grant of 1760, and in return Byfield certi-

fied that all separate rents or immunities whatever belonging to Pally palace in Randetara would be preserved. On 16th May, the Achemars promised to obey the Chief's orders and assist in the Company's collection of the revenues. From this time onward the Company began their direct administration in Randetara.

In 1765 Ali Raja again showed signs of hostility. He fortified Matamy and tried to usurp the Prince's authority. Before August, he joined a rebellion led by Prince Amboo Tamban of the Kolatiri family. The Company and the Prince thereupon formed a plan of alliance. Some articles of agreement, apparently honourable to both sides, were framed but not acted upon. On the arrival of the Company's party the rebels deserted Munkunu post, and the former could storm Ram Dilly also. But the Prince's Nairs began to commit depredations, and the Company was anxious to withdraw their troops, leaving the two captured places in his possession. The Bombay Government too peremptorily ordered the withdrawal of the Company's men, and henceforth the Factors were on no pretence to assist the Malabar powers without their previous permission. However the Factors' interference did a great deal in restoring stability in the kingdom. Meanwhile Byfield died in September 1765 at Darmapatam and later James Ryley assumed the Chiefship before the end of the year.

XV

The Anglo-French war was still going on when, in April 1763, the Bombay Government informed the Factors about the King's proclamation of a cessation of arms. According to the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, the French were to be put in possession of the several places they had held in India at the beginning of 1749 in the condition they were on the day of signing the agreement. The Bombay Government appointed a committee to ascertain the extent of the French limits and the time when they had got possession of the districts and lands dependent on Mahe, particularly those to the northward. On 21st October 1763 the proclamation of peace was publicly read at Tellicherry. After strict enquiry it was ascertained that the northern possessions of the French were not acquired till after July 1751. At the beginning of 1749 the French apparently had only five spots; Mahe, Fort George, Grand Callay, Fort Dauphin and Fort Conde, besides their factory at Calicut. As

these were already demolished, the Factors, on the arrival of the French Commissaries were to give up to them the spots on which the forts stood but not interfere in case any of the country powers might oppose their resettling. The Company had already made over the northern settlements of the French to the Prince.

In March 1765, Plusquelle, former Commandant of the French troops at Mahe, was duly authorised to receive the restitutions on the Malabar coast to be made by the Bombay Government or their representatives. Plusquelle refused to receive Mahe immediately, for he suspected it had already been ceded to the Kadatanad Raja. He wanted the Factors to give up their agreement with the Raja. But his suspicion was "merely a chimera" of his own, and the Raja held no right but what the Company gave. The Factors could not treat of any preliminaries but carry out the superior orders conformable to the tenor of the treaty of peace; the Chief might put the French in possession of their places as in 1749 and they might then settle their own points of dispute, if any, with the Raja.

Finally on 19th October 1765 the actual delivery of the forts was made by the two Commissaries appointed on behalf of the Company. Plusquelle raised objections, demanded the restoration of more places, without which he refused to accept any; he also wanted an Instrument putting him in possession of all the forts and posts. But the Factors did not accede to the demands. On the 20th, the French Colours began to fly again over the places restored.

Meanwhile the Company's affairs were progressing at Calicut also. In 1744 they had already rebuilt the Calicut factory. The factory sometimes suffered from the effects of internal disturbances and the open competition of the other European Companies. On the whole the Zamorin's favour and patronage more extended to the Company than any other; however in 1752 the Danes managed to obtain a spot for building a factory with some privileges. In 1759 the Zamorin permitted the Company to cover their factory with tiles and gave orders for the prevention of any delays in the conduct of their business. Meanwhile the Zamorin was defeated in two battles by the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore, though the struggles ended apparently after the peace of 1763. Yet the downfall of the Zamorins was imminent; neither the Europeans nor his native enemies could claim to have brought it about. Ominous clouds gathered and thickened fast on the northern horizon, and

threatened to deluge and wash away an empire. The Mysoreans were in action.

XVI

With the coming of the Mysoreans, we enter into a new epoch in the history of the settlement. Events begin to develop fast. And the settlement which hitherto developed in isolation under the control of the Bombay Government comes more and more in contact with the other presidencies, and the activities at Tellicherry seem to have become part of wider activities elsewhere. Now too the axe is first laid at the root of the orthodox political system of Malabar; some of the reactionary mediaeval features gradually tend to disappear. For the first time Malabar comes to be organised under one political control. The land revenue administration grows, a new variety of coinage appears, and the system of communications improves. After 1766 the Mysorean activities prepare the political and administrative background for the later British sovereignty in Malabar. It may be of interest to pursue the study of the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the settlement under the new regime.

The Mysoreans had from 1732 made incursions into Malabar on several occasions. In 1761 too their cavalry entered and ravaged the country, when the Zamorin, already at war with the Dutch and the Cochin Raja preferred to buy off the new enemy. By January 1763 Hyder captured Bednur, and he was willing to continue the Company's privileges at Mangalore on the old basis. Hyder's friendship was now essential to the Company since he was hitherto espoused to the French interest. In 1763 it appeared that he was intending to fortify the places formerly held by the French in Nilesavaram, but the Company's remonstrance for the moment served to release the Malabar Powers from anxiety. The Company desired rather to evade the requests of the Powers for help and protection, so that they might avoid giving disgust to Hyder while soliciting his favour.

In 1764 Hyder sent Anant Rao as his envoy to Tellicherry who asked the Factors to offer no obstruction to his master should he be disposed to enter Malabar and make tributaries of the various powers. But the Factors could not, in the interests of commerce, suffer the tranquillity to be disturbed or any innovation made in the political system. It appeared that Hyder's "views were not con-

lined, and that he might not in all probability be prevailed upon to desist from carrying his already projected plans into execution." The Company could not remain neutral unless previous security was given for their immunities; they demanded the preservation of their privileges at all places where Hyder's arms might prove victorious.

The Zamorin had not yet made the promised payments to Hyder, and the Kolatiri family had not acknowledged their debt to the original Canara Government which Hyder superseded. The conduct of these two powers urged Hyder to think of an invasion of Malabar. In 1765 he concluded a peace with the Mahrattas which enabled him to prepare for an attack. The Bombay Government now advised the Factors to avoid entering into any dispute, in such a case, among the native powers; if Hyder's government were to be established at Calicut they were to apply to him for a renewal and confirmation of all privileges originally enjoyed under the Zamorins.

In February 1766 the Factors were informed about Hyder's entry into the Kolatiri country. Until the receipt of orders from Bombay the Factors could not send a force in aid of the Prince and thereby involve the Company in trouble. Hyder refused the Chief's mediation to settle the mutual differences. The Factors thereupon left the Prince to his fate, and informed Hyder about the Company's jurisdiction over Randetara lest it might be construed as a part of the kingdom. Ali Raja found it convenient to renew his hostilities against the Prince, who in vain sent his minister to negotiate with Hyder. Under pressure, Madai was evacuated on 21st February, and soon after Hyder possessed the Prince's palace. On 23rd, he confirmed the several grants made over to the Company by the several Rajas for the sole purchase and export of pepper, cardamom and sandalwood, "from the Malabar frontier to the northward, the Zamorin's dominions including them."

Hyder next proposed to strike inland to the southward and before the middle of March he entered Kottayam; his success owed much to the treachery of the Moplas under its Raja, who took the first opportunity of declaring for Hyder. Meanwhile the Prince and party left for Travancore. Though it appeared that active measures might lead the Company into projects, too expensive to be undertaken, the Factors were asked to promote an alliance among

the country powers "without appearing to interfere therein." Before the end of March Hyder conquered Kadatanad also after a stubborn struggle. The Company considered it inconsistent of Hyder to have attacked, while in friendship, their allies; and to the Bombay Government Hyder's grant appeared too general to be valid. But their orders for the adoption of strong measures came too late, for Hyder's conquest of north Malabar was complete. Hyder's troops began to commit depredations in Randetara, but he ordered them to give it up to the Company. Hyder was apparently friendly to the Company, and willing to accommodate matters with the Prince, but he was led by the unscrupulous Ali Raja who advised him to break with them.

From Kadatanad to Calicut was an easy step. The Zamorin tried to oppose Hyder in vain, and his offer of peace did not adequately meet Hyder's demand. Ali Raja arrived on 10th April 1766 at the Zamorin's palace, and the fort which refused to surrender was invested. The siege of Calicut was rigorous, and on the 27th the hard-pressed Zamorin blew up the powder-magazine and himself too. Hyder's conquest was complete. The Portuguese at this time were disputing the Company's rights to a spot of ground in front of their factory at Calicut, and hence to avoid all disputes in future Hyder gave a new grant of the same to the Company!

XVII

In May 1766, Hyder left Calicut for Coimbatore, leaving behind 3000 men under Madanna. Perhaps the whole of South Malabar presented a scene of desolation. Before he left, Hyder had appointed Ali Raja and Shaick Ali, the civil and military governors respectively of the Kolatiri country. The Madras Government now chose to avoid an open rupture with Hyder whose power was a check to the Mahrattas; and the Factor's duties were to secure all the advantages without involving the Company in disputes or infringing the rights of other European nations.

In Malabar, Hyder's men were retreating under severe pressure everywhere. In June 1766 the Kadatanad Raja entered into a pepper-contract with the Company who thereupon supplied him the necessary provisions for the conduct of operations against Hyder's troops. The Raja's attempt to recover his kingdom wholly was not a success. Meanwhile the new Zamorin reassembled his

men, and Hyder's garrisons at numerous places in the south were defeated or destroyed. Hyder himself had to come to rescue his men, who then stormed Pudiangady whereto the Nairs had fallen back. Gradually the Nairs grew indifferent and their prospects dull. In Kottayam too, the local Raja was said to have led the standard of revolt. Though Hyder's governor could restore order in Kadatanad, his garrison in Kottayam suffered much loss.

Hyder now directed better treatment to the Company at Mangalore, and ordered the several commanding officers in Malabar to deliver to them all the pepper of the country; no impediment was also to be put on their trade at Calicut. Hyder complained that in spite of his friendly attitude, the Factors at Tellicherry were inciting his Nair subjects to revolt against his established government. In January 1767 William Hornby became the new chief at Tellicherry. Hyder seems now to have attempted to enter Travancore, though he was repulsed with some loss. The Bombay Government warned the Factors to be prepared, for the Company might have to alter their peaceful conduct. Subsequently Hyder was distressed by the Mahrattas with whom however he made peace. His troops were being rapidly withdrawn from the Malabar coast, which enabled the Nairs to possess the confines of Calicut.

Meanwhile the Prince, Ravi Varma, returned from Travancore and negotiated with the Rajas of Kottayam and Kadatanad for the expulsion of the enemies. In spite of the declining situation of Hyder, the Allies for want of provisions could not reduce his forts in North Malabar, unless with European assistance. The Company expected advantageous terms from the Prince and evaded any request for assistance. Yet the Prince managed in September 1767 to surround Ram Dilly and Kavayi and organise wide-spread struggles.

The Court of Directors recommended the peaceful accommodation of all the points of dispute with Hyder. But subsequently, contrary to expectation Hyder entered the Carnatic; the Madras Government changed their original policy, and asked the Bombay Government to spirit up "the Nairs and other princes of the country to embrace this opportunity of recovering the territories....." In about February 1768 the Bombay Government too decided on open war with Hyder. Forces from Bombay left for Onore and Mangalore so as to distress him or compel him to negotiate with

the Madras Government; soon they made themselves masters of Mangalore.

In Malabar, the reduction of Ali Raja seemed the most advantageous step, and the Chief formed an alliance with the Prince and the Rajas of Kottayam and Kadatanad for an attack of Cannanore. The Company's troops marched from Tellicherry under Captain Thomas Henry, but the native allies failed at the proper time. The prosecution of the war became "a matter of still greater importance than ever as both the credit and safety of our Hon'ble Masters' affairs at this place are very materially concerned." The reduction of Hyder's dominions was the chief aim of the Bombay forces at Mangalore from where therefore no substantial help could be extended. The Company's superior advantage was only in respect of their artillery, and the expedition had to be recalled on 24th March 1768. Really the Factors were precipitate in their action and ill judged the situation.

Meanwhile Hyder's men had made some overtures to the Zamorin and the Kadatanad Raja for the restoration of their countries, on the payment of specified sums of money. By the beginning of April 1768 the Zamorin was reinstated in Calicut. The footing of the Nairs in Calicut was a check to Ali Raja, and the Company could now get possession of their factory without any obstruction. In Kottayam the Company could occupy the Bamboe fort; later Hyder's men evacuated Nettur and Trickeykunu which at once came under the control of the Nairs.

The Madras Government desired to open communication with the west coast so as to assist the Bombay forces effectively should Hyder march any force to oppose them. Before the monsoon opened in 1768, Hyder himself arrived at Mangalore which was indefensible. The Company's forces retreated to Tellicherry in great disorder. However Hyder proposed some terms of peace to the Bombay Government, who, as he said, were warring with him only under the instigation of the Madras Government. The operations of the Madras forces meanwhile were proving successful. Coimbatore as well as Palghat had fallen into their hands. Further successes too had been reported to the Factors, and yet the Madras Government desired to co-operate in regard to Hyder's proposals. Both the Presidency Governments were equally concerned in the conduct of war. However the Directors disapproved of the whole

proceedings, and the Bombay Government decided to suspend all operations until they could further hear from Madras. Though the Company's affairs took a favourable turn after their possession of Bangalore, there was a revolution of events to Hyder's advantage in the neighbourhood of Palghat. By December 1768 the Company's men had to depart from Palghat, though the local Raja continued to be in possession of the fort.

On the Madras Government's decision to continue the war, the Bombay Government too sent sepoy to Tellicherry to be marched to Coimbatore and thence to Seringapatam. The renewal of operations against Onore and Mangalore might divide Hyder's force and enable a speedy conclusion of the war, agreeable to the Directors. Early in 1769, Hyder, having recovered the southern countries was trying to lay waste the Carnatic, and for the Madras Government, the opening of peace-talks became a necessity; on 3rd April 1769 they concluded a peace with Hyder. This agreement included Bombay and its subordinate factories. Hyder engaged to grant to the Company the "factories, privileges, exemptions in trade" as they had held before and to release all Sardars, European sepoy, etc., immediately on the arrival of proper persons to be sent by the Bombay Government. The latter would later exchange with Hyder a similar treaty relative to the preservation of peace and all the factories on the west coast.

Meanwhile in Malabar, the Company had given up the Bamboe fort to the Kottayam Raja. Ali Raja was pushing his aggressive schemes ahead; and the Prince lost both Ram Dilly and Kunhiman-galam. Ali Raja continued to plunder the temples in the country, and it was possible he might attack Tellicherry also. But until the Bombay Government could conclude a peace with Hyder, it seemed better for the Factors to act on the defensive. An alliance of the native powers against Ali Raja was suggested but did not mature. It was supposed that in the treaty of April, Ali Raja was included as an ally of Hyder on the west coast, among other powers friendly to the Company; but Ali Raja resented the Factors' attempt to negotiate with him on behalf of his enemy, the Prince. Meanwhile Hyder demanded the immediate payment of the sums due to him from the Zamorin and the Kadatanad Raja and his troops threatened the dominions of the former: the Zamorin tried to strike an alliance with the Travancore Raja whose demands proved too high

for him. Since the late peace, the Company too could not interfere in the dispute, and the Zamorin was rather left alone.

Hyder was now friendly to the Bombay Government and removed some impediments on the Company's sandalwood trade. Finally on 27th September 1770 he agreed to sign a treaty with them. He permitted the export of a specified quantity of rice, free of duty from the Canara ports, and allowed liberty of trade to the Company at the several ports of his dominion on the Malabar coast, on the payment of the usual customs. The grant of February 1766 was confirmed, relative to their immunities in the conquered countries.

Ali Raja was now master of Irricure and most of the passages through which the Company got their sandalwood. As further troubles might start at any time, they desired to possess Avarakota in Randetara that gave a full command of Cannanore; but Ali Raja stood firm. He was of course willing to help the provision of the Company's investments, as recommended to him by Hyder. His power was increasing, and in February 1771 he also purchased the Cannanore fort from the Dutch for two lakhs of rupees; the Dutch troops were thereupon withdrawn. The Company's prospects were now dull; their sphere of influence narrowed and extended only to those parts immediately held by them. They felt much difficulty in the provision of pepper investments.

XVIII

Towards the end of 1773 Hyder's troops entered the Zamorin's dominions through Palghat; subsequently Mankara, Ponani and Tanur fell under their control. Unable to extricate himself, the Zamorin invoked the aid of the French, and it was known he ceded to them his forts and territories. The French troops occupied Calicut, but as the invaders approached the fort no reliance could clearly be placed on them. On 19th January 1774 the Zamorin fled with his family from Calicut and the next day the enemy possessed the fort, and the French marched out. There was no great disorder except a temporary paralysis of trade until the General could establish his government. The Company's factory was assured of protection. From this time onwards, with the establishment of Srinivasa Rao as the Governor of Calicut, Hyder's direct administration appears to have pervaded South Malabar on a permanent basis.

Hyder's troops next marched to Kadatanad, where the Raja agreed to be his tributary on the payment of an annual tribute. Hyder himself was marching to Kottayam to punish the rebellious Nair subjects. The Prince, Ravi Varma, who was all this time leading an inactive life at Tellicherry suddenly left for Hyder's camp in April 1774. He was vested with the management of Kottayam, after the reduction of the Nair nobility. Meanwhile Rodrigues, the Company's linguist, went over to Hyder's faction, and either because of his influence, or his own disappointment in reaping advantages from the treaty with the Company, Hyder gradually grew indifferent towards them. In February 1776 the Chiefship at Tellicherry was already reduced into a Residency, so as to reduce the high cost of the settlement, and the factory at Calicut was no more subordinate to it, having its own Resident. In the far south, Hyder was extending his limits at the expense of the Dutch, Chetwa and Cranganore being plundered and destroyed.

During his governorship of Kottayam, the Prince went against the Kurangot Nair who was adequately supported by the French. The Prince was reinforced by a body of Hyder's troops, and after some struggles which lasted until May 1775, the matter was agreed to be settled by negotiation. The French paid the Prince Rs. 80,000 whereupon he withdrew his troops from Kurangot. Early in 1777 the Prince was restored to his own Kolatiri kingdom, for Hyder was tired of Ali Raja's management. The Prince entertained much ill-feeling towards the Company, and in defiance of their rights to Randetara, he began to value the private estates; for he contended that instead of ceding the territory he had only appropriated the revenues to the benefit of the Company. However, with much difficulty he was brought to desist from his violent proceedings. Again in August 1777, the Prince attempted to confine the Company's rights at Mount Dilly to the fort and the ground it stood on; the Factors also adopted a defiant attitude in the vindication of their rights: by December everything was quiet at Mount Dilly.

Meanwhile Ali Raja died on 26th August 1778 and was succeeded by his niece in the government of Cannanore. Hyder's system of administration was pervading north Malabar indirectly, the Chieftains ruling as his tributaries; in the south the Nairs continued to give him trouble.

XIX

In September 1769 the Directors had informed about the suspension, by a Decree of the French king, of the trade of the French Company to the East Indies, and the free opening of the same to all his subjects under required conditions. They hoped that the dissolution of the rival Company would lessen the importance of competitors for pepper. Later the French began to fortify Mahe, and it was feared they had more in view in doing so than merely to secure what they already possessed. In July 1778 the Factors got advice from Anjengo of the declaration on 13th March 1778 of war between England and France. They at once took measures for the security of Tellicherry. The surrender of Pondicherry was subsequently reported. Under Hyder's orders the Prince actively helped the French, but his other tributaries were rather inclined to the interests of the English.

Early in March 1779 the Kottayam Raja re-entered his country and occupied some of the districts. The Zamorin too found it convenient to recover his dominions, offering to the Company such privileges as they might demand.

Mahe at this time was perhaps the only settlement of the French in India, and though it was feared that Hyder might resent an attack on it, the Madras Government finally decided to send an expedition under Col. Brathwaite. Mahe refused to surrender at first, however on the 19th March 1779, Mainville, the Commandant arrived with proposals to Brathwaite for its capitulation, and the next day the British flag began to fly over Mahe. This was the second fall for the fort, and the surrender was accelerated by the confusion in which the affairs of the Prince, the French ally, were involved by the sudden re-entry of the Kottayam Raja into his own kingdom. The terms of capitulation related to the forts of Mahe, George, Conde, Dauphin, Chembra and the possession of Kurichie; the French demands were not of course wholly met by Brathwaite. The fortifications and other public edifices were all to be preserved, and at the disposal of the Company. The free exercise of Catholicism was to be tolerated. Brathwaite as the Commandant of the English reserved to himself the authority for quartering his men in any manner at Mahe and for punishing the disobedient; and no military person in the French service was to remain there without his leave.

At the time of the conquest of Mahe the Factors did not visualise a new peril culminating in the ultimate siege of Tellicherry itself. Though the Kottayam Raja had managed to regain his country, and even besieged the Prince at Nettur fort, the latter escaped at the beginning of April 1779 and was joined by troops from Seringapatam under Bulwant Rao. Jointly they drove again the Kottayam Raja back into the woods; they then dismissed the old Raja of Kadatanad from the government as he was disloyal to Hyder and appointed Sankara Varma, his nephew. To effect good order in South Malabar, Sadr Khan came to Calicut with his troops but it was not clear if his authority was superior to that of Bulwant Rao.

In June 1779 Sankara Varman began to form a chain of posts round Mahe, and Brathwaite suspected that it was an endeavour to encircle Tellicherry ultimately. Hyder's attitude to the Company was now stiffening, and under pressure of his orders they had to quit their factory at Calicut. His complaint was that in attacking Mahe, a part of his dominion, the Company had violated the peace with him, and that the Tellicherry Resident was abetting rebellions against his own established government in Malabar. He stopped all correspondence with the Factors, who rather were apt to suspect, in spite of Brathwaite's repeated warnings, no immediate secret designs against Tellicherry on his part.

In September 1779 the Prince invested Mount Dilly and posted a huge force in Randetara, which he could take possession of before the end of October. But until the receipt of orders from Bombay the Factors could act only on the defensive and not adopt any extensive measures. At the same time Sankara Varma tried to force his way into the Company's district from the south; the enemy possessed the outlying hills about Tellicherry. The heart of Darmapatam was occupied by the Prince, and its communication with Tellicherry threatened. As the enemy gained ground, the measures of defence of the fort were left to the responsibility of the military officers who requisitioned the help of Brathwaite at Mahe. In November 1779, the Colonel assumed his supreme command at Tellicherry, though the very next month he was relieved of the charge by Major Cotgrave. Though Cotgrave had orders to join General Goddard's expedition against the Mahrattas, military necessity detained him at Tellicherry. Subsequently Sadr Khan

seems to have been asked to settle the various points of dispute on the coast and he struck an adjustment with the Kottayam Raja for the restoration of his kingdom; still the Factors could not comply with Hyder's demand for their giving the Nair refugees up to the Prince. Hyder fully knew that upon the reduction of Tellicherry he could master the whole of the west coast down to Chetwa.

In July 1780, Sadr Khan's forces entered Darmapatam so as to distract the Company's attention; there was no reason offered for his sudden incursion. The Factors refused to negotiate with him, whereupon he began his march from Darmapatam. The Bombay Government, already at war with the Mahrattas, could not disperse their resources for the relief of Tellicherry, and they chose rather to abandon the settlement. On the east coast, the Company suffered some reverses, and the Factors could hope for no reinforcement from Madras. Yet under these black prospects they decided not to abandon Tellicherry. This decision proved a turning point in the history of the settlement.

Meanwhile the Company quitted their factory at Onore also under the express command of Hyder. Tellicherry was blockaded by a number of the vessels of the enemy. Fortunately however by April 1781, unexpected events enabled the Bombay Government to support the settlement. They sent down a strong reinforcement under Captain Abington. Throughout the year the siege went strong, repeated attacks being made and foiled. There were many critical situations for the Company during the struggles. The issue became graver and more complex, after the declaration of war between England and Holland, and the Dutch help to Hyder from Cochin was at any cost to be prevented. Towards the end of 1781 the Bombay Government could apply themselves better for the preservation of Tellicherry, where further reinforcements arrived. Thus strengthened, Abington marched out of the lines on 8th January 1782, stormed and carried the enemy batteries and captured a number of prisoners including Sadr Khan. The siege ended. Throughout the crisis the Company's troops had behaved well. When everything became normal, the civil authority of the Resident at Tellicherry was restored.

XX

The victory at Tellicherry was part of greater work ahead. Abington marched to Calicut in further progress against Hyder's

power on the coast. Calicut surrendered on the 13th February 1782, in the occupation of which the Company was much assisted by Ravi Varma of the Zamorin's family. The southern countries including Palghat, Chowghat and Ponani still remained in the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile the king's troops under Colonel Humberston had also made a landing at Calicut. His plan was to undertake an expedition against the Dutch at Cochin, leaving behind an adequate force for the security of Calicut. The capture of Cochin was desirable as distressing to the Dutch, but the spirit of the military operations as visualised by the Bombay Government seemed to be the destruction of Hyder's power on the coast, and at Mangalore in particular. Hence by no means could the siege of Cochin, if protracted be permitted to affect and delay the greater project on Mangalore. Moreover the enemy lurked in the neighbourhood of Tellicherry in small parties, and a second siege in which Humberston could not effect any timely succour was to be prevented. Anyway Humberston could not proceed on his expedition.

In April 1782, Humberston marched southward from Calicut. There was an engagement with the enemy at Trikalur fort, in whose ranks some confusion was produced. It appears that Hyder's general suffered a defeat at Tirurangady from the hands of Ravi Varma and the English who pursued him as far as Palghat.

Since the raising of the Tellicherry siege, the various allies of the Company had all been re-established in their respective dominions. The Company's relationship with them was to be set on a definite footing, proper terms being stipulated for the preservation of the original grants and privileges. With the increase of the Company's weight and influence, the situation was to be availed of to their best advantage. As the powers were financially indebted to the Company they preferred to be taken under their protection as tributaries. Thus in August 1782, the Factors made some proposals to the Rajas of Kottayam and Kadatanad, and the Iruvalinad Nambiars. They agreed to give the Company an exclusive right to all pepper, cardamom and sandalwood and pay them specified tributes annually for their protection. Mutual succour in times of necessity was provided for. In regard to the tributes, the Factor's demands were based on what they heard to have been annually received by Hyder from the countries; however, it seems the tributes were declined at the time by the Select Committee at Bombay.

Early in November 1782 Tippoo seems to have begun his movement towards the coast. Humberston was continuing at Ramgiri, the centre of a chain of communications, but he was forced to retreat to Ponani, in south Malabar, being pursued by Tippoo's forces who besieged it. Now occurred Hyder's death on 7th December, 1782. Early in 1783 a great force of the enemy came down from Palghat and advanced towards Calicut. Ravi Varma of the Zamorin's family unhappily estranged some of the friendly Moplas who thereupon advised the enemy to attack the town by sea, in which after much resistance, they succeeded.

Since the end of 1781 the Prince Ravi Varma had been a prisoner in Hyder's camp, but in about September 1782, he was released. He advanced down from Mangalore as far as Dacla. His designs might have been on Randetara which the Company considered their immediate property by right of conquest rather than as mortgage. In December the Bombay Government sent a body of forces to Tellicherry under General Mathews to proceed on an expedition against Hyder's dominions. During his march to the Ghats the Prince engaged to side with the Company. In February 1783 the surrender of Bednur to Mathews was reported, but Tippoo with a large force obliged him to surrender. By August 1783 Mangalore also came under Tippoo, and Major Campbell came to terms with him. The Factors were hence directed to abstain from all hostility against Tippoo's forces or allies.

Since his peace with the Company, the Prince was being troubled by the Beeby of Cannanore, perhaps under Tippoo's instigation. The Factors adopted a policy of neutrality in the disputes. The Beeby's conduct was contrary to Campbell's articles of capitulation of Mangalore, and the Factors protested against the same. In September 1783 Tippoo seemed to plan even an invasion of Chirakal; and the Prince sought asylum at Tellicherry. In October, the Bombay Government proposed to send a new reinforcement in order to attempt, if possible, the relief of Mangalore. In December General Mcleod, who assumed the supreme command, went against Cannanore, though the exact cause of his action remained unknown. On 14th he took Cannanore, and according to the agreement on 8th January 1784 he allowed the Beeby to possess the country as she had held it before. She was forced to pay an amount to the Company, as the expenses of the war. The agreement was confirmed as

a temporary measure during the armistice with Tippoo or until a peace should be concluded.

Meanwhile there was false intelligence of Tippoo's renewal of hostilities at Mangalore and the Factors asked Col. Fullarton to occasion a favourable diversion, who thereupon captured Palghat on 13th November 1783. Some preliminaries of peace were by this time offered by Tippoo's Vakils at Madras, and at their request the Madras Government deputed three commissioners to treat with him. They concluded a peace at Mangalore on 11th March 1784. Both parties promised to give no help to the enemies of either. Cannanore was restored to the Beeby, while Tippoo engaged to give up Mount Dilly to the Company. The Company's commercial privileges were all preserved, and their factory at Calicut given back to them. Thus at the peace the Company ignored their native allies and left them to Tippoo's mercy, though there was a clause specifying they should not be penalised for their attachment to the English.

XXI

In this connection we have briefly to refer to the restoration of Mahe, back to the French in 1785. In January 1783 the preliminary articles of peace had been signed at Versailles, and the English king had to restore the French establishments, and secure to the French subjects on the Malabar coast, among other places, a "safe, free and independent trade". Mons. Marin was the commissary authorised to receive Mahe from the English commissary. On 15th August 1785 the French flag was hoisted over Mahe. Marin protested against the devastation committed by the English at Mahe, and acknowledged the restoration of Mahe, George, Conde, Chembra, etc., with the dependencies which the French were in possession of at the beginning of 1779.

Ignored by the Company, the native powers of Malabar were obliged to make their own terms with Arsed Beg Khan, the general Foulidar and manager of all civil and revenue concerns in the country. Arsed Beg's administration was moderate and conciliatory; and he stipulated with the northern powers for revenues on equitable terms; they fixed their annual tributes. In south Malabar however Arsed Beg's direct administration pervaded.

In December 1784 the Chiefship had been restored at Tellicherry. In May 1785 the Bombay Government resolved to re-establish the

factory at Calicut under a Resident as of old; and in September the English colours could fly over the same. Meanwhile the Coorg Raja had rebelled against Tippoo's government, and towards the closing months of 1785 an expedition was organised against him. Perhaps it was on this occasion that the northern Rajas visited Tippoo who gave each of them a jaghir for his subsistence.

Early in 1786 there was a visible change in Tippoo's attitude to the Company. He still withheld Mount Dilly in violation of the Mangalore peace. It was suspected that he was organising a confederacy of the Rajas against Tellicherry, and the Supreme Government at Bengal considered the "preservation of... settlement as of great importance to the commercial interests of the Company on the western side of India". Perhaps under Tippoo's instigation, the Prince in January 1786 got forcible possession of Randetara. Meanwhile in south Malabar, disturbances were rife against Tippoo's government, which had to undertake many expeditions to suppress them. The French influence over Tippoo was daily gaining ground, and in February 1787 orders were issued forbidding the English to enter Calicut or Mangalore.

Meanwhile his peace with the Mahrattas enabled Tippoo to decide on a visit to the Malabar coast; and early in April 1788 he entered the country; he was prosecuting a plan for obliging every European Resident to quit Calicut. In the same month, the Danish factory was accordingly withdrawn, the gentlemen having embarked for Cochin. However the Company's Resident continued at Calicut, and Tippoo proposed the removal of all impediments to the Company's trade. From general appearance an immediate attack on Tellicherry seemed improbable. Before he left Malabar, Tippoo determined to levy from the country a large gift amounting to twelve lakhs. He also began the construction of a strong fort near Beypore river and proposed to remove the seat of government from Calicut to this new station of Ferokabad, modern Feroke.

Tippoo's promise of friendship was ill-kept; and obviously with his support the Prince took Darmapatam in June 1788; Tellicherry district was the only possession now left to the Company. This Prince died in the same month, and his death was a "fortunate circumstance" for the Company; for his brother Rama Varma was moderate in character. In December 1788 the Chief demanded the

restoration of Darnapatam; the warning had no effect. So early in January 1789 it was retaken by force.

Tippoo was planning an attack on Travancore, and though Krishna Raja of the Zamorin's family promised him all aid in the project he later denounced the agreement. The rebellions in south Malabar were still going strong and the Raja's treachery confirmed Tippoo's conviction that peace in the country might depend on the wholesale conversion of the Hindu population into Islam. The policy of conversion began. In about February 1789 Tippoo personally entered Malabar. The Rajas of Kottayam and Kadatanad and the principals of their countries took refuge at Tellicherry; all of them escaped to Travancore. Rama Varma remained but soon fell out with Tippoo on account of a fault he had committed against him. His family and the Nair attendants escaped to Travancore through the Company's districts, but in April, he was killed, and his dead body treated with the "greatest indignity". Tippoo charged the Factors with dishonest practices in conniving at the escape of his subjects through their territory. The Bombay Government however expected no immediate troubles at Tellicherry, which was completely blockaded and shut off from outside by the numerous batteries erected by Tippoo. His attitude to the Company grew indifferent and hostile and he ceased correspondence with the Chief at all. The flight of the Nairs and the Rajas to Travancore left him supreme master of Malabar, his administration pervading every space directly.

XXII

In December 1789 Robert Taylor assumed charge of Tellicherry; he was destined to be the last Chief.

Meanwhile the Dutch had sold Cranganore and Ayakota to the Travancore Raja, which event accelerated Tippoo's invasion of his country. Tippoo asked him to withdraw his troops from Cranganore, demolish the famous Travancore lines and give up his refugee vassals and people from Malabar. The Raja referred the whole matter to the Madras Government. Before the end of December 1789 Tippoo himself was before the lines and opened the batteries against them. His first few attempts were foiled. Lord Cornwallis now decided to prosecute the war against Tippoo, for his attack on the country of the Company's ally. Early in March 1790, the Fac-

tors were asked to consider Tippoo as at open war with the Company. Every preparation was made on the Coromandel coast for the coming warfare. The Bombay Government reinforced the Tellicherry garrison. It was a problem now to detach Tippoo's subjects from his cause; having been ignored in 1784, they required not a little persuasion to join the Company's ranks; they were to be given some general assurances of protection in the Company's name. The Factors decided to conduct some minor operations, without prejudice to the safety of the settlement, against Tippoo's garrisons in the neighbourhood of Tellicherry with the sole object of distressing them. Though local in effect they might yet divert Tippoo's attention from Travancore.

The Bombay Government sent a regiment of king's forces under the command of Col. Hartley who was to expedite a junction with the Travancore troops. By this time, Tippoo in April 1790 caused a breach in the Travancore lines; this was an unexpected stroke; yet the coming of Hartley might check Tippoo's penetration into the interior.

At Tellicherry the Chief consulted the different powers as to the effective measures of defence. The Beeby alone was secretly inclined to Tippoo. On 24th April 1790 a publication was made regarding the Company's protection to those who might act against the enemy; the neutrals might be considered the Company's foes. On the same day an expedition was taken to open the blockaded communications to the settlement. Kadirur, Kurichie, Nettur and the small posts in the vicinity of the fort were seized. Randetara was wholly cleared of the enemy. The captured strongholds were restored to the original owners for defence. The Kottayam Raja became established in his country, while the Kadatanad Raja (who had returned from Travancore) and Ravi Varma, one of the Kolatiri princes remained at Tellicherry. The Company retained Kurichie in their own hands. The expedition at Tellicherry was a tonic to the people. Subsequently the Chief gave covenants in the Company's name to the three powers, assuring to render them independent of Tippoo and include them as allies of the Company in any future treaty with him. Most of the petty chiefs were expected to return from Travancore after the monsoon of 1790.

The Beeby was somewhat impressed with the Company's help to their ally, the Travancore Raja and in August 1790 signed a

treaty of alliance with them. She promised to allow their troops to garrison Cannanore during the continuance of the war and act with her force against Tippoo; in return she was to be rendered independent of him. The advantage of the treaty was that Cannanore became a secure frontier to the north, as the Nair countries to the south and east of Tellicherry and afforded an easy passage through Coorg to Seringapatam.

The idea of the Supreme Government was that the various powers should be rendered dependent on the Company, while being invited to shake off Tippoo's yoke. The Bombay Government had no objection to a scheme of alliance on such a basis, but the idea of permanent alliances was premature, to be deferred until further advantages could be gained against Tippoo.

In the far south, Hartley was cantoned at Ayakota throughout the monsoon of 1790, and the Cochin Raja was prevailed on to throw off his allegiance to Tippoo. A plan of further operations was to be formed, in complete co-operation with the Madras army under Medows. Thus the latter might move towards Palghat while the motion of the Bombay army would cover Travancore. This plan was later laid aside. According to Medows' desire, Hartley left Ayakota in September 1790 so as to take Palghat and ascend the Ghats. On 13th October 1790 Palghat fell to the Company who thereupon designed to extend their conquest. For his services during the operations, Medows gave a cowl in the name of Krishna Raja of the Zamorin's family investing him with the sole management "of all the countries heretofore included in the province of Calicut which are or may be conquered by the British troops". The country to the south of the Ponani river was now in the hands of the Company's allies; in October the Kadatanad Raja too was enabled to re-establish in his country. The Company's sphere of friendship was widening, and in the same month the Coorg Raja concluded a treaty with Robert Taylor. The passage of the English troops through his country from the west coast was assured; the Company's interests of trade were also provided for.

In spite of her treaty of August, the Beeby hesitated to admit the Company's troops into her fort and her attitude was "full of duplicity and subterfuge". In November 1790 the Bombay Government openly declared her an enemy; Governor Abercromby himself came to Tellicherry and conducted the expedition. Cannanore fell

on 17th December 1790. Baliapatam followed suit. A publication was made assuring protection to the Beeby and her people; the future political situation of the Beeby was left to the decision of the Supreme Government. Big things were happening in the south also where Hartley was engaged in keeping the communications open. He pursued Tippoo's two commanders from place to place, and after a smart action at Tirurangadi (?) put their troops to flight. Ferok and Beypore surrendered to him. Thus before the end of 1790 the country from Cannanore to the Cape became clear; Tippoo's ground in Malabar was being cut off from under his feet and the Company could look forward to the next phase of adventures hopefully.

XXIII

The various rulers were now to be restored to their original possessions, and the Moplas in general attached to the Company's interest. In March 1791 the Beeby promised to render them by her influence obedient to the Company. The Company soon gained the Coorg pass and established a post there. The Bombay forces were thus to be actively connected with the army under Cornwallis. Tellicherry became a depot wherefrom the latter could draw his supplies in his advance to Seringapatam. Bangalore came under the Company, and at the approach of Abercromby, the enemy evacuated Periapattam. Subsequently the monsoon set in and Abercromby had to fall back to Malabar; the attack on Seringapatam was suspended. In November again Abercromby ascended the Ghats.

In January 1792 the old Zamorin returned from Travancore and established himself at Chowghat in south Malabar. The influence of the Travancore Raja and his Dewan, Kesava Pillai, was daily gaining ascendancy in the country. The Factors were instructed not to interfere in the Zamorin's affairs except when the Company's interests were involved.

Meanwhile Tippoo's army had occupied Coimbatore, but Cornwallis's movements compelled him to quit it. By February 1792, Cornwallis was before Seringapatam; on 24th of the same month, he announced the preliminaries of a treaty of peace settled with Tippoo on conditions honourable to the Company. Later the Definitive treaty was delivered to Cornwallis on 19th March 1792. It

upheld the Company's immunities of trade, and recommended mutual co-operation in the government of the respective territories. The details of the general abstract of the countries to be ceded to the Company were inserted in a separate schedule, and among them were Palghat and the sixty-three taluks belonging to the Calicut Cutcherry.

After the assumption of sovereignty by the Company it became apparent that the general good might demand the interposition of their authority so as to establish peace among a race of men "professedly devoted to war and bloodshed". Two commissioners were appointed with extensive powers to investigate into the affairs of Malabar. By January 1793 they were joined by colleagues from Bengal. The joint commission effected a number of engagements with the various native powers reinstated in their respective territories. It was now natural for the Company to try to annihilate the influence of other European nations in Malabar. The French were attempting to establish themselves in Malabar, and the Company persistently frustrated their designs. The Anglo-French war declared in Europe early in 1793 gave an opportunity to the Company to put an end to all points of controversy. On 16th July 1793 Mahe capitulated to Col. Hartley.

In March 1793 the joint commission had managed to evolve an administrative system for the future government of Malabar; the country came under a Supervisor under whom were two Superintendents. Tellicherry became the headquarters of the northern Superintendent. Still the authority of the Chief and the Factors continued at Tellicherry, as the new system was solely confined to the 'ceded' territory. Later the abolition of the Chiefship as a measure of economy was seriously considered, and on 24th July 1794 the northern Superintendent took charge of the ancient limits of the factory. Perhaps it was not so much an abolition as the merging of a commercial depot in the general expanse of an administrative system; really the factory had expanded into a province.

XXIV

We have reached the end of our story. It may be of some interest now to refer briefly to the system of administration carried on at Tellicherry from time to time. The Company's interest depended

much on the integrity and decency of their servants and they took care to attend to their manner of life in general. The servants were often shifted from one branch to another as the best means of acquiring a sound knowledge of affairs. They were to evince fidelity to their masters, and were under legal obligations to discharge their duties faithfully, having executed covenants; as they advanced in public life they had to furnish appropriate security. Such covenanted civil servants were those who looked after the Company's affairs at Tellicherry also. Tellicherry was under the direct supervision of the Bombay Government. The fort as well as the districts and factories subordinate to it was governed by a council, consisting of a Chief and Factors. The Chief was the principal agent of the Company, the man on the spot, fully responsible for the executive details of administration at the settlement. He kept the keys of the fort and controlled the garrison. It was his business to call the Council to meet for the transaction of business. The lowest grade of the covenanted servants found no seat in the Council. Not unusually quarrels might ensue between the Chief and the Factors and the enforcement of subordination depended to some extent on the personality and influence of the Chief also; he might cause an individual to withdraw from the Council until the pleasure of the Bombay Government was known. Any way it was generally expected of the Chief to summon the Council as often as possible.

For the expeditious transaction of business, each servant took on himself the discharge of a particular branch of business: accounts, treasury, revenues, stores, warehouse, general payments, secretarial work, customs, etc., had all to be properly attended to. In the interests of economy a few of the departments were often combined and committed to the charge of a civilian. The head of an office was not exempted from the drudgery of work, and the independent minded junior found no favourable atmosphere for debate and expression, especially when in conflict with the strictly commercial interests of the Company. The control from above was evidently tightened by the various occasional reports to be made by the Factors to their Superiors. Yet on critical occasions the latter depended much on the local knowledge and discretion of the Factors and permitted them some latitude for action. The salaries of the servants were nominal, and they were to be content with the

allowance given of the general trade to and from India by which they might honestly make money.

It was the province of the Chief to adjust all disputes within the limits of Tellicherry without any reference elsewhere, except in certain cases. In civil disputes the parties were asked to gather, and the matters compromised to the satisfaction of all; otherwise arbitration was resorted to. The Mayor's court at Bombay often interfered with the administration of civil justice at Tellicherry; but the procedure was tedious and expensive; yet its jurisdiction continued up to 1798. As to criminal justice, the offenders were punished at the discretion of the Chief; the Factors had no power to order execution in capital offences, and murderers of the Hindu community were given up to the respective neighbouring native powers; others were sent up to Bombay to be tried at the quarter sessions. Ordeals as well as the mode of 'satisfaction' which implied an injury for an injury were only too common.

The Company's military establishment at Tellicherry consisted of the militia, and the Regulars and Irregulars of the Bombay establishment. Two or three principal Nair chieftains, within the Company's jurisdiction were obliged to maintain and furnish them with a specified number of armed Nairs. The garrison at Tellicherry formed a part of the Bombay establishment. The strength of the garrison varied from time to time, and the reduction in number was always the constant policy. Regulations were now and then put into force for the control and conduct of the troops. The forces at first lay dispersed throughout the bazaar, and only later was it agreed to hire a house on their account until better barracks could be constructed. Certain rules were made to avoid the soldiers being distressed, and to clothe them properly. All the Europeans excluding the English were to serve the Company for a fixed number of years; and no allowance could at any time be made to the military unless warranted by the Directors or the practice at other presidencies. The conflict of authority between the civil and military departments of the Company's service was a melancholy feature of administration; the situation was only rendered worse by the dual system of the navy and the army controlled by the Company and the Crown; under such circumstances occasional differences were inevitable between the Company and the commanders of the King's troops. Yet the Bombay Government always took

care to acknowledge the supremacy of the civil authority on the spot over the military.

The charges of maintaining the settlement were heavy and the Factors explored all possible sources of revenue at the settlement. The Company had their own private estates in Tellicherry and Darmapatam and enjoyed the rents thereof. For the supervision of the revenues, two Collectors were appointed, at Tellicherry and at Darmapatam. Customs also formed an important source of revenue.

The Company could carry on uninterrupted trade and commerce only after the suppression of piracy in the western waters in 1756. The Directors permitted the Factors to trade privately, and the competition for pepper, cardamoms and sandalwood was keen. A small quantity of Europe cloth was vended at Tellicherry to advantage. Pepper formed the most important investment, and the Factors tried to obtain it at cheap rates; what they saved by paying low prices they were by circumstances compelled to spend ten-fold in maintaining the settlement. In spite of strenuous efforts, the Company could acquire only a small quantity of the annual produce of pepper. Especially after 1792 it became clear that the old system would be inapplicable for the future; there was need for a more rational policy, and the Company's ends were to be acquired not through prohibitions but by 'spirited competition of mercantile means, abilities, and enterprise.'

As regards fort-life, Tellicherry enjoyed a pleasant situation. The Chief and Factors had their own apartments and a public table was maintained. All the servants regularly attended Divine worship, and later there was a separate Chaplain appointed at Tellicherry. The vice of gaming was prohibited and every measure was adopted for the preservation of sobriety in the settlement. Slavery was tolerated under certain conditions. The Factors attended to the regulation and promotion of healthy life among the inhabitants, and the general preservation of peace was the most vital thing to be cared for.

Throughout the history of the settlement we do not meet with any Chief who showed an extraordinary capacity or initiative. The success of the Company in many cases depended on their sound administrative organisation, more on the system in general than the personality of any individual servant. The weather-cock type of

policy suited the Company well. Great resources and a sound system worked hand in hand with the political adaptability of commercial men, and the Company often bent but never broke in Malabar. Honesty in business was scrupulously preserved; and after almost a century of activities at Tellicherry the Company had the happy privilege to recognise that a new era of political and administrative experiments on a well-organised basis was just dawning.

ON THE ANATOMY AND LARVAL ORGANISATION OF
POLYCLINUM SP.

By

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Introduction

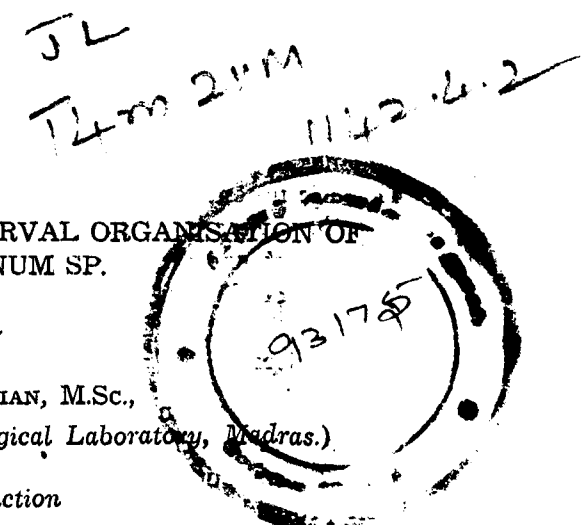
The only record of the genus *Polyclinum* from the Indian Coast is of a species collected by Herdman (1906) from the Gulf of Mannar and doubtfully identified as *Polyclinum nigrum*. Of this Herdman writes: "A large black colony and some smaller species from the pearl banks, Gulf of Mannar, measuring about 6 cm. $\times$ 1 cm. and extending upto 1.5 cm. thickness, may be this Australian species. Our colony has a smooth shining black surface, and occurs growing over masses of sponges etc. The surface is marked by large circular depressions, about 1.5 mm. across, but no distinguishable remains of the latter are visible on dissection. It is probable that the colony was either dead or regenerating at the time when it was collected." The present form is quite distinct from *P. nigrum* in its colourless test. Herdman (1891) refers to *P. constellatum* Savigny, as occurring in the Indian Ocean. The size and number of stigmata and the size of the abdomen in relation to the thorax in the form dealt with here show that it is probably closely allied to this species.

Material obtained from a dredge collection made in July 1939 was fixed in Bouin's fluid and Formalin. Bouin's fluid was found to give satisfactory results for the adult as well as the larvae.

External Features

The colony of *Polyclinum* sp. is irregularly rectangular (Photograph 1), 3" $\times$ 1.8" $\times$ $\frac{3}{4}$ " in dimensions and may be attached by one of its flat surfaces to a rock, stone, or some similar object. Encrusting particles of mud and broken shells are found on the attached surface. A small bivalve was found embedded within the test.

[Note.—The above is a summary of the thesis presented by the author for his M. Litt degree—Editor].



Colonies of Polyzoans are also attached to the surface of the colony. There is no encrustation of sand on the exposed surface which is smooth. The ascidiozooids are embedded in a thick, fleshy, translucent test, and arranged in irregular groups. The common cloacal openings of slightly varying dimensions and about 1 cm. apart are found on the exposed side, which is scraggy with small depressions and crevices.

A cross section through the colony (Fig. 1) reveals the following details. The oral openings of the individuals are directed towards the outer side of the test but no part of the animal itself protrudes outside the test. The abdominal region is directed internally. The ascidiozooids are of varying length due probably to difference in growth. From the series of measurements given in Table 1 it will be seen that the individuals vary from 4.92 mm. to 10.24 mm. in length. Three well defined regions can be distinguished in each, viz., the thorax, abdomen and the post-abdomen where the reproductive organs and the heart are found. The heart is below the gonads. The post-abdomen is pedunculated. As a rule two vascular ampullae arise from the heart, one of which may be considerably longer than the other. Sometimes a single ampulla alone may be present which may be long or short. Occasionally three ampullae occur. The ascidiozooids occupy half the outer part of the test of the colony.

Table 1 (Length in mm.)

Paratype	Total length of Ascidiozooid	Total length of branchial region	Length of abdominal loop below the thorax	Length of post-abdomen
1.	7.71	4.32	1.53	1.86
2.	7.91	3.99	1.93	1.99
3.	8.54	3.96	1.79	2.79
4.	8.83	3.46	2.64	2.73
5.	6.78	3.46	1.99	1.33
6.	6.45	3.19	1.53	1.73
7.	9.51	3.66	2.19	3.66
8.	6.24	2.79	1.79	1.66
9.	10.24	4.72	2.46	3.06
10.	4.92	2.33	1.53	1.06

Test

Test is soft and gelatinous. When cut into small pieces it is of glassy transparency. The free surface of the test is full of minute depressions (Fig. 2) which are visible only in sections. Amongst these depressions are pits about a mm. in depth into which the branchial siphons open. The test is composed of a gelatinous matrix in which blood sinuses and two types of cells differing in size are found. The smaller type consists of round, stellate or needle shaped cells having a thickness of 5 to 15 μ . The larger cells which may not be always perfectly spherical are the bladder cells measuring up to 40 μ . They are found in abundance in a special darkly staining region of the test about 0.5 mm. in thickness, on the dorsal side of the colony. The smaller cells are scattered throughout but in lesser number towards the attached part of the colony. Blood capillaries containing a corpusculated fluid are also found scattered throughout the test.

Mantle

The mantle forms the outer covering of the animal (Figs. 2 & 21). After fixation it was found in several cases that the body shrinks away from the test while in others it retains its position. Due to shrinkage the oral and atrial apertures are pulled in. The mantle is transparent and without any pigment in it. Adjoining the test the mantle has its external layer of ectodermal cells with large nuclei. Next to it, to the inner side, is the parietal layer of the lining membrane of the peribranchial cavity. This is formed of squamous epithelium but the cell boundaries are not clearly visible.

Longitudinal muscle bands, 6 to 8 in number, strengthen the mantle wall on each side, taking their origin from behind the oral lobe. The ventral ones are the longest, the others becoming gradually shorter as the dorsal side is reached.

The anterior region of the mantle is prolonged into the branchial siphon with 6 lobes (Fig. 4 & 6) each measuring 96 to 140 μ at its base. The external diameter of the siphon is 240 μ to 410 μ . The entrance into the branchial siphon is narrow, but widens at the base of the siphon from where the tentacles originate. In sections (Fig. 5) the following details can be made out. Adjoining

the test on the outside of the lobe is the epidermal layer of tall and columnar cells with nuclei in the middle. Internal to this is the region of connective tissue and muscles. Towards the inner edges of the branchial siphon there is a layer of sphincter muscles. The test is tucked into the inside of the inner margin of the epidermal cells.

Tentacles

These are placed (Figs. 5 & 6) in a circle at the entrance to the branchial sac. They are finger-like with slightly swollen ends, and number about 30 to 40. They project into the pharyngeal space with a few of them so long that they reach the first row of stigmata. They have an external layer of cubical cells enclosing a central space containing a protoplasmic coagulum.

Nervous System

The adult nervous system (Fig. 7) consists of a dorsal nerve ganglion, and a ventral sub-neural gland which is in direct communication with the dorsal tubercle or the ciliated funnel which opens into the pharyngeal area. The whole nerve apparatus is placed obliquely between the oral and atrial openings in the region of the dorsal raphe (Roule, 1886), and hence called by Metcalf (1900) as the 'Intersiphonal organs'.

Ganglion: This is dorsal in position and oval in shape, 92μ long and 52μ broad. There is an outer cellular cortex, 4μ thick all around, and a fibrous central region. The cortical cells have nuclei 2μ in diameter with scattered chromatin inside and without nucleoli. From the front end of the ganglion the anterior siphonal nerve goes out to the anterior region. From the posterior extremity of the ganglion two nerves spring, one of which, the dorsal siphonal, goes to the dorsal side in the direction of the atrial opening, and the other, the dorsal rapheal, commences from below the dorsal siphonal, curves downwards and goes in the direction of the dorsal raphe. All the three nerves are fine strands of uniform thickness with no ganglionic swellings in their course.

Dorsal Tubercle: This lies anterior to the ganglion. It is long and cylindrical, with the anterior end wide and turned outwards like the opening of a trumpet, while the posterior end nar-

rows down and continues as the rapheal duct by the side of the rapheal nerve, finally ending blindly at about the level of the third row of stigmata. The wall of the dorsal tubercle is made up of cylindrical cells with homogeneous cytoplasm and spherical basal nuclei. No nucleoli are found but scattered chromatin granules are present. Cells are flagellated, the flagella arising from very prominent basal granules and directed towards the sub-neural gland. The external diameter of the middle of the tube is about 30μ , and the diameter of the lumen about 17μ . Anteriorly it opens, in the dorsal middle line, into the anterior part of the pharyngeal space. The rim of the funnel is attached by means of a delicate membrane to the surrounding parts.

Sub-neural Gland: This is formed as the outpushing of the ventral wall of the neuro-hypophysial canal, after the larva has settled down and begun to metamorphose. In the fully formed adult the gland is oval, about as long as the ganglion, and about 40μ thick. Some of the cells of the sub-neural gland degenerate with the products of degeneration thrown into the lumen of the hypophysial duct which communicates with the outside.

The cells of the sub-neural gland are comparatively big (Fig. 8), 5μ in diameter, with darkly staining nuclei, 1μ in diameter, confined to the sides of the cells. In the vacuolated cytoplasm there are two or three paranuclear bodies bigger than the nucleus.

Pharynx

The part of the pharynx between the base of the tentacles and the perforated region can be called the prepharyngeal area (Figs. 4 & 6). Internally the pharyngeal wall is raised into two ridges called the peripharyngeal ridges (Figs. 7 & 9) with the peripharyngeal groove in between. The anterior face of the posterior ridge alone is ciliated. Both the ridges contain connective tissue and blood sinuses.

Branchial Sac: This is a well developed structure (Figs. 3 & 10) only a little less than half the length of the whole animal. Generally the sac is about a fourth as wide as long. There are invariably 13 rows of stigmata on each side, each row containing 13 elliptical stigmata, pointed at both ends. The largest of the stigmata are on the side, progressively becoming smaller dorsally and

ventrally. The inner edges of the stigmata are ciliated (Fig. 11). The biggest stigmal pore is 68 to 70 μ long.

There is a system of blood vessels supplying the branchial sac. Transverse vessels (Fig. 12) pass through the middle of the interspaces between the rows of stigmata and have an average width of 18 to 20 μ . They are connected with the adjacent vessels by means of fine longitudinal vessels between the rows of stigmata (Fig. 11). The pharyngeal wall between the rows of stigmata is strengthened by circular muscle bands (Fig. 10).

Dorsal Lamina: This is composed of a series of languets (Fig. 13) each row of stigmata possessing one. They are triangular and broad at the base. The apices of the languets are directed posteriorly with the ciliated tips slightly swollen and curved inwards. Each languet is formed of narrow epithelial cells on the outside enclosing connective tissue spaces internally (Fig. 14).

Endostyle: This extends the whole length of the mid-ventral floor of the branchial sac. Anteriorly it ends in a *cul-de-sac*, but posteriorly broadens out and forms a raised ridge known as the endostylar ridge. Transverse sections of the endostyle (Fig. 15) reveal that each ridge is composed of three rows of ciliary regions alternating with three rows of glandular bands. From the dorsal to the ventral side in succession the following parts can be distinguished on each side; 1. dorsal ciliated band; 2. dorsal glandular zone; 3. median ciliated band, 4. median glandular zone, 5. ventral ciliated band and 6. ventral glandular zone. In addition to these there is a median row of flagellated cells running along the floor of the groove. The width of the groove varies in different regions of its vertical extent. The narrowest portion is between the two median ciliated bands and the broadest is the region between the two dorsal ciliated bands. Table II shows the comparative width of the different regions of the groove in the fixed condition of an uncontracted ascidiozoid.

Table II

Regions.	Width in μ
Between the two dorsal ciliary bands	78.1
Between the median ciliary bands	9.9
Between the ventral ciliary bands	23.1

Table III shows the dimensions of the various regions of the endostyle.

Table III (Measurements in μ)

Region.	Height	Maximum thickness.
Dorsal ciliated band	9.9	2.5
Dorsal glandular zone	31.0	14.0
Median ciliated band	14.8	3.3
Median glandular zone	9.9	9.9
Ventral ciliated band	6.6	8.25
Ventral glandular zone	9.9	16.50
Median flagellated row	9.9	6.6

The dorsal ciliated band is made up of a row of cubical cells. The cytoplasm is homogeneous and the cells are profusely ciliated, cilia arising from basal granules. The dorsal ciliated band is continued down as a narrow band of undifferentiated cells which merges into the upper end of the prominent dorsal glandular zone. Cells in this region have broad bases becoming narrow towards the inner side. The nuclei are spherical, placed in the outer half of the cells and possess eccentric nucleoli. The median ciliated band which is arched inwards is a very narrow strip of cells connecting the dorsal glandular zone with the median glandular zone. Cells in this region are richly ciliated, cilia arising from basal granules. The nuclei of the cells possess no nucleoli. The median glandular zone consists of cells which are long, with the outer margin slightly broader. The nuclei which are not perfectly spherical are placed in the outer half of the cell and stain very dark in Heidenhain's haematoxylin. Below the region of the median glandular zone there is the ventral ciliated band formed of long slender cells, closely packed. In this region the nuclei stain deeply. Cilia arise from basal granules. Below this is the ventral glandular zone with tall columnar cells with basal nuclei. The floor of the endostyle carrying the median flagellated row of cells is arched slightly upwards. Cells are narrow and moderately long, with basal nuclei and without nucleoli.

The flagella arise from basal granules and are as tall as the groove is deep.

The dorsal ciliated band is continued into the pharyngeal epithelium on either side.

Abdominal Loop

The abdominal loop (Figs. 3 & 16) consists of the oesophagus, stomach, intestine, and anus. The loop is U-shaped with unequal limbs. The portion from the oesophagus to the midgut forms the shorter limb, and the hind gut with the rectum ending in the anus forms the longer one. In the majority of cases the gut is bent to the ventral side of the animal, sometimes even at an angle of 90 degrees. The anus is level with the 8th muscle band girdling the inter space between the 8th and 9th rows of stigmata.

Oesophagus: This is funnel shaped without any folds, fringes or thickening of the edges. The funnel is not perfectly circular, (Figs. 16 & 17), but slightly wider dorso-ventrally, that is, of the same height as the posterior end of the branchial sac. The oesophagus narrows gradually and opens finally into the right side of the stomach.

The inner surface of the oesophageal wall is smooth except at the entrance to the stomach where it is thrown into four folds. In a longitudinal section the following details can be made out. The cells in the region of the funnel are almost cubical. They become gradually longer towards the posterior end. The nuclei are elongated and occupy the outer half of the cells. Cells are ciliated, cilia arising from basal granules. The lumen at the posterior portion is very narrow. The absence of vacuoles and granules in the cells of the oesophagus probably indicates the absence of secretory function in this part of the gut.

Stomach (Figs. 16, 17 & 18) is round and slightly broader than long. It is perfectly smooth inside and outside which is a feature characteristic of *Polyclinum*. That side of the stomach where the oesophagus enters is pushed inwards. The posterior region forms the funnel like opening of the intestine.

The stomach wall is composed of a single layer of tall columnar cells, about six times longer than broad. In the invaginated region the cells are smaller and wider, with oval, elong-

ated nuclei. Here the cells do not show either a vacuolated appearance or secretion granules. This region, which is quite different from the rest of the stomach, can be considered as the cardiac region of the stomach. In the actual stomach region the cells are secretory and the nuclei which are spherical lie in the basal half of the cells. An examination of the stomach shows some of the cells showing secretory granules and others devoid of them. This is probably due to the fact that all the cells do not secrete at the same time. Vacuoles accumulate during active secretion, migrate inwards, and the products of secretion in the shape of granules, are thrown into the lumen of the stomach by the rupture of the inner cell wall. Just before the stomach merges into the intestine at its posterior extremity there is a narrow region where the cells are smaller and where secretion is absent. This part can be called the pyloric region of the stomach.

Intestine consists of the midgut and the hindgut. Following the pyloric region of the stomach the midgut begins with a funnel-like widening which soon narrows down (Fig. 18). The posterior end of the midgut is swollen to form a sac—the midgut sac. The wall of the midgut is of uniform thickness, except in the region of the midgut sac. The cells of this region are ciliated and show vacuolation, and the contents of the vacuole could be seen extruding into the lumen of the gut. The midgut sac (Fig. 19) has bigger cells which are non-ciliated, and in these can be seen dark granular lumps by the side of the nuclei. The cells at the entrance and exit of the midgut sac are radially arranged and this arrangement, together with the narrow openings at the regions indicates a valve-like function at these points.

Hind gut (Figs. 16 & 19) begins with a small neck-like region which continues as the ascending limb of the intestine. The neck is thick walled with ciliated cells, and there is no indication in this region of any vacuoles or granules. The remaining portion of the hind gut which follows the neck have tall columnar cells with nuclei at their base and vacuoles in the inner half. Cells are ciliated, cilia possessing prominent basal granules. Vacuoles contain secretory granules.

The region of the hindgut just mentioned passes insensibly into the region of the rectum which is about a third of the hind gut in length. Due to the presence of oval faecal pellets inside, the rectal

portion is found to be bulged out here and there. The cells composing the wall are slender with the cytoplasm reduced to insignificant proportions (Fig. 20). Each cell has a very clear and prominent vacuole. Cilia in the rectal portion seem to be rubbed away due to the pressure of the faecal matter in the course of their ejection outside.

Anus. (Fig. 20). The anal opening is not very wide so that the faecal pellets have to squeeze themselves through in their passage to the outside. The opening is formed by a small neck-like region which terminates in a funnel-like structure slightly notched at opposite sides. The latter becomes continuous with the peribranchial wall. The long cells of the anal funnel have spherical basal nuclei. Cytoplasm is homogeneous throughout and the cells are not ciliated.

Pyloric Gland

The main duct of the gland (Figs. 22 & 23, and Photomicrograph 2) opens into the funnel-like region of the intestine below the stomach by a narrow duct, the lumen of which is about 3μ in diameter. The wall of the duct is composed of cubical, ciliated cells, with cilia directed towards the opening and arising from very clear basal granules. The duct branches into fine tubules which spread themselves on the posterior part of the hind gut and a portion of the rectum. Tubules are oval in cross section. The wall of the tubule contains from 3 to 5 nuclei, but the cell boundaries are not seen as the cytoplasm is firmly adherent to the wall of the tubule.

The exact function of the gland is not known. Similarity to kidney tubules suggests a renal function. It may also be secretory, because in *Polyclinum* sp. accessory digestive glands such as liver and hepatopancreas are absent.

Post-Abdomen.

The characteristic pedunculated post-abdomen of *Polyclinum* (Figs. 1 & 3) is formed by the ectodermal epithelium forming a vesicle below the abdominal loop. The heart and the gonads are situated in this region. At its posterior-most extremity lies the heart. Above it are found the reproductive organs, the testes and the ovaries.

Heart and Pericardium

The heart is U-shaped. The posterior end of the U gives off blood vessels into the test. From the two ends blood vessels are given off in the anterior direction. In a transverse section (Fig. 24) the heart is seen as two inpushings of the pericardium from the sides. The wall of the heart and the pericardium is composed of a layer of thin endodermal cells.

Testes.

They are found as small conical bags above the heart. A series of them can be seen in a row or in groups connected together by a common duct, the vas deferens (Fig. 21) which goes along the hind gut and opens into the atrial cavity by the side of the anal opening.

Ovaries

These are represented by several eggs which are found generally by the side of the sperm vesicles although they do not descend so far down as the testes between the limbs of the heart. When young they are also found in small groups connected together but get separated when ripe.

Atrial Cavity

This is a horse-shoe shaped bag covering the branchial sac on the dorsal and side regions. Towards the posterior end the atrium is forked (Fig. 21). The small atrial opening has a thickened rim without any lobes (Fig. 4). Sections passing through the atrial opening reveal that the structure of the wall is the same as that of the oral opening.

There is an atrial languet (Figs. 3 & 4) which is comparatively long. The appearance of the languet is that of a lanceolate leaf, but the shape may slightly vary in individuals. It begins midway between the oral and atrial openings, and has a narrow base which abruptly expands and then gradually diminishes to a blunt point.

Larval Organisation of Polyclinum Sp.

General

The development of *Polyclinum* sp. takes place, as in the case of most compound ascidians, inside the atrial cavity of the parent.

Embryos in different stages of development are found inside the atrial cavity which is usually distended with them. One or two prelarval stages, eight or nine fully formed larvae and two or three postlarval stages occur usually in the atrial cavity. Figures 25 to 28 represent a series of developmental stages.

Form and Size

The following are the dimensions of the parts of a larva of average size.

Total length of larva	Length of body	Length of tail with fin.
1.576 mm.	0.563 mm.	1.013 mm.

Occasionally larva 2 mm. in size are observed.

Coiling of the Tail.

The final orientation of the tail in the ascidian larva is decided by the way in which it is coiled in the embryo. In *Polyclinum* sp. while the body has retained its normal position the tail rotates to the left through an angle of 90 degrees with the result that the dorsal and ventral edges of the tail become respectively left and right. Due to the rotation of the tail the fin is horizontal.

Tunic

The tunic is a noncellular layer enveloping the body and tail of the animal. It is glassy and translucent. No pigment cells are present in the tunic of the larva. A few large cells with clear cytoplasm lie scattered along the edge of the tunic (Fig. 41). The tunic of the tail region is serrated.

Test Vesicles.

There are two groups of test vesicles in *Polyclinum* sp. (Figs. 28 & 29), arising from the praeoral lobes, recognised in the larva as enlargements of the anterior ectodermal margin. One group of vesicles is directed anteriorly and the other posteriorly.

Anterior test vesicles are hollow club-shaped structures arising as diverticula from the anterior ectodermal margin. There are altogether 14 of them. Of these, 12 are arranged in three rows of four each. One row is exactly in the middle region of the anterior side. Here the longest clubs are found. The bases slant towards the ventral side of the larva. Table IV gives the dimensions of the vesicles of this row as taken from the ventral to the dorsal side.

Table IV.
(Measurements in μ)

No. of vesicles from ventral to dorsal side in succession.	Total length	Width		
		Base	Middle	Top
1.	148.5	8.25	16.5	20.6
2.	165.0	8.25	16.5	26.4
3.	165.0	8.25	16.5	24.7
4.	115.5	8.25	16.5	26.4

To the right and left of the middle row of vesicles is a row of four each. They take their origin at their bases in the same lateral plane as that of the middle row of vesicles. Here also the stalks slant towards the ventral side. Unlike the middle row of vesicle, here the top portion suddenly bulges out. The dimensions of the vesicles from the ventral to the dorsal on one side are given in table V. The corresponding vesicles of the opposite side are similar.

Table V.
(Measurements in μ)

Length of stalk	63.0	49.5	56.1	23.1
Width of stalk	13.2	11.6	9.9	9.9
Length of head region	49.5	63.0	59.4	62.7
Width of head	33.0	26.4	34.7	33.0

The remaining two vesicles included in the group look like small projections of the ectodermal layer of the larva. The base is rather narrow, the middle portion broad, while anteriorly they end in blunt points. Total length comes to about 70 μ .

Posterior test vesicles. In the fully grown larva there are two posterior groups of vesicles in the form of bunches of grapes, one dorsal and the other ventral in position (Fig. 29). Their stalks are attached one to the dorsal and the other to the ventral side respectively of the praeoral lobe.

In the early embryo when the larval organisation is yet incomplete, the anterior ectodermal zone grows forwards to form the praeoral lobe. From the anterior border of the praeoral lobe the 3 adhesive papillae make their appearance. Between these papillae the ectoderm evaginates as hollow diverticula, into which the mesenchyme cells enter. This is the beginning of the first two of the four middle test vesicles of the larva. As growth proceeds the dorsalmost and the ventralmost of the same row make their appearance. After the middle two have attained half their length the middle ones of the side rows also appear as small diverticula. The remaining two of the same row are also formed a little later. The vesicle on the extreme right and that on the extreme left are the last to appear.

While the anterior ones are growing the posterior ones commence as small ectodermal diverticula on all sides of the body of the larva. Into these mesenchyme cells soon enter. Very early in development they gradually get separated away from the ectoderm as small round vesicles (Fig. 32). The canals connecting them are probably formed only after the vesicles have separated from the ectoderm in a manner not observed by me.

That the mesenchyme cells migrate into the outer cuticle through the ectodermal layers has been observed by Kowalewsky (1892), Julin (1892) and Seeliger (1893). In *Polyclinum* sp. it is found that during metamorphosis the anterior and posterior test vesicles disintegrate and the mesenchyme cells are liberated in the test.

The anterior test vesicles, before final disintegration, also perform the function of fixing the larva during metamorphosis.

Adhesive Papillae

These are three in number and are arranged in the dorso-ventral line in the middle region of the praeoral lobe (Fig. 28). Each one is provided with a stalk terminating in a goblet-shaped body with an opening to the exterior. The ventral, middle and dorsal papillae have a length of 112.2 μ , 174.9 μ and 130 μ respectively. The diameter of the stalk for all, except for a negligible thinning at the base, is uniform throughout measuring 6.6 μ . The size of the parts of the goblets is given below.

(Measurements in μ)

	Length.	Diameter.	Diameter of pore.
Goblet of middle papilla	23.1	41.25	9.9
Goblets of dorsal and ventral papillae	29.7	52.8	9.9

Each goblet (Fig. 33) is composed of a central mass of columnar cells with definite basal nuclei and with secretory granules at their outer ends. The cells of the mass converge towards the external depression or opening.

Inside the stalk of the adhesive papilla wandering mesenchyme cells are found in abundance. Those at the basal regions are smaller than those at the top immediately below the goblet. Grave (1921) has suggested the possibility of the secretory cells of the goblet being derived from the mesenchyme cells. Though this cannot be disregarded, it looks more probable from my sections that these goblets are formed by a tucking in and elongation of the outer cells of the ampulla, giving rise to a condition similar to that which has arisen in the cement glands of other chordates such as certain fishes, and amphibian larvae (Asheton, 1896, Jones, 1937, and Bhadhuri, 1935).

As already mentioned, after the formation of the praeoral lobe the adhesive papillae are the first to make their appearance (Fig. 26) as outgrowths from its anterior region. All the three are equal in size so that there is reason to believe that they arise simultaneously.

Mantle

Mantle or the ectodermal covering of the body and of the tail is composed of a single layer of cubical cells with distinct nuclei and slightly eccentric nucleoli. Most of the cells also contain a fair number of yolk granules. The cells bordering the oral and atrial openings are tall and columnar (Figs. 39 & 40), those adjoining the sense vesicle flat and thin (Fig. 34), and the layer covering the tail (Figs. 41 & 46) have cells having half the thickness of that of the body region. In all cases the nuclei retain their large size and staining property.

Nervous System.

The larva of *Polyclinum* sp. possesses the brain vesicle with the eye and statocyst, visceral ganglion, and nerve cord, which are functional during the larval period and the definitive ganglion and the hypophysial duct which persist in the adult. The sub-neural gland found in the adult is not developed during larval life.

Brain Vesicle.

This is situated between the oral and atrial siphons (Figs. 26, 28, & 29) to the right of the median plane of the body. It is oval in shape containing a spacious cavity or ventricle. Two sense organs, an eye and a statocyst, are developed inside and project into the central cavity. The eye has a more dorsal position to the left, while the statocyst occupies a lower position slightly to the right of the mid-line. The wall of the brain vesicle is thinner on the dorsal side (Fig. 35) than on the ventral. The nuclei of the cells are big.

The eye is a very prominent structure consisting of a group of retinal cells, lens cells and pigment granules (Figs. 34 & 35). There is no indication of a special pigment secreting layer in this case. In the late larva the pigmented portion is situated towards the distal ends of the retinal cells, and appears in the form of a boat in which three lenses are embedded. The pigment granules are very dark.

The lens cells are oval, and their edges touch the dorsal side of the wall of the vesicle adjacent to the epidermal cells. The

nuclei are situated towards the side touching the pigment layer. (Fig. 34 & Photomicrograph 3). There are three lens cells each measuring about 28μ long with the nuclear portion about 13μ . Lens is spherical and noncrystalline.

The lens cells are merely ordinary retinal cells which at an early stage become transformed into lenticular cells. In sections of the brain vesicle of younger stages (Fig. 37 & Photomicrograph 5) this is clearly evident. The nuclei stain very clearly even in the fully formed cells.

Retinal cells, the biggest of all nerve cells, are very large and are arranged close to each other on one side of the pigment cup (Figs. 34, 35, & 38 & Photomicrographs 3 & 4). They are slightly narrow at their outer ends where they abut on the pigment cup, and appear firmly packed, like bricks used in constructing an arch. Cell boundaries can be made out but indistinctly. The distal ends of the retinal cells seem to penetrate the pigment zone in the form of short visual rods. It is not certain whether these rods are present in all retinal cells, but judging from the arrangement of the retinal cells, however, it seems to be the case.

Statocyst. (Figs. 35, 36 & Photomicrograph 4). The statolith is spherical and dark in colour. It is borne on the distal end of a single sensory cell. The stalk ends in a shallow depression the edges of which extend around the statolith after the nature of a very thin cytoplasmic covering. The whole structure stands out obliquely from the right ventral wall of the sense vesicle.

In young specimens it is found that the pigment forming the substance of the statolith is secreted in the form of dark granules inside the cell. (Photomicrograph 6).

Visceral Ganglion

The sense vesicle is connected with the nerve tube by a prominent part of the nervous system which is called the visceral ganglion. Externally it has an irregularly lobed appearance (Figs. 38 & 40, and Photomicrograph 7). The portion near the sense vesicle is broader than the portion where it enters the tail, but the broadest point is about the middle. The anterior end of the tail inserted into the body of the larva is almost below the middle portion of the

sense vesicle, so that the visceral ganglion which connects the hind end of the sense vesicle with the anterior end of the tail naturally takes a slanting position.

In sections, the outer margin of the visceral ganglion is found to be composed of a cellular cortex. Each cell has a big nucleus with an eccentric nucleolus. Cell boundaries are not distinct. The majority of cells, thus nucleated are those which project out on the periphery. The central core is without any nucleus but with longitudinal striations.

A well developed nerve, the visceral nerve (Fig. 40 and Photomicrograph 7), arises from the ganglion and goes upwards obliquely in the direction of the oral siphon.

Nerve Cord

The tail has already been described as having a twist of 90 degrees to the left, and so the nerve cord lies to the left side of the notochord, in the space between the dorsal and ventral muscle bands and extends to the end of the tail (Figs. 41 and 46.)

Neuro-Hypophysial Canal

It is a very narrow tube (Figs. 28, 34, 35 & 39) which opens at one end into the endodermal wall of the pharynx, the other end ending blindly. From the place where it opens into the pharynx it is gradually continued in the form of a narrow tube towards the sense vesicle into which also it opens (Figs. 34 and 36, and Photomicrographs 3 and 4). Beyond this point it is continued below the atrial siphon, bends at an angle to the ventral side in the direction of the dorsal raphae and ends blindly. The wall of the duct is formed of a single layer of cells. The cilia of the cells are directed towards the sense vesicle and meet in the centre of the lumen.

Definitive Ganglion

The definitive or the permanent ganglion in the larva is only in the beginning of development as is seen from its very small size. The nuclei of the cells are well defined (Figs. 35 and 36, and Photomicrograph 4) although cell boundaries are not very distinct. Fine nerve fibrils run from the visceral to the permanent ganglion.

Alimentary Tract

This includes the pharynx, oesophagus, intestine and rectum. There is also a middle yolk mass.

The pharynx (Figs. 40, 41, and 42) is a spacious cavity occupying the dorsal region in the middle line. In the free swimming larva the oral opening has already established a connection with the pharynx. The dorsal roof of the pharynx is occupied by the endostyle, which in transverse section is U-shaped with a ciliated row of cells in the middle of the U. The endostyle begins at the oral opening, runs straight anteriorly and ends in a slight curve. The cells composing it are cylindrical with large nuclei situated at the basal half and with eccentric nucleoli.

The wall of the atrial tube adjoins the pharynx and is in communication with it by means of two rows of gill slits on each side, each row having four openings.

The posterior part of the pharynx opens into a funnel-like opening (Fig. 40) of the oesophagus, which continues as the stomach but the difference in the size of the two is negligible. The stomach runs towards the ventral side of the middle region of the larva and then proceeds anteriorly along the mid-ventral line. This region has considerably narrowed down and corresponds to the intestine of the adult ascidiozoid. The intestine then turns back on itself and runs obliquely upwards. The terminal portion of the rectum does not pierce the atrial cavity but is only in close contact with the atrial wall.

In transverse sections it is found that the cells composing the gut wall are mostly cylindrical. Nuclei are very big with eccentric nucleoli and clear chromatin granules. Even though the larva is not feeding at this stage the cells of the gut have begun to grow vacuolated and in many of the vacuoles yolk granules are found. (Fig. 44).

Just below the pharynx, closely pressed against its ventral wall, there is a conical mass formed of yolked cells (Figs. 28 and 40) the anterior end of which is expanded while the posterior is connected with the endodermal layer by a short stalk. In the earlier stages of development this yolk mass is round and as growth pro-

ceeds becomes conical. This is clearly illustrated in Figures 25 to 28. A transverse section of the yolk mass of the adult larva shows that the cell mass is hollow inside, with the ventral wall projecting into the lumen along its entire length giving the appearance of a W (Fig. 41). The large yolk granules stain dark and are packed inside the cells.

Pericardium.

The pericardium is a hollow oval sac formed of endodermal cells, situated on the ventral side of the yolk mass towards the anterior side (Fig. 41). In the fully formed larva there is no connection between the pericardium and the endodermal yolk mass. The invagination of the pericardium to form the heart has not yet begun.

Notochord.

This forms the central core of the tail along its entire length. Each segment is composed of a single cell, but the cell boundaries are not clear in the fully grown larva. In younger stages the notochordal cells are spherical and clearly marked out (Fig. 25). In transverse sections of the notochord of the fully developed larva the outer cortical region is coarsely granulated (Figs. 41 and 46) while the central part is free from granules. At the posterior end of the tail the notochord is merely covered by ectoderm with no muscles in between.

Endodermal Strand

Ventral to the notochord, but due to the twist of the tail, lying to the right of it, is a band of endodermal granular cells running throughout the length of the tail (Figs. 41 and 46).

Atrium.

It is a U-shaped sac the two limbs of which encircle the pharynx from the posterior side in the form of a horse shoe (Fig. 42). The rectum at this stage does not open into it (Fig. 43).

Mesenchyme Cells.

These are found in abundance at the anterior region especially in the test vesicles and adhesive papillae. In other regions they are not so abundant, but occur however, in fairly large numbers. They almost fill the space in the middle region of the larva. There is a layer of these cells of uniform size found internal to the mantle. Different types of mesenchyme cells are met with. Some of them have a homogeneous layer of cytoplasm around the nucleus, some others have the cytoplasm filled with darkly staining secretory granules, while a third type of cells has darkly staining nuclei with the cytoplasm greatly vacuolated (Fig. 45).

Tail Muscles.

There are two muscle bands running almost the entire length of the tail (Fig. 40). Each band is composed of three rows of muscle cells, each row being formed of seven cells placed end to end. In a transverse section each muscle cell has an outer darkly staining cortex and a central vacuolated transparent core in which the nucleus lies. The cortex, under high magnification, appears to be composed of alternate darkly and lightly staining areas probably indicating protoplasm which has undergone transformation into contractile and non-contractile parts.

Summary.

1. The anatomy and larval organisation of an Indian Synascidian, *Polyclinum* sp. has been dealt with in detail.
2. The anatomy of this Synascidian adds to the existing knowledge of the Ascidians of Indian waters. The description of larval organisation is the first of its kind for the Indian species of Ascidians.
3. Development takes place within the atrial cavity.
4. The tail of the larva undergoes a twist of 90 degrees to the left, so that in the free swimming stage the nerve cord lies to the left side of the notochord.

5. There are two types of test vesicles, the anterior club-shaped and the posterior, like bunches of grapes. Their structure, origin, and fate, are described.

6. Adhesive papillae are well developed. The view is advanced that the goblet is formed by the intucking of the cells at the free end of the ectodermal papillae.

7. In the larval nervous system all the temporary larval structures are well developed. In the adult the neurohypophyseal canal is well developed and the permanent ganglion only feebly. The lens cells are transformed retinal cells. Statocyst is formed by the pigmentation of a single sensory cell. There is a prominent visceral nerve arising from the visceral ganglion. The latter also supplies nerve fibrils to the permanent ganglion.

Acknowledgements.

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Explanation of Figures.

- Fig. 1. Semi-diagrammatic cross-section of a colony of *Polyclinum* sp. $1\frac{1}{2}$ th nat. size.
- Fig. 2. Longitudinal section of a portion of the colony $\times 500$.
- Fig. 3. An Ascidiozoid $\times 20$.
- Fig. 4. Enlarged view of the anterior region of the branchial region $\times 80$.
- Fig. 5. Longitudinal section of the wall of branchial siphon $\times 500$.
- Fig. 6. Oral siphon and prepharyngeal area showing tentacles $\times 80$.
- Fig. 7. Longitudinal section of the nervous system $\times 500$.
- Fig. 8. Single cell of the sub-neural gland $\times 2000$.
- Fig. 9. Longitudinal section of the peripharyngeal ridges $\times 1000$.
- Fig. 10. A portion of branchial sac $\times 80$.
- Fig. 11. Transverse section through the branchial stigmata $\times 400$.
- Fig. 12. Longitudinal section of a piece of the branchial sac $\times 400$.
- Fig. 13. A portion of the dorsal lamina $\times 80$.
- Fig. 14. Longitudinal section passing through a languet $\times 500$.
- Fig. 15. Transverse section of the endostyle $\times 500$.
- Fig. 16. Abdominal loop together with the posterior region of the branchial sac $\times 80$.
- Fig. 17. Longitudinal section of the oesophagus and the anterior region of the stomach $\times 500$.
- Fig. 18. Longitudinal section of the posterior region of the stomach and the beginning of the intestine $\times 500$.
- Fig. 19. Longitudinal section of the midgut sac and the beginning of the hindgut $\times 500$.
- Fig. 20. Longitudinal section of the rectum and anal lobe $\times 500$.
- Fig. 21. Diagrammatic transverse section of an ascidiozoid.
- Fig. 22. Longitudinal section of the opening of the duct of the pyloric gland into the intestinal region $\times 500$.
- Fig. 23. Transverse section of the intestinal region showing the duct and ramification of the pyloric gland $\times 500$.
- Fig. 24. Transverse section of the heart and pericardium $\times 500$.
- Fig. 25. Young stage of the larva $\times 200$.
- Fig. 26. Larval stage in which adhesive papillae have developed (Viewed from the right side) $\times 200$.
- Fig. 27. Larval stage viewed from the left side, showing the elongated adhesive papillae and the developing test vesicles $\times 200$.
- Fig. 28. Reconstruction from sections of the body region and a portion of the tail of a free swimming larva as seen from the left side $\times 160$.

- Fig. 29. Diagrammatic view of the free swimming larva as seen from the dorsal side $\times 80$.
- Fig. 30. Ectodermal layer of the trunk $\times 1000$.
- Fig. 31. Diagrammatic representation of an anterior test vesicle $\times 500$.
- Fig. 32. The evagination of the ectoderm to form the posterior test vesicle $\times 1000$.
- Fig. 33. Longitudinal section of the goblet of the adhesive papilla $\times 1000$.
- Fig. 34. Transverse section through the brain vesicle $\times 700$.
- Fig. 35. Diagrammatic representation of the brain vesicle showing the comparative size of the different parts.
- Fig. 36. Oblique section through the brain vesicle $\times 700$.
- Fig. 37. Oblique section through the brain vesicle of young embryo $\times 900$.
- Fig. 38. Semi-diagrammatic section passing through the retinal cells, pigment cup and the visceral ganglion reaching the tail $\times 500$.
- Fig. 39. Longitudinal section through the oral area $\times 700$.
- Fig. 40. Diagrammatic longitudinal section through the body of the larva $\times 200$.
- Fig. 41. Transverse section through the body of the larva. $\times 200$.
- Fig. 42. Transverse section but slightly oblique, passing through the plane of the brain vesicle $\times 200$.
- Fig. 43. Longitudinal section through the postero-dorsal area of the body of the larva $\times 700$.
- Fig. 44. Section of the stomach wall $\times 1000$.
- Fig. 45. Mesenchyme cells $\times 2000$.
- Fig. 46. Transverse section of the tail $\times 700$.

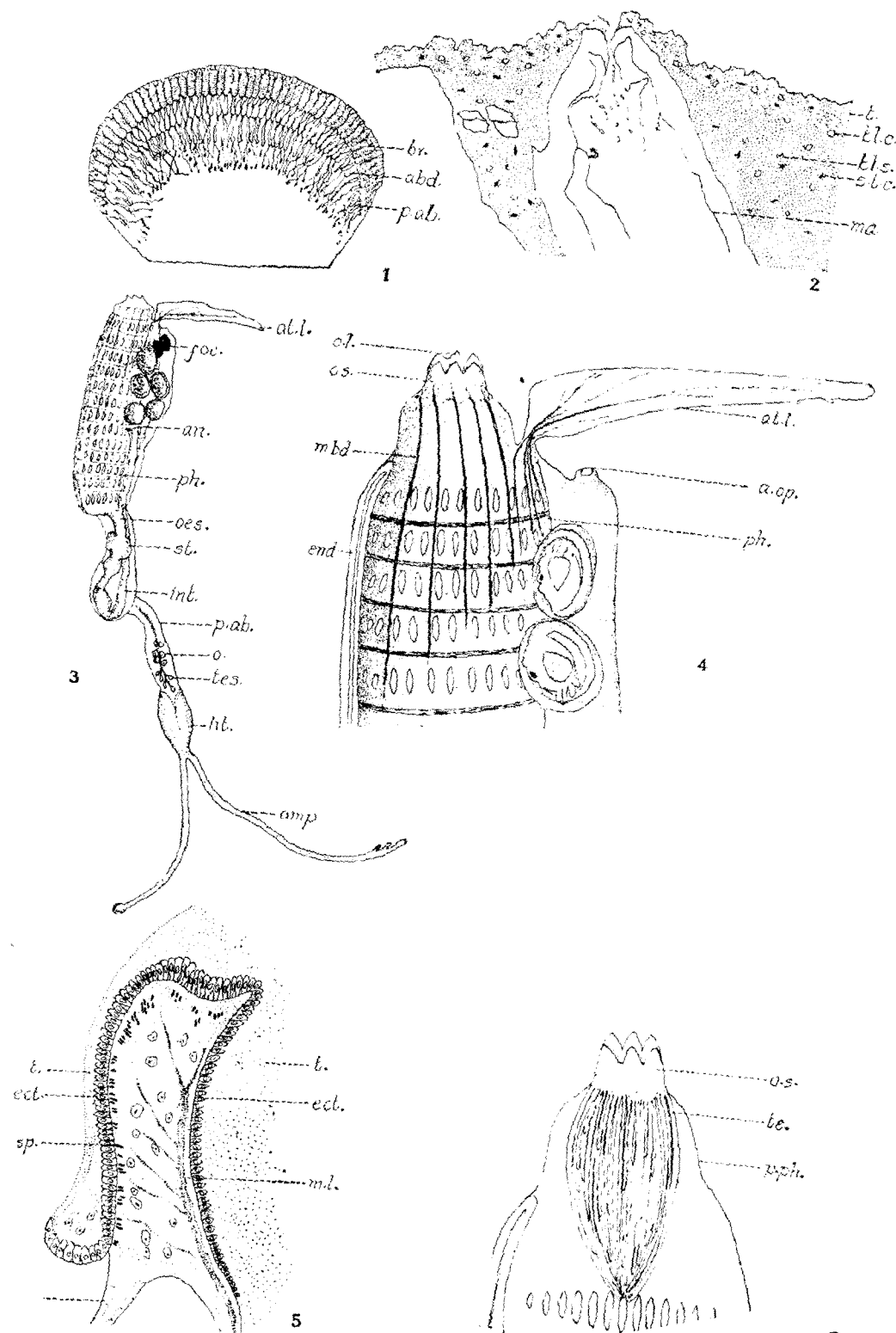
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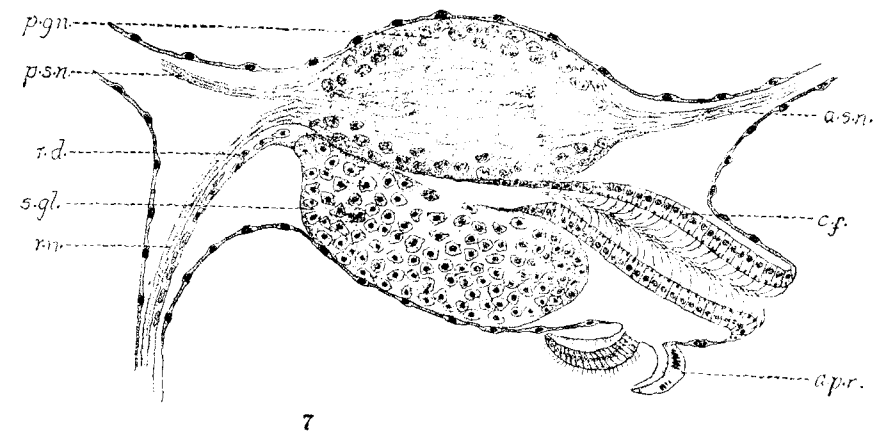
Explanation of Photographs

- Photograph 1. Dorsal view of the colony of *Polyclinum* sp. slightly less than natural size.
- Photomicrograph 2. Longitudinal section of the opening of the duct of the pyloric gland into the intestine.
- Photomicrograph 3. Transverse section passing through the brain vesicle of the larva.
- Photomicrograph 4. Oblique section through the brain vesicle of the larva.
- Photomicrograph 5. Oblique section through the brain vesicle of a young embryo.
- Photomicrograph 6. Transverse section through the brain vesicle of a young embryo.
- Photomicrograph 7. Oblique section through the posterior portion of the body of the larva.

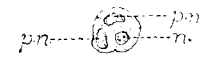
Key to Lettering.

abd.	Abdominal region.
ad. p	Adhesive papilla.
a. l. ves.	Lateral anterior test vesicle.
amp.	Ampulla.
a. m. ves.	Median anterior test vesicle.
an.	anus.
an. l.	anal lobe.
an. t. ves.	Anterior test vesicle.
a. op.	Atrial opening.
a. p. r.	Anterior lobe of the peripharyngeal ridge.
a. s. n.	Anterior siphonal nerve.
at.	Atrium.
at. l.	Atrial lobe.
bl. c.	Bladder cell.
bl. s.	Blood sinus.
br.	Branchial region.
br. ep.	Branchial epithelium.
br. ves.	Brain vesicle.
c.	Cilia.
Ca. st.	Cardiac region of the stomach.
c. f.	Dorsal tubercle.
d. c.	Dorsal ciliated band.
d. g.	Dorsal glandular region.
d. l.	Dorsal languet.
ect.	Ectoderm.
end.	Endostyle.
end. bd.	Endodermal strand.
end. yk.	Endodermal yolk.
fae.	Faecal matter.
fl.	Flagella.
gb.	Goblet.
gb. c.	Secretory cells of the goblet.
hd. g.	Hindgut.
h. nk.	Neck portion of the hindgut.
ht.	Heart.
i. g.	Pyloric gland
int.	Intestine.
l.	Lens.
l. a. ves.	Lateral-most anterior test vesicle.

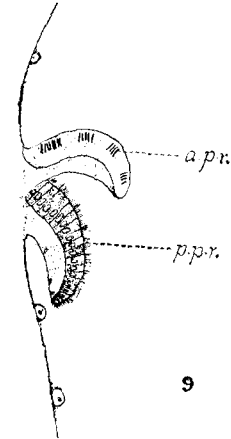




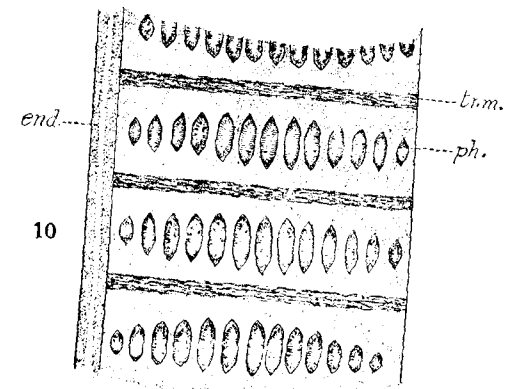
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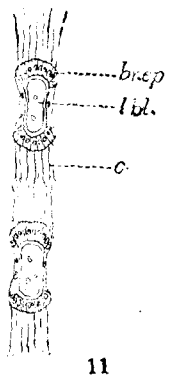
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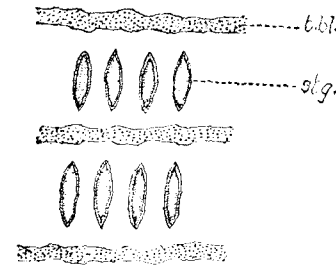
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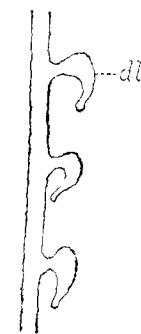
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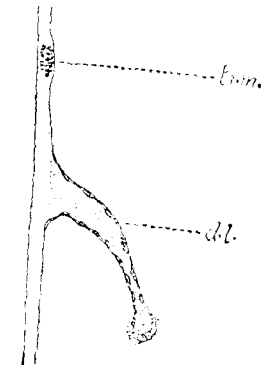
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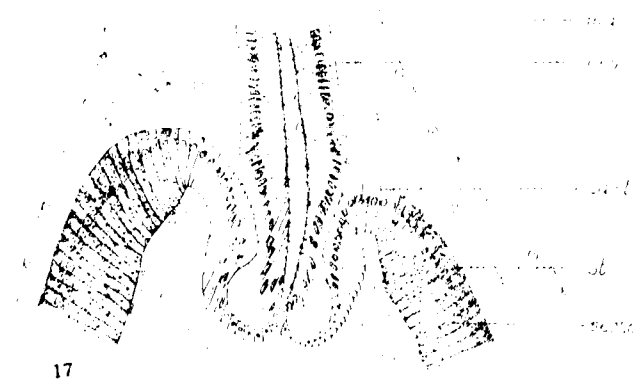
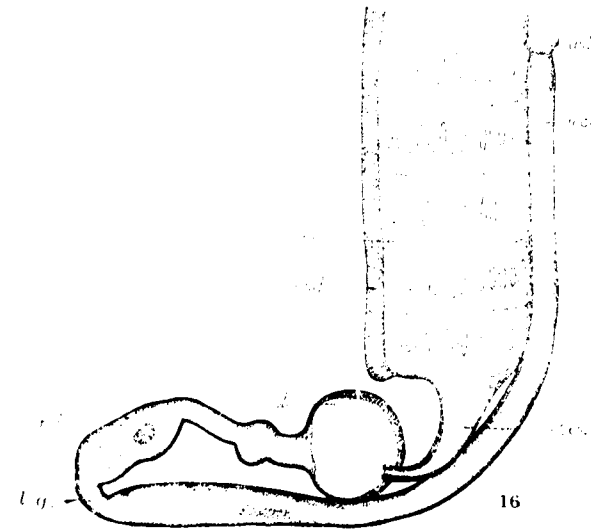
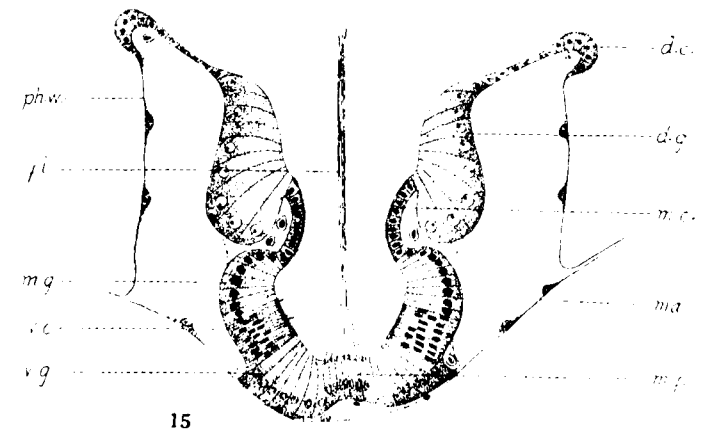
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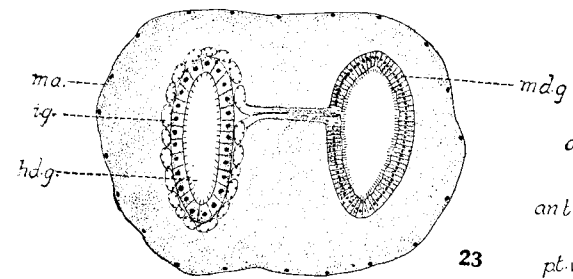


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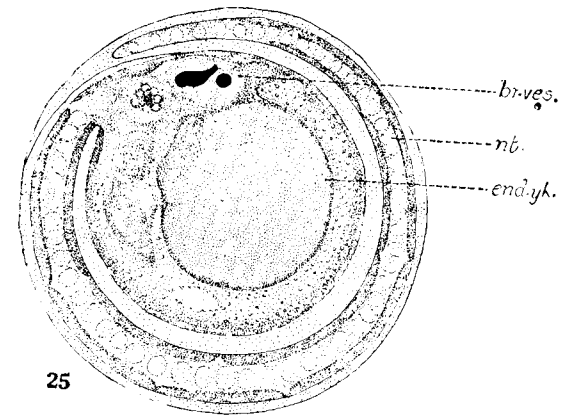


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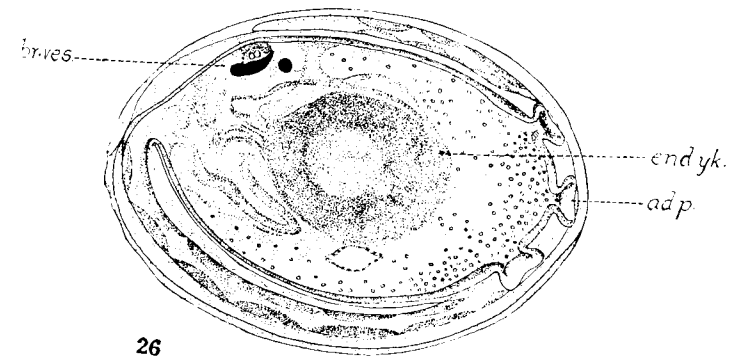




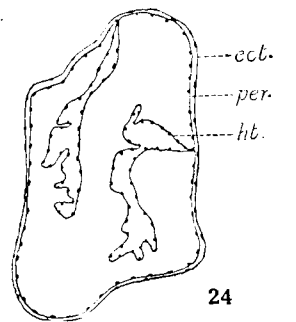
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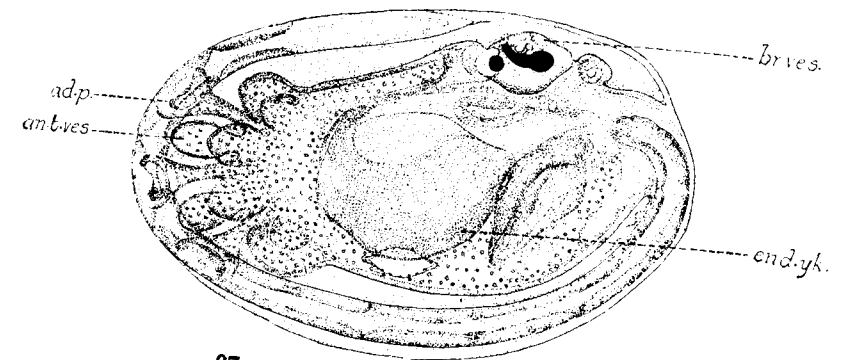
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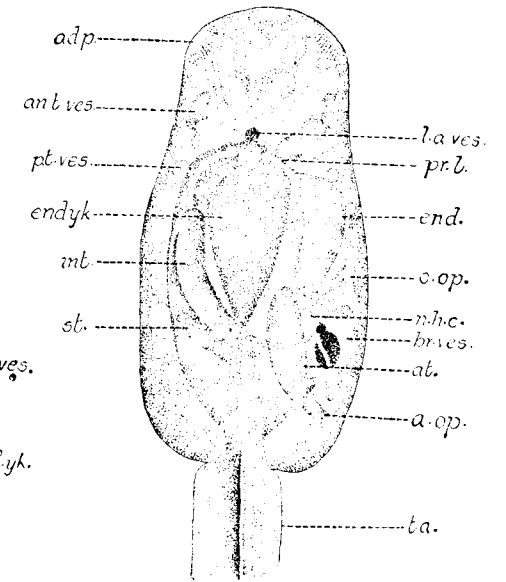
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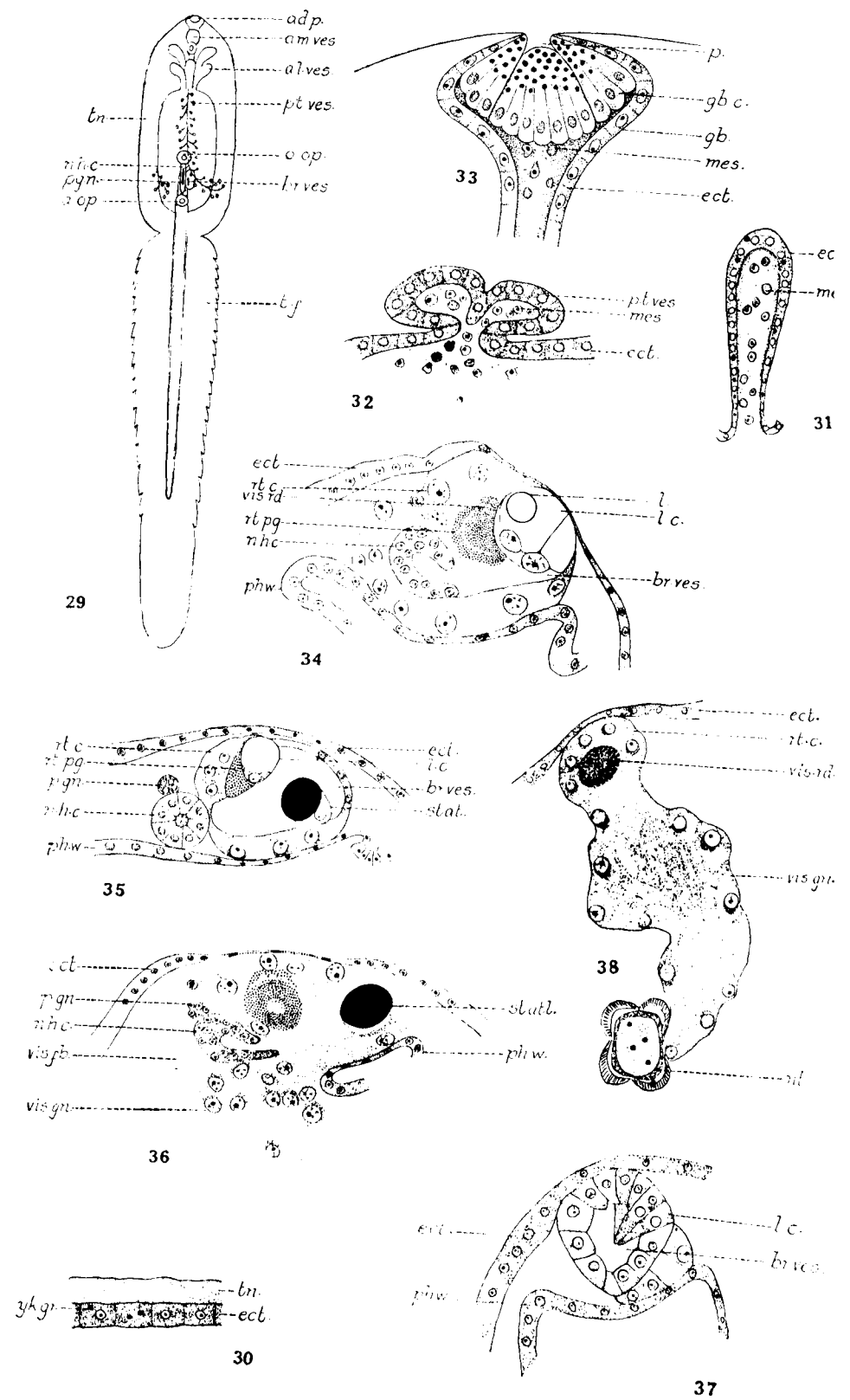
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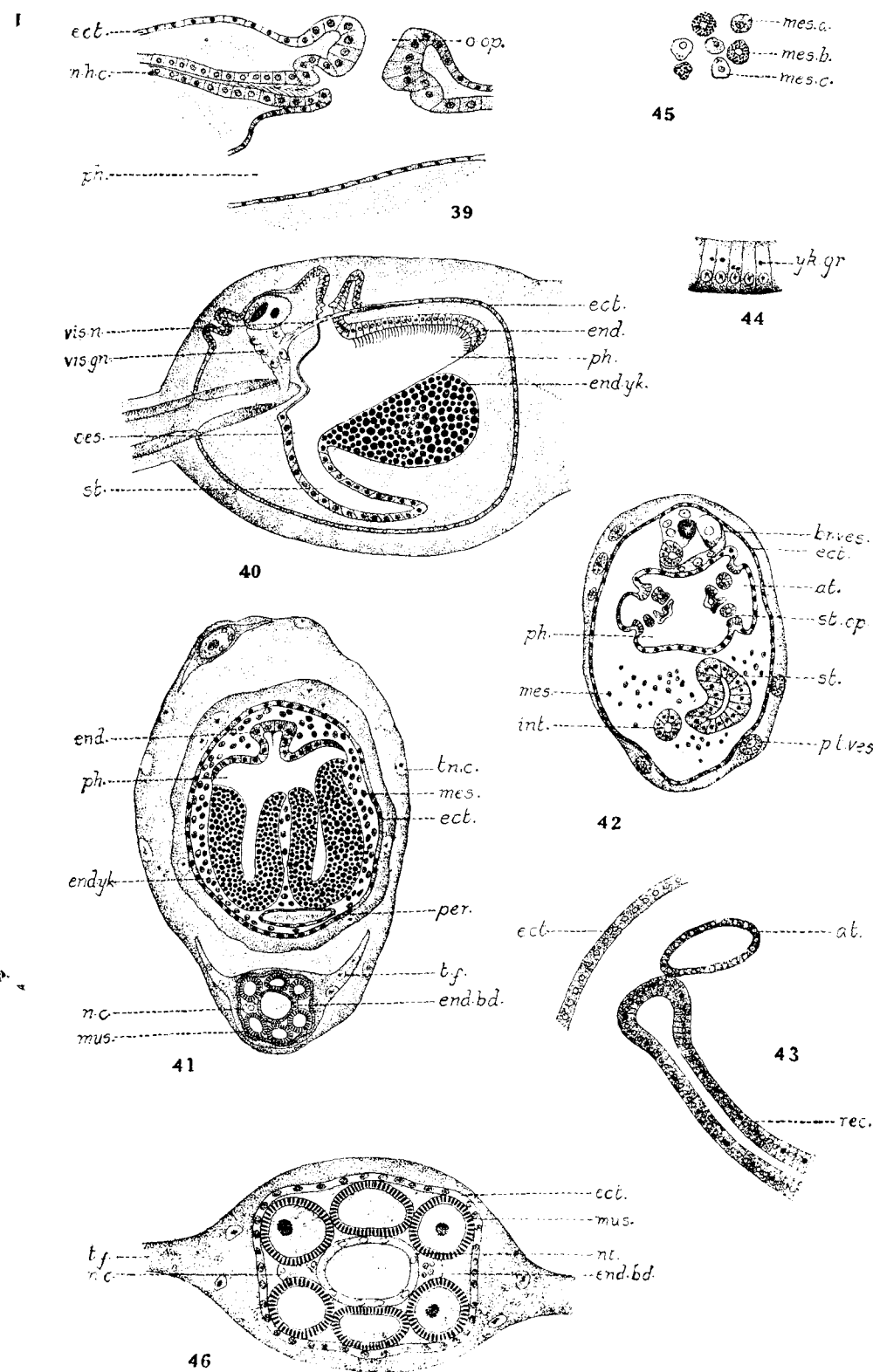


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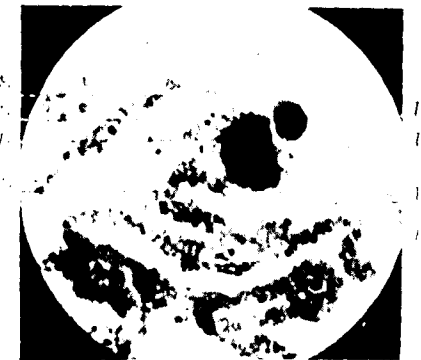




1



2



3



4



5



6



l. bl.	Fine longitudinal blood vessel.
l. c.	Lens cell.
ma.	Mantle.
m. bd.	Longitudinal muscle band.
m. c.	Median ciliated band.
md. g.	midgut.
md. s.	midgut sac.
mes.	mesenchyme cell.
mes. a.	Mesencyme cell with homogeneous protoplasm.
mes. b.	Secretory mesenchyme cell.
mes. c.	Vacuolated mesenchyme cell.
m. f.	Median flagellated row.
m. g.	Median glandular zone.
m. l.	Layer of muscles and connective tissue.
mus.	Muscle cell.
n.	Nucleus.
n. c.	Nerve cord.
n. h. c.	Neuro-hypophysial canal.
nt.	Notochord.
o.	Ovary.
oes.	Oesophagus.
o. l.	Lobe of the Branchial siphon.
o. op.	Oral aperture.
o. s.	Branchial siphon.
p.	Pore of the goblet.
p. ab.	Post-abdomen.
per.	Pericardium.
p. gn.	Permanent ganglion.
ph.	Pharynx.
ph. w.	Pharyngeal wall.
p. n.	Paranuclear body.
p. ph.	Prepharyngeal region.
p. p. r.	Posterior lobe of the peripharyngeal ridge.
pr. l.	Praeoral lobe.
p. s. n.	Posterior siphonal nerve.
p. t. ves.	Posterior test vesicle.
py. st.	Pyloric region of the stomach.
r. d.	Raphael duct.
rec.	Rectum.
r. n.	Raphael nerve.
rt. c.	Retinal cells.

rt. pg.	Pigmented portion of the retina.
sec. gr.	Secretory granules.
s. gl.	Sub-neural gland.
sp.	Sphincter muscle.
sq. ep.	Squamous epithelium.
st.	Stomach.
stat.	Statocyst.
stat. c.	Cell forming the statocyst.
statl.	Statolith.
s. t. c.	Smaller cells of the test.
stg.	Branchial stigmata.
st. op.	Stigmatal pore.
t.	Test.
ta.	Tail.
t. bl.	Transverse blood vessel.
te.	Tentacle.
tes.	Testes.
t. f.	Tail fin.
tn.	Tunic.
tn. c.	Tunic cell.
tr. m.	Transverse muscle.
v. c.	Ventral ciliated band.
v. d.	Vas deferens.
v. g.	Ventral glandular zone.
vis. fb.	Nerve fibrils of the visceral ganglion.
vis. gn.	Visceral ganglion.
vis. n.	Visceral nerve.
vis. rd.	Visual rod.
yk. gr.	Yolk granules.

UNIVERSITY NOTES

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, G.C.I.E., M.C., continued as Chancellor of the University during the year.

The office of Pro-Chancellor of the University remained vacant.

Sir Mahomed Usman, K.C.I.E., B.A., M.L.C., continued as Vice-Chancellor. His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was pleased to confer on the Vice-Chancellor in his official capacity the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the 5th (Madras) Battalion, University Training Corps. Sir Mahomed Usman was also appointed a member of the National Defence Council.

Mr. William McLean, M.B.E., J.P., M.A., B.L., Chartered Secretary, continued as Registrar.

AUTHORITIES AND MEETINGS

Two meetings of the Senate and two meetings of the Academic Council were held during the year.

The Faculties of Arts and Science met once during the year. Ten ordinary meetings and two special meetings of the Syndicate were held during the year.

Meetings of the Convocation for conferring Degrees on Graduates were held on the 20th February, 15th and 16th August 1941 respectively. At the main Convocation held on the 15th August 1941, His Excellency the Chancellor of the University presided and the Address to Graduates was delivered by Rev. L. D. Murphy, S.J., M.A. The Vice-Chancellor presided over the Convocations held on the 20th February and 16th August 1941.

The number of persons that took the several Degrees at the Convocations was:—B.A.—1,001; B.A. (Hons.)—161; M.A.—128; B.Sc.—278; B.Sc. (Hons.)—49; M.Sc.—18; B.Sc. (Pharmacy)—3; B.L.—165; M.L.—2; M.B.B.S.—98; M.D.—2; M.S.2; B.S.Sc.—2; B.E.—85; L.T.—402; B.Sc. (Agr.)—26; B.O.L.—6; B.V.Sc.—6; M. Litt.—5; M.O.L.—2; D. Litt.—1; D. Sc.—6.

There was a special meeting of the Senate on the 31st October 1941 for the award of Titles and Diplomas to persons who had qualified for the same. The number of persons who took the several titles and diplomas at the special meeting of the Senate was:—Siromani—70; Vidvan—153; Munshi-i-Fazil—19; Afzal-ul-Ulama—4; Diploma in Midwifery—11; Diploma in Economics—3; Diploma in German—14; Diploma in French—1; Diploma in Librarianship—5; Diploma in Geography—6; Diploma in Indian Music—8; Diploma in Politics and Public Administration—5.

Certain additions and alterations were made in the course of the year in the Statutes, Ordinances and Regulations. Statistics has been made a separate Department of Study in the University. The Syndicate was empowered to grant a personal allowance to Readers and Lecturers of the University under certain conditions.

Graduates who register themselves 60 days before the date of poll can now take part in the election of 30 members to the Senate by the Registered Graduates.

CONSTITUENT AND AFFILIATED INSTITUTIONS.

The following institutions were granted recognition, affiliation or approval as the case might be in the subjects noted against each:—

- (1) Government College, Mangalore.—Intermediate—Part II—Hindi.
- (2) Sri Venkateswara Sanskrit College, Tirupati.—Vidvan under Regulation 7—D (Tamil).
- (3) Sri Balaya Swamigal Tamil College, Mailam.—Vidvan under Regulation 7—D (Tamil).
- (4) The Karanthai Pulavar Kalloori, Tanjore.—Vidwan under Regulation 7—D (Tamil).

ITEMS OF GENERAL AND ACADEMIC IMPORTANCE

The Diploma Course in Statistics was started during the year. The Departmental Staff in Mathematics, Economics and Statistics take part in the teaching of the Course.

University Training Corps.—The activities of the Corps continued as usual. The Syndicate resolved that an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 be made for a period of three years towards the Flying Training Scheme for the University Training Corps.

TEACHERS AND RESEARCH DEPARTMENTS

At the invitation of the Government of India, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan was permitted by the Syndicate to serve on the Consultative Committee of Economists for Post-War Reconstruction.

The Syndicate extended the services of Sri R. Gopala Iyer and Dr. M. O. Parthasarathi Iyengar, Directors of the Zoology and Botany Laboratories for a year from 20-1-42 and 15-12-41 respectively.

The appointments of the Research Assistants in the three laboratories have been fixed as terminal ones for a period of three years.

Mr. N. D. Varadachari, B.A., B.L., Advocate, was appointed Special Lecturer in the subject of Law—Indian Constitutional Law—for the Diploma Course in Politics and Public Administration for the year.

Rev. A. Sauliere, S.J., and Mrs. Ellen Sharma were appointed part-time lecturers for the Diploma Course in French and German respectively.

Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Sri K. C. Ramakrishnan, Sri S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Dr. E. Asirvatham, Sri N. Sundararama Sastri, Dr. M. O. Parthasarathi Iyengar and Sri R. Gopala Iyer delivered lectures to Honours students in their respective special subjects under the scheme of Association of teachers of the University with Honours teaching in the colleges.

PUBLICATIONS

Prizes for Encouragement of Publication of Works on Modern Subjects in Dravidian Languages:—The Syndicate, on the recommendation of the Boards of Examiners, awarded the prizes to (1)

Mr. H. A. Ratnam for his work in Telugu on Biology and Human Welfare (2) Mr. M. R. Balakrishna Wariyar for his work in Malayalam on Aviation and (3) Messrs. K. P. Adiga and Suryanarayana Adiga (Joint Authors) for their work in Kannada on Radio and Broadcasting.

The following works from Research Departments of the University were published during the year:—

Name of the work.	Books. Author.	Department.
Economic Conditions in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1850.	Dr. A. Sarada	Economics.
Early History of the Andhra Country.	Dr. K. Gopalachari.	Indian History.
Tattvasuddhi of Jnana-ghanapada.	Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Mr. E. P. Radhakrishnan.	Indian Philosophy.
Prakriyasarvasva.	Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.	Sanskrit.
Sarvatobhadra of Ramakantacharya.	Dr. T. R. Chintamani.	Do.
Paratattvarasayana of Phani-bhatta.	Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya. Bulletin.	Telugu.
Historical method in relation to problems of South Indian History.	Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.	Indian History.

Lectures:—The annual lectures by the Heads of the Departments of the University and the lectures by the Honorary Readers in their respective subjects were as usual delivered in the year under review.

Extension Lectures were delivered in Madras, Coimbatore, Ernakulam, Madura, Mangalore, Tinnevely and Trichinopoly.

Endowment Lectures:—The following lectures under the several Endowments were delivered:—

Name of the Endowment.	Name of the Lecturer.	Subject.
The Maharaja of Travancore Curzon Lecture-ship—Engineering.	Rao Bahadur A. Lakshminarayana Rao.	Road Engineering with special reference to improved surfacing and construction of bridges.
Do. Agriculture.	Dr. A. Subba Rao.	Soil erosion and conservation of moisture in unirrigated black soil.
The Sankara Parvathi Lectureship.	Sri A. V. Venkatarama Iyer.	Kalingattupparani in its historical setting.
The Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectureship.	Dr. K. Venkataraman.	Recent progress in the chemistry of natural organic colouring matters.
The Principal Miller Lectureship.	Dr. D. Gurumurti.	God & Progress.
The Dr. Elizabeth Matthai Lectureship.	Dr. E. Achyuta Menon.	Maternal Injuries of childbirth.
The Sundaram Ayyar, Krishnaswami Ayyar, Lectureship.	Sri N. Rajagopal Ayyangar.	Parties and party Government—Its theory and practice.
The Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao, Lectureship.	Dr. Maryla Falk.	The unknown early Yoga and the birth of Indian philosophy.

The following lectures arranged under the various endowments 1940-41 were delivered during the year:—

The Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectureship.	Dr. M. O. Parthasarathi Ayyangar.	Problems of fresh water (microscopic) Plant Biology.
The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry Lectureship.	Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.	The framing of the Indian Constitution.

Adult Education and Vacation Lectures:—A course of vacation lectures for the benefit of workers engaged in Adult Education and Rural Amelioration was delivered by Messrs K. Seshachala Choudary, J. J. De Valois, R. Suryanarayana Rao and L. L. Lorbeer at Anantapur, Chittoor and Calicut, Coimbatore, Madura, Chittoor, Madura and Saidapet respectively.

Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar continued to be the Hon. Librarian of the Departmental Libraries.

University Library:—The total number of volumes in the Library is 1,18,531 of which 98,391 are in the Main Library and the remaining 20,140 are in the Departmental Libraries.

University Information Bureau:—Owing to the War, most of the enquiries were concerning further studies in India or about competitive examinations. Several enquiries were also made regarding studies in the U.S.A.

University Union:—The Union continued to provide recreation facilities to student members from the colleges.

Endowments:—The terms of award of prizes under the following endowments were so amended that the work submitted should have been prepared solely for the purpose of competing for the prize and should not have formed the basis of a work for which a prize or a degree had been previously awarded:—

The Maharaja of Travancore Prizes.

The Gokhale Prize.

The Sankara-Parvathi Prize.

The Sir William Wedderburn Prize and

The Ramanujam Memorial Prize.

Conferences and Congresses:—Delegates were sent to represent the University at the following Conferences and Congresses during the year:—

1. The 11th All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad, December 1941.
2. The 45th Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Pennsylvania, April 1941.

3. The Fiftieth Anniversary Celebrations of the foundation of the University of Chicago, U.S.A. September 1941.
4. The 18th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore, December 1941.
5. The 2nd Agricultural Economics Conference at Lahore, April 1941.
6. The 29th Session of the Indian Science Congress at Baroda, January 1942.
7. The 25th Indian Economic Conference at Bombay, December 1941.
8. The 4th Indian Political Science Conference at Bombay, December 1941.
9. The 17th Indian Philosophical Congress at Aligarh, December 1941.
10. The 12th Indian Mathematical Conference at Aligarh, December 1941.

REVIEWS

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The management of Oxford University Press (Indian Branch) deserves warm congratulations on this fresh venture, of which five numbers have so far been listed and brought out. The variety of problems treated and the capacity of those dealing with them leaves little to be desired. The price is also reasonably low (four annas) except in the case of double pamphlets which naturally cost twice as much.

NO. 1. THE CULTURAL PROBLEM. The first of these is a double pamphlet with contributions from Rev. A. J. Appasamy, Sir Abdul Qadir, Mr. R. P. Masani, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, and Sir Jogendra Singh. The idea would seem to have been to obtain the views of a Christian, a Muslim, a Parsee, a Hindu and a Sikh; but in the result, the last three distinctions have been blurred and all three writers strike a predominantly Hindu note. While the first two writers recognise the existence of cultural differences, whilst minimising their conflict with national unity, the last three would make out that real culture can be but one, the differences belonging to the non-essential surface of things or to mind rather than to spirit. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that this essentially Hindu view-point is also the sounder one. One must distinguish the core of things from their surface, without necessarily subscribing to Illusionism. It is in the realisation of this core that one transcends one's ego and becomes truly one's self, realises the culture that is one's heritage; not in individuality, but in the transcendence thereof lies culture; the cultured man is not ego-centric but a-centric; it is the uncultured man who "has a brain but no heart", "a will but no soul" (p. 42); for the brain and the will are divisive, separative, while the heart and the soul unite. Differences do exist, but they are phases of cultural expression, not divergences of culture. And "it is not in discovering and demarcating separate cultural

regions but in ignoring them, not by dwelling upon divergences but by making them subservient to unity, that Britain can fulfil its mission and help India's millions along the path of self-government" (p. 62). The examples of Asoka and Akbar are frequently referred to; and even the exponent of the supposedly militant Islam says "Let us recognise that all religions have a right to exist" (p. 25), since "It appears that this diversity of thought is a part of the scheme of things", a more modest sentiment than that of the Christian contributor who would go further and say "that no such merging of cultures is even desirable" as "The many differences among the cultural types of the land give a real zest and interest to life" (p. 8). The last mentioned outlook is very human, but the least cultural, as evident from the ego-centric attitude. So long as we have man evaluating things as good, because they are good for himself or his kin or his clan, we are very far from culture, to say nothing of cultural unity. But this apart, the pamphlet as a whole makes interesting reading, eminently worth the consideration of the vivisectionists and their opponents alike.

NO. 3. THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

Five writers have contributed to this symposium, and despite the variety of approaches to the problem and the differences in the solutions offered, there is remarkable agreement on the nature of the problem itself, which is one of low production and low standard of living.

Mr. K. T. Shah introduces the subject by a neat and matter-of-fact account of the factors that have contributed to the economic condition of India and pleads for "a comprehensive, co-ordinated plan of national reconstruction" in which Government must play its full part. Prof. P. J. Thomas who follows has analysed with rare insight and acuteness the grave weaknesses of our economic system arising out of an inefficient productive system and a defective use of our income, which have resulted in under-production and under-consumption. In his opinion no stable economic progress is possible without a carefully devised programme of public works which will set in motion "an upward spiral of increasing purchasing power,

rising standards of living and accelerated industrialisation and improved agriculture." The reader gets a jerk as he turns from Prof. Thomas to Mr. J. C. Kumarappa who pleads for a new valuation of our economic and social ideas and who has his own explanations for the present economic system which according to him is all wrong. His solution includes State management of enterprises on a service basis, decentralised production and substitution of barter for money economy.

Sir Datar Sing blames the faulty methods of education for much of the poverty of the country and emphasises the need for vocational and technical education. In the diffusion of education and the promotion of industries he finds the way to the raising of the standard of living of the masses. Sir Jehangir Coyajee fittingly concludes the symposium by summing up the debate as it were. The ultimate goal of economic policy in our country should be the securing of a high standard of living and proper distribution and utilization of income. While Sir Jehangir recognises that there has been a rise in the standard of living, he traces the unfavourable influences that have neutralised the working of the favourable factors. He is for all round progress in agriculture and industry and criticises those who attach an exaggerated importance to industrialisation and who would employ hot-house methods to push it forward at any cost. Like Mr. Shah he is also for planning in which the State should play a large part. After a survey of all economic resources Government should establish a National Board of Industries and a National Board of Investment. Sir Jehangir discusses also the relative merits of an economic policy based on independent autonomous action by India and one based on partnership with the Empire.

L.

NO. 4. INDIAN STATES. By K. M. Panikkar.

This pamphlet is written by a well-known authority on Indian States in particular, and on the constitutional problems of India in general. It is informative, historical, descriptive, and on the whole apologetic.

The author traces in broad outline the gradual building up of the elaborate system of control and supervision over the States

first by the East India Company and later under the Crown. He rightly points out that the States vary in size, population, revenue, and the extent of the rights they enjoy. The ones which really matter are some 23 of them with a revenue of over 35 crores.

The author argues that while the majority of the bigger Indian States are not survivals of old Indian monarchies, they are still not the creations of British policy. He then analyses the characteristics of treaties, describing the Hyderabad Treaty as the subsidiary treaty *par excellence*.

Writing on the position of the Indian States under the Crown, the author describes the growth of economic unity during the past eighty years and traces the adverse effect of the fiscal and financial policies of the Government of India on the States. It is his contention that the abolition of protective and revenue customs of the States has greatly added to the income of British India without any compensatory gain to themselves. He argues that there has been a growth of central authority in other spheres too, rendered easy by the political and economic backwardness of the States.

Attempting a definition of the vexed question of Paramountcy, he describes it as "the complex of Crown rights, both general and particular, which limit the sovereignty of the States." Paramountcy in the general sense or Basic Paramountcy as he calls it covers such prerogatives of the Crown as the determination of succession where it is contested, the sanction of adoption, the decision of disputes between States, intervention in cases of misgovernment and the conduct of relations with foreign states. "In its *particular* aspects paramountcy is the practice and usage which have developed in regard to each State or group of States."

Towards the close of the pamphlet the author makes a survey of the external and internal problems of the States and puts forward a vigorous plea for "a co-operative grouping" of the smaller States which are geographically contiguous to each other for purposes of police and judicial administration and for the undertaking of schemes of social service.

His description of the States as "laboratories of social experiment" is hardly convincing, judging from the paucity of illustrations which he gives in support of his contention. Equally unconvincing is his claim that the Princes "provide in relation to India a major

aristocracy which has never failed India in any important matter" and that "the Princes and their people have never put any barrier between themselves and their brethren in British India in matters affecting their common welfare". No word is said about the rights of subjects whose happiness, contentment and fullest possible development should be the supreme concern of every ruler, or about their eagerness to march alongside of their brethren in the rest of India in matters of political and constitutional reform and necessary social and economic changes.

E.A.

NO. 5. DEMOCRACY IN INDIA. By Dr. A. Appadorai.

This is a well-written pamphlet on the growth of democracy in India since 1857 and the problems which confront it to-day. In the first few pages the author attempts a running sketch of the various constitutional reforms introduced into India since 1861 to the present day. He believes that the abortive Cripps proposals "will ever remain one of the most important political documents in Indian history" (p. 12).

In the latter half of the pamphlet the author considers the ways and means by which large scale democracy in India can be started, preserved and made to function successfully. Among the suggestions for the initiation of democracy are certain constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards such as the incorporation of fundamental rights in the future constitution of India, the preservation of communal electorates, and the reservation of communal legislation to communal guilds. The author also supports composite cabinets, regarding them as "the logical corollary of separate electorates", as well as communal representation in the services and the formation of standing committees of the legislature, and advisory committees to help ministers, on all of which minorities will be well represented, and will thereby have a chance of nipping administrative injustices and irregularities in the bud.

The two main problems which the author discusses in connection with the preservation of democracy are the problem of defence and the possible rise of an open or veiled dictatorship. He advises the abandonment, though the term actually used is revision, of the

policy of non-violence and the incurring of large expenditure in building up an efficient national army. In combating the rise of dictatorship the author pleads for concentrated effort on training in citizenship and the removal of economic discontent.

Among the suggestions which he makes for the successful working of democracy may be mentioned (1) the establishment of certain institutions such as an informed and critical press and sound political parties, (2) the formation of certain habits of mind, and (3) the training of proper leaders.

To much of what the author says there can be very little objection. In a short space of 31 pages he has covered many aspects of democracy in India. But one has the feeling that many of the suggestions which he makes are on the side of mechanical devices and not on the side of fundamental changes which should be brought about in the mental and moral outlook of people and in the structure of society if democracy is to succeed. That the democratic outlook and caste mentality cannot go together is a truth which requires constant repetition; and yet the author contents himself with the innocuous remark that "the unsocial institution of untouchability must disappear". (p. 30). No word is said about the stranglehold of vested interests in India or of the Princes, both of which constitute a serious obstacle to the progress of democracy in India. The economic programme which he sketches on pp. 25 and 26 is of the reformist variety which we are afraid does not have a bright future before it. It is fast becoming antiquated.

The concessions made to communalism, while laudable, are not likely to solve the problem. In the opinion of the reviewer at least, the educated people of India of all communities and of no community should take the lead in evolving a commonsense system of law for the whole country instead of conserving archaic laws masquerading under the name of religious and personal law. On page 17 the author opines that "if a Bill is opposed by three-fourths of the members representing a community in the Legislature, it may be made inapplicable to that community". If that be so, would he allow the Muslim legislators of Madras to declare the Act enacting a Tobacco Tax inoperative so far as the Muslims are concerned, because they felt that it worked a particular hardship on the Muslim community? It is a well known fact that of late even taxation measures in the Provinces

have been scrutinised in the light of their possible good or bad effects on the members of the various communities.

As Burke observed long ago, magnanimity in politics may be the wisest form of statesmanship. But it must be remembered at the same time that compromise with a lower principle always results in the degrading of the higher one. It is unfortunate that nearly all the suggestions which are being made to-day by various thinkers for solving the communal tangle are in the direction of the higher yielding to the lower. Why should not those holding the lower be educated to reach up to the higher level?

It is a striking omission that in sketching the Minto-Morley Reforms no reference is made to the introduction of separate electorates which have turned out to be the bane of Indian politics and have paved the way for many of the difficulties in the pathway of Indian democracy to-day.

Speaking of composite cabinets, the author says that "if reasonable men behave in a reasonable way" the system might have a fair trial. It is needless to say that the phrase in question does not convey much meaning. "If reasonable men behave in a reasonable way" single party cabinets can work just as well.

These criticisms do not in any way diminish the value of the pamphlet under review which is a clear, logical and analytical treatment of a difficult subject. Our main criticism is that a full comprehension of the problem of democracy in India in all its aspects ought to lead to a different kind of treatment.

E.A.

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON WORLD AFFAIRS.

NO. 50. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.—By D. W. Brogan.

An active continuous foreign policy attracts an average American as little as a long-continued health regime might attract a normally robust man. But America stands for freedom and democracy, and has a clear duty to uphold these ideals to the rest of the world, separated as she is from it by vast oceans on either side. She developed a Munroe doctrine for a limited contingency, and tried an extended application of it in other situations. But the first world war made isolation impossible, and at the end of it special laws were enacted to safeguard against entanglement in

another crisis that was brewing in wicked old Europe. But laws based on cold calculations of policy in peace time are no security against the drive of world shattering events, and Brogan has traced with a sure touch the great part of President Roosevelt in guiding American opinion and action along right lines in these fateful years.

K.A.N.

NO. 51. NORWAY AND THE WAR. By Gathorne Hardy.

Opening with a thumb-nail sketch of the country, its resources in land and sea, and its people, the author demonstrates succinctly the futility, in altered conditions, of the old policies of isolation and Scandinavian collaboration, and foresees a future of fruitful co-operation for Norway with England and America. He acquits the Norwegian people of being a nation of Quislings, in fact he says 'Quisling's treason is very nearly unique', and compliments the nation on the courageous way in which it kept up resistance against the spread of German occupation under hopeless conditions as long as there was any hope of succour, and the spirited opposition they still maintain against the forced foreign occupation.

K.A.N.

NO. 54. CHINA. By P. M. Roxby.

Prof. Roxby who is primarily a geographer gives us a detailed knowledge (as much as is possible in a small compass) of the different regions of China, their physical and other peculiarities, the legacy of China's historic civilisation, the consequences of Western impact, the rise of the Republic, the achievements of the Nanking Government and the break-out of the Sino-Japanese War. An objective and very informing presentation!

NO. 55. JAPAN AND THE MODERN WORLD. By Sir John Pratt.

We are here given a brief but clear and balanced account of Japan's transition from her one-time indifference to the outside world to her present desire to be the leader of East Asia. Due

stress is laid on her professed desire for the freedom of Asia in general and of China in particular, so long as such freedom is not inconsistent with the sole interference of Japan herself. This attitude of mind is not so uncommon in international politics; its essential unsoundness could perhaps not be appreciated until Japan was ranged alongside our enemies and proved a menace to India. Out of evil cometh good!

NO. 56, BELGIUM AND THE WAR. By G. N. Clark.

Professor Clark gives us here a clear account of the situation of Belgium in international politics before the War of 1914-18, of subsequent development in her internal politics, of the growth of Rexism and Flemish nationalism, of the release of Belgium in 1937 from her obligations under the Treaty of Locarno, of the increasing difficulties in maintaining her neutrality, of the sudden attack, heroic struggle and final debacle. He gives also a brief view of the Congo and its continuance as an ally of the democratic nations. The booklet will be welcome to all readers, even to those who may not subscribe to the view (expressed with a great deal of caution) that the King of the Belgians might "have resigned the command of the army, left another commander to carry out the capitulation, and transferred himself and his government, as the Queen of Holland had done, to an Allied country" (p. 22).

NO. 57, GREECE. By Stanley Casson.

An inspiring episode in the present war is that Greece put up the most gallant fight against Mussolini's Italians and only in the end was beaten down by the Germans. This pamphlet is a bird's eye view of the history of the Greek people through the ages. While it attempts to give a picture of the traditions and the character of the Greeks inherited from the past, it describes the growth of modern Greece since the war of Independence just a century ago. It is said that Greek politics after 1912 took the form of associating with any power who would support her against Bulgaria and distrusting any who took Bulgaria as friend. Then follows an account of the circumstances by which Greece was plunged into war.

V.R.R.

NO. 58. GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA. By Sir John Pratt.

This pamphlet opens with a description of the natural features of the ancient country, China. Though it is geographically divided as North and South China with wide variations in the climate and topography, it is a remarkable fact that China maintained an extraordinary degree of unity and homogeneity. It is a tribute to the genius of the Chinese people and the unique character of their civilization whose origin goes back to a time before history began.

In 1715 the East India Company encouraged by the Chinese opened their factory at Canton. From that day for more than two centuries Great Britain led the way in the commercial and diplomatic relations between China and the West. Until 1842 foreign trade was confined to the port of Canton. But political friction between Britain and China led to two wars in which China suffered defeat. The treaties signed by the Chinese led to discontent among the Chinese people. Her defeat by Japan in 1894-5 showed her weakness to defend herself. And it seemed the break up of China was imminent. Luckily the Nationalist movement in China especially after 1900 tackled the problem of setting up an effective central government and modernising her institutions. In spite of the Washington Conference 1921 to secure peace in the Far East, the Chinese resented foreign tutelage. The December Memorandum 1926, and the establishment of the National Government at Nanking in 1928 were to China's advantage. But soon came the Sino-Japanese dispute over Manchuria and, anxious to maintain harmonious relations between China and Japan, Britain sent Sir Frederick Leith Ross on a mission to the Far East in 1935. Though it failed to secure the collaboration of Japan, it led to remarkable currency reforms with a revival of trade and industry. But in 1937 another Sino-Japanese war broke out and Britain continued to assist China. To-day Japan's entry into the war has made the ABCD powers present a common front against Japan.

V.R.R.

NO. 59. WHO MUSSOLINI IS. By Ivor Thomas.

'A blacksmith's son, the reviler of God and man, who had served a dozen terms of imprisonment and who never rose to be more than a corporal in the last war,' has to-day become a world

figure. This pamphlet seeks to show how he came to his present position. In his early days he was an atheist and a Socialist agitator. He had no option except military service. After his break with Socialism he edited his own paper. At the end of the last war he became leader of a new party, the Fascist Party, and succeeded in capturing power at Rome. With the murder of the leaders of the opposition he enforced what is known as totalitarian rule throughout Italy. In 1929 he settled the 'Roman question' by an agreement with the Church. Subsequently he embarked on a policy of aggression in Ethiopia, Spain and Albania. Finally when the present war broke out he joined hands with Hitler against the Allies putting his own people to untold misery.

V.R.R.

NO. 60, WAR AT SEA TO-DAY. By Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond.

Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond neatly summarises in this pamphlet what command of the sea and its control mean. He clearly sets forth at the outset that command of the sea depends not only on naval strength but on other factors also. Some of these are the military situation, the possession of bases and the geographical conditions. War at sea implies possession of sea power and sea power is said to have three principal constituents: sea-fighting forces, bases of supply, and a merchant fleet. It is shown how the introduction of new types of sea-fighting instruments has revolutionized the conduct of sea-warfare. Secondly, ships by themselves would be of no avail if they did not possess secure harbours to meet quickly such situations as arise. These bases should enable them to obtain supplies and facilitate operations. For this the base should be as close as possible to the enemy's base. A distant base may be useful for repair but not for operations. The occupation of Iceland is a good example of an important base. Thirdly, for sea power to be really effective shipping and ship-building must be resorted to on a large scale. What is meant by naval offensive and defensive is next elaborated together with the role of the navy in the event of an invasion, first to prevent the enemy from landing, and secondly to cut off supplies by sea if the enemy should succeed in landing. In conclusion it is pointed out that

command of the sea confers mobility on the land forces, enabling them to strike at a number of points at great distances.

V.R.R.

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER. By Eddy Asirvatham, Reader in Politics and Public Administration, University of Madras, Foreword by the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Indian Christian Book Club, Kilpauk, Madras, 1942, Pp. v, 387 and vi.

This extremely interesting and informative book, written primarily from the point of view of liberal Christianity, deals, at full length and in the most frank manner, with all the present-day economic, social and political problems that affect the world in general, with particular stress on Indian conditions. As the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri says in his highly appreciative foreword, the treatment of views on these subjects is clear and crisp, though bearing on complex and complicated issues of life and conduct; and the author wishes for his fellowmen the best that he can conceive, as the new ideal of social order based on humanity, justice and equity; and we can fully endorse another remark in the foreword that, if there is a wide gap between the actual and the ideal here presented, it cannot be helped by anybody.

The first and essentially fundamental view valuable for the whole treatment is that individual salvation and well-being should never be attempted to be divorced from social betterment. This may be regarded as being a peculiarly Christian concept, but it can be found in other religions as well. Economic justice is desired on the basis of a positive enforcement of the law of equal opportunity and should aim at giving to all the people a greater amount of "bread, brotherhood, freedom and justice." Again, stress is rightly laid on the urgency of the moral and religious idealism that should animate any attempt at or process of economic betterment. Examining the various plans of economic reform that have been put forward in Europe and elsewhere, our author points out the defects of each, including the Gandhian programme of reconstruction, on which he would make the remark that it gives us a necessary palliative, but not a final solution. Taking the case of India, all the factors that have contributed to the defects of the Indian economic system are rigorously surveyed; and a judicious and gradual exten-

tion of State activity resulting in the increased application of Socialism and restricting the evil effect of Capitalism of every variety is recommended.

Turning to the consideration of the caste system, we have the most emphatic denunciation of untouchability, side by side with a regret that caste has contrived to permeate the ranks of even Christians and Moslems. The depressed classes should be elevated by State effort mostly; and the plea is indirectly put forward that Government which was so successful in the great Social reforms of the nineteenth century, should rigorously put down evils like marriage of close relations, carrion-eating by some of the lower classes, and the like. The author recommends, as a wise provision regarding the question of temple entry, that since there is no reliable history as to the origin and functioning of many of our temples, it would be good to throw them open to all those who contribute to their present upkeep. Communal harmony naturally occupies a most important place in this part of the book. Communal and caste pride is infectious in its operation. Dr. Asirvatham is equally condemnatory of the modern class distinctions, originating in other factors not hereditary, being mostly economic in character. The causes of communal conflict are next analysed in their varied aspects; while it is deplored that separatism is becoming rapidly the worst bane of Indian Politics, the lesson is urged that all of us should cultivate the habit of mind which teaches that racially all of us are and are becoming one. But it is only partially true that history has been successful in demonstrating that assumed racial relationships have always acted as cementing factors. When alien, racial and ethnic elements have been absorbed into the social system, the result has mostly been an addition to the existing caste-groups though within the frame-work of the Hindu social system. Rightly it is urged by the author that the point of racial heterogeneity should be counteracted by pictures of racial admixture that has been going on effectively through the ages. The ultimate aim should be a cross fertilization of cultures accompanied by an emphasis of the nearness of Islamic and Hindu cultures, for which any policy or even attitude of segregation in any walk of life is held to be most deplorable.

While Dr. Asirvatham is a supporter of genuine conversion from one faith to another, which is the fundamental right of every individual, he would call a stern halt to proselytism in mass from

political or any other motives. Again and again, does he resort, in his treatment of the ideals of social harmony, to the idea of harmony in race relations; and he cites cases of several countries and communities which have displayed no prejudice against large scale intermixture between communities of different races and colours. It is, however, impossible in the present conditions of the world for the idea of intermixture to gain general acceptance independent of motive of political domination and economic exploitation; and the clash of color has yet to reach its height, because the reaction against European domination among the peoples of Asia and Africa has only just begun and is in the ascendant; and consequently it has yet to reach its peak before beginning to decline.

Turning to the subject of political justice, the conflicting claims of democracy and autocracy are examined first. The various defects of democracy like inefficiency and unpreparedness for war, are contrasted with the efficiency of dictatorships, whose evil effects, particularly on the nerve and tone of the people, have also been taken into reckoning, and severely condemned. On the whole, the conclusion put forth holds good that dictatorship is not an improvement on real democracy, but only upon a previously existing autocratic form of government. While democracy has no future before it except by way of effective realization of its aims and while it stands condemned by the continuous phenomenon of its considerable and long association with imperialistic exploitation, however much the theory of trusteeship may be enunciated, it is healthy for the reader to note that stress is laid by our author on character, besides education and a capacity for discernment, as being among the human factors that promote its working. Nor is it good that social and economic democracy should lag in any way behind its political counterpart.

As regards nationality, Dr. Asirvatham examines, in the usual manner, the factors that promote the two types of nationalism, peaceful and aggressive. He is fully convinced that nationalism is not a luxury for India, but the most essential condition for our self-respect and very existence. Such a healthy outlook is very invigorating, particularly in these critical days. The problems of the struggle for raw materials, *Lebensraum* for the *Herrenvolk*, dollar diplomacy settlement colonies—these may be attempts at sublimation of imperialism but very poor attempts at that,—whether put forward by satiated powers or by disgruntled nations, both of

which will mix the different elements of advocacy in differing proportions. Sadism and wanton cruelty have not marred British treatment of the subordinate nationalities under them. But it is really said that British Imperialists do not reciprocate in any way the process of the absorption of the culture elements of even the most advanced peoples under their control. The weighing of the gains and losses accruing from Imperialism for a country like India has always been a much-debated controversial problem; but the opinion of our author seems to be that the balance tilts on the side of losses, not only to the subordinate peoples but also to the ruling States. Can Imperialism be humanised? This question is examined by the enunciation of different views given on the subject, but without any definite conclusion arrived at, except the very vague one of substitution of responsibility for exploitation.

Problems of World Federation in their origin, organisation and functioning are the next to be detailed in the work, and some suggestions are given for effecting the first step in the direction of a sound and lasting world community based on action taken for the promotion of the economic and social well-being of all the people. War and peace are examined in all their bearings and implications, as well as in their causes resting on different ideologies. It is clearly enunciated that the attempt at the imposition of a foreign culture is more frequently an occasion, rather than a cause of war; and it is sorrowful to see that a pessimistic note is indulged in the conclusion that humanitarian motives have been very largely coloured—indeed darkened—by economic and political considerations even in such high-souled struggles like the American Civil War of 1861-65. While the moral grandeur of the Gandhian Philosophy of non-violent Resistance is greatly appreciated, the chances of its success are held to be remote; and we are further faced with the fear that the principle itself would be killed by its radical opposition to reality.

In the field of improvement of the home and family, stable monogamy is advocated as the first great desideratum. Prostitution, concubinage, sterile free love, companionate marriage, trial marriage and other problems like child marriage and the social ban on widow marriage which are peculiar to India, are all examined, as well as the need for making the home life of the Indian more sociable and less formal.

In the last section of the book the problems of leisure and recreation so necessary for full and good life, for every stratum of the population are detailed; the Socratic method of conversation being developed so as to impart wisdom is recommended for positive development in life, in addition to the other machinery for promoting knowledge among the people. Some aspects of adult education are also touched upon and a vigorous plea is put forward for the teaching of citizenship as a Science and an Art, through the pursuit of which, social solidarity, loyalty to the State, reverence for human personality and equality, may all be developed. Particularly important for the teacher of Politics is the injunction with which the author would close his treatment of education for citizenship, *namely*, (1) the democratic way of life is the highest and the best and (2) the good citizen must be concerned for the equal well-being of his fellows and must specially develop the capacity for clear thinking and discerning choice.

This book is—like 'A Guide to Modern Politics' by Mr. and Mrs. Cole and 'Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics' by C.E.M. Joad, a very good companion to teachers and students alike; and it is equally serviceable to the lay citizen and to the social worker, the political reformer and the idealist.

C.S.S.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF KERALA. By Mr. T. M. Krishnamachari, M.A., B.L.

In this short pamphlet of 28 pages embodying the substance of five popular lectures delivered under the auspices of the University of Travancore, Mr. T. M. Krishnamachari surveys briefly the history of Kerala from the earliest times up to the beginning of the 12th century. Though this account adds very little to our knowledge, it brings together within a short compass the result of the investigations of all the previous scholars. A few palpable mistakes have unfortunately crept in. For instance, the Chalukyan king Mangalesa is said to have been the son of Kirtivarman I; a Rashtrakuta Govinda VI is said to have conquered the Chalukya kingdom (P. 14). These perhaps are slips, and it is hoped that the author will correct them when he publishes his lectures in full.

N.V.R.

JAINISM AND KARNATAKA CULTURE. By S. R. Sharma, M.A., Willingdom College, Sangli; Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar; foreword by A. B. Latthe, Finance Minister to the Government of Bombay; pp. xix, 213; price Rupees Five.

This is the first in the series of the Silver Jubilee publications of the Karnatak Historical Research Society. The nucleus of the book constituted the author's M.A. thesis, twelve years ago. It has been suitably revised before publication. The work contains five main sections, a historical survey, an evaluation of literary and artistic contributions, a consideration of Jainism in theory and practice, an estimate of the effects on Karnataka culture, and appendices. There is abundant evidence of discriminating hard work among sources; and the presentation is attractive without ceasing to be authoritative. The publishers have reason to be proud of their first venture. A variety of illustrations and a full index add to the charm of the volume.

KANNADA NADINA KATHEGALU. By Narayana Sarma. Publication No. 2, Silver Jubilee series of the Karnataka Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala, Dharwar, Crown Octavo, pp. 12 +167.

To induce the masses especially the children to be loyal to the builders of their Kannada Territory and to rouse up a spirit of Territorial individuality in them seems to be the object of this compendium of the historical stories of Kannadanādu. The author has taken great pains to collect material from various sources and has presented even Folk-lore stories in a consistent form. The stories relate to kings, poets, saints, patriots and great women from 332 A.D. up-to-date. Fulakesin II, Nripatunga of the Rashtrakutas, Pampa Vidyardhaya, Basavesvara, Purandaradasa, Krishna-devaraya, Chandaladevi, Mahadevi, Somaladevi, Kadirappa Naik, Sri Krishnaraja Wodiar (the late Maharajah of Mysore), Diwan Purniah and others are prominent in the list.

The author's spirit of patriotism obliges him to give a Kannada colour to all the important events and personalities. He introduces, for instance, Harihara I alias Bukka (p. 62) as belonging to Hoisala Kingdom while the prevailing opinion among histo-

rians admits him to be a Kākatiya, from where he is said to have gone over to Anegondi as treasurer (or to Kampli according to some scholars).

The stories are interesting and the language is simple and lucid. The work will be useful to the children of the country to develop their patriotism.

K.V.S.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905, Vol. II, Part III.

By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, pp. 356. Publishers—Motilal Banarsidass, Lahore. Rs. 5.

Students of political science and related subjects are aware of the encyclopaedic knowledge of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. In the volume under review the author lives up to his reputation of being a voracious reader and an indefatigable worker. He summarises within a space of 344 pages the social and political philosophies of European, American, and Asiatic writers since 1929, in addition to giving a brief sketch of the principal political movements of the period including such recent events as the evacuation of Calcutta. The book is quite up-to-date bringing within its purview, among other things, the latest thought of men like Rabindranath Tagore and Aurobindo Ghose on the problems of the day and examining in detail the reactions of the subject-nations of the world to the present Armageddon.

The volume is an extended book review of the relevant literature since 1929. The author is as familiar with German, French, Italian, Japanese, and Indian sources as he is with Anglo-American thought. The books reviewed are arranged chronologically under such convenient categories as "General Theories of Progress", "Race Questions", "East and West", "Crime and Punishment", and "Population Problems".

Dealing as he does with a variety of sources of differing importance, the author seems unable to describe in bold outline the principal trends of political philosophy during the period under review. Major and minor writers and major and minor trends of thought are dealt with in such a manner that one is at a loss to distinguish essentials from non-essentials. Further, political thought and political movements are treated side by side with each other without any conscious effort at correlation.

The treatment pursued throughout the book is objective. The author is at pains not to import his own ideas into the thought of those whom he interprets and elucidates. This does not mean that the volume is entirely colourless, lacking in individuality. The author's faith in "Realpolitics" and "Power Politics" for instance is brought out clearly when he examines "the fundamental role played by the sword in the making, remaking, and unmaking of States" (p. 342). India, he holds, "cannot have both unity and freedom at the same time" (ibid). His analysis of the rise and fall of empires (pp. 314-28) is as illuminating as it is outspoken. The sections on Race and Population Problems are particularly well-written.

In his treatment of the Indian Renaissance the author is not as objective as he is in the rest of the book. He naturally gives an important place to the Bengali Renaissance and tends to exaggerate the influence of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda on modern times not only in India, but also outside. He even speaks of "a Ramakrishna Empire". There is a certain blurring of distinctions, as, for instance, when he says "the Hindus ought...to recognise that at bottom Islam is not less Hindu in spirit than Hinduism itself".

The terminology used especially in connection with chapter and section headings is peculiarly Sarkarian, as, for instance "Dilthey and Dewey as Spiritual World-Goods", "De-Imperialisation and De-Albinisation among War-Time Ideologies."

The chief defect of the book is that there is not much unity of purpose; and its chief merit is that it is a valuable book of reference to the research student.

E.A.

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905, Vol. II, Part II. By the same author as above.

This volume which has seen the light of day after the publication of Part III is true to type. It consists, as usual, of a large collection of snapshots which are apt to leave a confused impression on the mind, because of their number and variety. Chapter III of the volume is devoted to the Ideas and Ideals of economic welfare, while Chapter IV is concerned with the Ideas and Ideals of International Relations. The latter chapter, it seems to us, is much

better done, and the diary of events which it contains is brought up to the close of the Stafford Cripps episode of April 1942. There is not much of "Political Philosophy" in either section in the sense in which the term is ordinarily understood.

The volume brings together in a convenient compendium much material which is not easily accessible, especially to those who only read English. The author is as much at home in French and German literature as he is in English and American. His criticisms of the Atlantic Charter and of the Cripps' proposals are quite frank and outspoken. In discussing military tactics the author makes a useful distinction between "Blitzkrieg" and "Sitzkrieg", and believes that those who use the latter method may ultimately win.

Towards the end of the volume the author indulges in a bit of prophecy when he says that World War II is not likely to end before 1945 and that when it ends it may be a draw. He also anticipates a war of revenge, World War III, beginning in 1965. Not a happy prospect!

E.A.

VEDANTAPARIBHASA. By Dharmaraja Adhvarin, Edited with an English Translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc., (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Head of the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Madras (The Adyar Library Series—No. 34) 1942. Pages xl, and 218. Price Rs. 2-12-0.

Once more Professor Suryanarayana Sastri has placed students of Indian Philosophy under a deep debt by this excellent edition of Dharmaraja's classic manual on Advaita epistemology and metaphysics, and the Adyar Library has issued the book in the beautiful format which it has set for its series from the beginning. The contents of the book and the form of its publication are a welcome and necessary reminder to a distraught world that there are other things that man may work for besides war and red ruin! The author and the publishers deserve the utmost praise for their success in this publication in present world conditions.

The reviewer can hardly appraise the merits of the edition better than by quoting and underlining the words of Sir S. Radhakrishnan in his short Foreword: "There are many editions of

Dharmaraja's Vedānta-paribhasa. This edition has a useful introduction, the Sanskrit text, a readable and accurate English translation and valuable notes. I am sure that it will continue for long to be the standard edition of this invaluable treatise.'

K.A.N.

ALAMBANAPARIKṢA. Edited by N. Aiyaswami Sastri, S. V. S., College, Tirupati: the Adyar Library Series, No. 32; pp. xxiii, 125; price Rs. 3-8-0.

It is a well-known and much deplored fact that many valuable works on Buddhist philosophy are available no longer in their original tongue, but only through Tibetan and Chinese translations. One of the most valuable of such works is the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Ācārya Dīnāga. Its object is to prove that consciousness, in its dual phase—presentative and causative, provides its own content, not being dependent therefor on an external object-causal-condition (*ālambana-pratyaya*). To those ignorant of Chinese or Tibetan the book was known only through a French translation in the *Journale Asiatique* for 1929. If one has any doubts as to the value of reconstructing the Sanskrit original, one has only to compare Mr. Aiyaswami Sastri's reconstructed text with the French version (or the portions of it translated into English by Mr. Sastri). The editor's version has the merit of being clear and consistent, besides being in accord with known citations of the work elsewhere. There can be no doubt that the rendering provides a good opportunity for the student who desires acquaintance with the revered Ācārya's views very nearly at first hand.

Mr. Sastri's reconstruction covers the main work of Dīnāga, the Ācārya's own *vṛtti* thereon, and the commentary of Dharmapāla. In the case of the first two, we have renderings from the Chinese as well as the Tibetan translation; of the former, two versions are given, according to Paramārtha and according to Hsuan Chuang. There follows an English translation of the text and *vṛtti* with copious extracts from Vinītideva's Commentary (based on the French translation); Dharmapāla's Commentary too finds an English rendering. Then come the Tibetan version (in Roman script), additional notes, and appendices containing relevant extracts from Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, etc.

The work undertaken by Mr. Sastri has been carried out with patience, skill and care. While no rendering can claim absolute authenticity, his has the merit of combining clarity with fidelity, thus making a successful bid to be a very close approximation to the original. The English translation is not uniform or always happy; object-condition (p. 52) as an equivalent of '*ālambana pratyaya*' is more satisfactory than '*a condition of actual object*' (p. 49); '*Be that force*' is the correct form of what occurs as '*That force be*' (p. 53). But these, like the rare misprints (e.g., *patyaya* for *pratyaya* on p. 6), are trifling defects in a work of such commendable skill and value. We trust Mr. Aiyaswami Sastri will find sufficient encouragement to go on with this type of work which attracts him and for which he is so well equipped.

STUDIES ON SOME CONCEPTS OF THE ALAMKĀRA LITERATURE. By V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. The Adyar Library Series, No. 33. Pp. xx, 312, 1942. Price Rs. 4.

There are nine sections in this book, and each section treats of some leading concept of Sanskrit Poetics. The concepts selected for consideration here, like so much else relating to this branch of Sanskrit study, go back to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, which is the foundation of most, if not all, of the Indian theories of poetry. Some of these concepts, like *lakṣaṇa* and *bhāvika*, are less familiar now than others; but all of them are more or less vague. Hence the need for explaining them. Their antiquity is part-cause of their vagueness, and the fact that they have frequently shifted their meaning in the course of history has contributed not a little to it. A satisfactory explanation of their present significance therefore makes it necessary to trace the course of these shiftings as fully as possible. The author brings to bear upon this aspect of the study his extensive knowledge of Alamkāra literature, including not only the portion of it which has found its way into print, but also that which is still in the manuscript stage. The discussions are throughout instructive, and they clarify many doubtful points in old Alamkāra works. They also contain some interesting speculations as, for example, that concerning the origin of the earlier name of *jāti* for *svabhāvokti* or a realistic description of things (p. 94). In arriving at his conclusions, the author guides himself, rightly as many will think, by the views of Ānandavardhana and Abhinava-

gupta. They were great, both as poets and as critics; and in the theory of *rasa*, as finally formulated by them, Sanskrit literary criticism reached its high-water mark. We may refer to one small point in this connection. It is stated on p. 201 that the word *anītya*, in the sense of 'relative', came into use only after Ānandavardhana. But it seems to have that meaning already in Jaimini Sūtra (I. ii. 1), for it is explained there as equivalent to *anīyata* or *sāpekṣa*, i.e., 'not invariable' or 'dependent'.

Naturally details like these will have no attraction to students of Sanskrit in general; but their value to the specialist—whether he is studying advanced treatises on the subject or is engaged in research work in it—is great. The book is, indeed, a veritable storehouse of useful information for him. But it should not be concluded from this that it is of no interest at all to others, for the author in the course of his discussions now and then makes comments, appreciative or critical, on Sanskrit poets and poetry; and these comments, he always supports by apposite quotations. We may mention as an excellent instance of this 'practical criticism', as it is termed, the Section on the 'use and abuse of *Alamkāras*'. Occasionally, one also comes across bits of new and useful information as in the note on *Rāmābhyudaya*, a lost dramatic work of Yaśovarman the royal patron of Bhavabhūti (p. 205). The book, as a whole, is a notable addition to the slowly increasing number of works in English on a relatively neglected branch of Sanskrit learning. The author alludes in the footnotes to one or two other works on allied topics as under preparation by him. We hope that they will be published soon.

M.H.

COLLECTED POEMS AND PLAYS of Sri Aurobindo; two Volumes; published by Nolini Kanta Gupta, Sir Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry, price Rs. 15 (30 shillings, foreign); 1942.

The present collected edition of Sri Aurobindo's poems and plays was brought out on the 15th of August, this year, to mark the author's seventieth birthday. The collection comprises work spread over a long period something over four decades; the *Songs to Myrtilla* were first published in 1895, while the translation of *Mother India*, was made and published in 1941. The world has known more of Aurobindo as patriot and philosopher than as poet;

but his poetry ranks as high as his achievements in the other fields; for in him poetry and philosophy have blended as the outpouring of the soul, not standing as isolated or isolable academic achievements. In his own writing he has realised his ideal of poetry as "a free outflow of significant sound and harmonious word from the depths of the spirit." The works, whatever their form and theme, short poems or long plays, translations of independent compositions, drawing on the classical lore of the East or of the West, invariably charm, thrill and inspire. Legends from the Greek and Sanskrit he handles with equal felicity; he sings of Ireland and India with equal pathos; and throughout there is crystal clarity with diamantine depth. It were idle to choose any one poem or collection for individual praise; but, perhaps, the group of *Nine Poems* (appearing in Vol. II and including the now well-known *Ahana*) may be specially mentioned. Short head-notes to some of these poems throw some light on the underlying thought; while the language and the imagery speak for themselves. The Publisher's prefatory note repeats a statement of Sri Aurobindo that he "had been first and foremost a poet and politician, only later he became a Yogi." For this apparent sundering of the poetry from the Yoga, there is, however, not much evidence in his own work; for his poetry is redolent of his Yoga. Not lightly were the following lines penned by the poet nor will they be lightly ignored by the reader:

"Never can Nature go back to her careless and child-like beginning,
Laugh of the babe and the song of the wheel in its delicate spinning,
Smile of the sun upon flowers and earth's beauty, life without labour,
Plucking the fruits of the soil and rejoicing in cottage and arbour.
Once we have chosen to be as gods, we must follow that motion" (II, 156, 157).

And the course of the "river of the Spirit" is not merely arduous, but also sublime, as

"Hurled into strangling ravines it escapes with a leap and a quaver,
Breaks from the channels of hiding it grooves out and chisels and twistens, (II, 159).
Angry, afraid, white, foaming."

The group entitled *Transformation and other Poems* has a note appended to it on the use of quantitative metre in English; and the same topic finds more extensive treatment in Appendix A which discusses past failures in the use of such metre, develops a theory of true quantity and gives some fifteen poems illustrative of the metre. If one may venture to present very briefly such a technical subject, the new theory offers the test of weight-length in the place of position-length, a test which can be applied only if poetry is read with the ear and not merely with the eye. Such a metrical form may be found even in some of the best English prose, e.g., the Sermon on the Mount, and sometimes even in a commercial advertisement (II, 342). The reader will find it difficult to refrain from assenting to the theory, especially in the light of the numerous illustrative poems; and, perhaps, he will come to the same conclusion as the present reviewer as to why Sri Aurobindo's other prose works are so difficult to read; it is not that they are inherently obscure or that the master has not the same sure touch in developing those themes; it is that those works are badly printed, failing to make adequate use of punctuation marks to distinguish clauses or to mark parentheses, with the result that one reads strange combinations like "suffering Truth (last sentence of *The Mother*)," turns back baffled, re-reads perhaps a second or third time, and then finds light; should he, however, read the passage with the ear treating it as a product in quantitative metre, he would arrive at clarification more quickly and with less labour. Whatever the objective validity of the suggestion, it has been undoubtedly of great help to the present reviewer.

With Sri Aurobindo's estimate of much of modern atonic, amorphous, poetry, few will disagree: "Some kind of poetic force is there but no realised and convincing form; shade there is plenty, but colour—except perhaps blacks, browns, greys and silver-greys is mostly absent; force is there but paralysed or only half-carrying out its intention, gestures with much effort and straining, but no successful motion" (II, 350). The entire Appendix is fresh material and one cannot be too thankful to the publisher for including it as well as the Bibliography (Appendix B).

The printing (by the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, Deccan) has been done less as a job than as a labour of love worthy of devoted attention and care. As a result, we have these two

exceedingly superb volumes which will be handled with love, delight and reverence by all who care for the things of the Spirit.

ŚRĪ-MĀTRĪTATTVAPRAKĀŚA. By T. V. Kapali Sastri, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry; published by the Author; price Re. 1.

Swami Shuddhananda Bharati and Sri Kapali Sastri are among those who seek to combine in themselves the disciplines of the Asramas at Tiruvannamalai and Pondicherry. The former has given us a valuable Tamil prose rendering of Sri Aurobindo's *The Mother*. Sri Kapali has now come out with a metrical rendering in Sanskrit, with annotations here and there in Sanskrit prose. Unlike the Tamil version, the present rendering is not literal; nor does it preserve the order of the original. One may also be permitted to be sceptical about the present-day value of such self-annotated metrical compositions in Sanskrit. But the Mother who moved the author to it must have had some purpose! Within its limitations, the work is undoubtedly good; a number of metres are used with ease and grace; and the choice of words and metre seems particularly appropriate in places, e.g., in the descriptions of the four aspects of the Mother; the serenity of Māheśvarī, the vigour of Mahākālī, the gracious charm of Mahālakṣmī, and the harmonious perfection of Mahāsarasvatī find adequate verbal portrayal; and one may venture the opinion that the Sanskrit has made explicit the music implicit in Sri Aurobindo's prose. And this itself is high service. The style is clear and the get up attractive.

LIST OF ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Besides the books reviewed, the Editor has received the following books and periodicals:—

Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, Vol. VI. Part 1.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. X, Parts 3 & 5.

The Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University, New Series, Vol. II, No. 2. Section B. Science including Medicine and Engineering.

The Madras Agricultural Journal, Vol. XXX, Nos. 2 & 3.

The 'Mangalodayam' (in Malayalam), Vol. 18, No. 1.

The New Review, Vol. XV, Nos. 86 & 87.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 2 & 3.

Conscience. Edited by G. S. Arundale, Vol. 4, Issues, 9 to 13.

The Early Aryans in Gujarata. By K. M. Munshi. University of Bombay.

Gujarati Kavitanī Racanakala. By Ardesir Karamji Kabardar, University of Bombay.

Indian Sociologist. Edited by Shanta Bhalerao. Vol. I, No. 2.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

By

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,
University of Madras

Dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above named matter. I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the investigation. I am, however, unable to do more than to state the facts as they appear to me. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours, &c.
J. M. Smith

INTRODUCTION

The new passages from the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai which I am presenting below in English were discovered in three instalments. My friend Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry first got, with the assistance of M. Filliozat of Paris, from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a photographic copy of the diary for December 19, 1750 and sent it to me (December 1937) for translation for his use in connection with his work on Dupleix which has been published last year.¹ This entry contained important details bearing on the murder of Nāzīr Jang as may be seen from *Dupleix* p. 255 and No. II in the Texts below. Then, M. Lehureaux of Chandernagor spotted some fresh entries among the mss. preserved in M. Gallois-Montbrun's house and brought them to Madras and placed them in my hands for study and translation in June 1939. Details of the entries discovered on this occasion will be found at pp. 10-11 Appendix C of Indian Historical Records Commission (Report) 1940. Lastly, when I went to Pondicherry in August 1939 and M. Dubreuil took me to examine the mss. in M. Gallois-Montbrun's house, I lighted on an interesting entry regarding Dupleix-Fatteh-abad; but as it happened to be just the thing that M. Dubreuil was then looking for, he thought at first that I was playing a joke and would not believe his ears when I translated the passage for him on the spot. But it was the truth, and on that occasion as on many others this great scholar with an uncanny flair for spotting things, did get something of what he wanted for building up his fascinating theory of Dupleix, the Grand Mogul, that was already taking shape in his prolific mind. A detailed examination of the

1. I do not know why Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari gives the date as December, 16, 1750 in his *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 453; it is the date of the murder of Nāzīr Jang, not of the entry.

2 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

volume revealed the existence of several other entries unknown to the copy used by Prof. Dodwell and his collaborators.²

There has been some discussion about the condition of the mss. and about priority in assessing their importance. But none so far has been in a position to discuss the whole question of the state of the mss. and their pedigree because no one had access to all the copies at once. I am in no better position, but I think I can say that it is extremely doubtful if any part of the original ms. has at all been seen by the translators. The presumption of Price that two of the Madras volumes may be the original seems unlikely, as they differ in no way from the rest of the Montbrun copy. On the other hand, the pages that M. Lehureaux brought to me in June 1939 were written in another hand and on rough country paper, though the ink was faded. They were loose sheets from a book that was apparently once in a very well bound condition. These sheets seem to be the nearest approach to the original ms. if not actually the original. They are now in the custody of M. A. Gallois-Montbrun who has so generously allowed me access to his valuable collection and given me permission to translate and publish these texts.

I may say that the original ms. of the continuation of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary by Tiruvengadam is in similar rough country paper of larger size; this volume was discovered by M. Cornet of Pondicherry in M. Montbrun's house and placed in the hands of M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil who forwarded it to me; this continuation is also available in an abridged form, containing selections under particular dates of only the important passages, the unimportant ones being omitted; the copy of selections is in thin foreign paper and the handwriting as well as this paper is common to these volumes and the volumes of the copy of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary. For a part of Tiruvengadam's diary we have the material for forming a judgment on the method of selection followed; pencil marks on the original clearly mark the passages to be omitted from those to be copied, and the copy corresponds to these indications. I think all

2. These passages are grouped under III below. Except II and III, all the passages were found in the batch of M. Lehureaux. The list, IHRC 1940 contains one date already translated by Dodwell, viz., March 1, 1750. Item 18 there should be July 10, 1756; Item 21 is a letter of Ananda Ranga Pillai having no connection with the diary.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 3

mss. on such thin paper are copies of selections and the two Madras volumes of Ananda Ranga Pillai taken to be the original by Mr. Price are also on such paper.

The language of the diary is very colloquial Tamil with a large admixture of French and Persian words which it is not always easy to identify and interpret. The proper names are often distorted beyond recognition, and I have had the invaluable aid of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil in their correct restoration; but even his intimate knowledge of the period has not sufficed in some instances which have been indicated by an interrogation mark after the names concerned. He also sent me a photograph of the autograph of Ananda-rangappan as the diarist seems to have called himself together with that of Dupleix which I have great pleasure in publishing here along with a section of the photostat copy from the Ariel ms. of the diary for December 19, 1750.

It will thus be seen that this instalment of the diary is being published as the result of the co-operation of several hands and that Prof. Dubreuil has been throughout its moving spirit. The course of the war which has necessitated his leaving India, I hope only temporarily, and other circumstances which need not be detailed here, have necessitated my departing from the original plan we made of publishing these fragments together with the continuation of Tiruvengadam in a series of volumes similar to those of the published translation. I hope I shall be in a position some time hence to complete the work on the continuation of the diary and publish it in a suitable form.

I shall now offer brief remarks on the passages presented below *in extenso*. They have been put in ten numbered groups for facility of reference and I intend to say a little on each to indicate its place in the diary and its historical importance.

1. The first passage is dated October 1, 1749. There is a long entry under this date in the published diary beginning at Vol. VI, p. 191. The new passage must be taken to constitute the beginning of the day omitted in the selection from which the existing edition has been translated. It contains a long and obscure list of presents of the total value of Rs. 12,493 got ready by Ananda Ranga Pillai in response to Dupleix's order for being presented to Hidāyat Muhi-ud-din Khān, i.e., Muzaffar Jang, who was then on a visit to Pondicherry.

4 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

II. There is a long gap in the diary between October 30, 1750 and April 15, 1751 (inclusive). The present passage is the diary for one day in this gap (Vol. vii, p. 424) viz., December 19, 1750. It is historically of great importance as the earliest account we have in the form of an oral report from M. Véry to Dupleix of the murder of Nāzīr Jang and the elevation of Muzaffar Jang in the neighbourhood of Gingee. Dupleix's flag of white silk with the sun in the centre finds mention in this passage and M. Jouveau-Dubreuil has given the most complete elucidation of the events recorded here in his *Dupleix* (Pondicherry, March, 1941).

III. The third group is a large bunch of new entries covering fourteen dates between June 30 and October 7, 1751 (inclusive). Only for four of these dates viz., July 6, 7, and September 12, 15, do we have entries in the already published translation, and for these days the passages now presented must be taken to have been omitted in the selection made for the copy followed in the Madras edition. It may be noted that the omitted passage for September 12, 1751, now recovered, contains the terms of the inscription which Dupleix wanted to be put up on the *Kīrtistambha* to be erected at Dupleix-Fatteh-abad according to instructions he had issued on August 6th preceding. The entry for August 4, 1751 is important as showing the desperate straits in which Muhammad 'Alī found himself at the time and the negotiations he maintained with Dupleix. There are also matters of social and administrative interest, and data on the financial embarrassments of the different parties in the tangled conflicts of the time. These must be gathered from the text itself. In one instance, July 7, 1751, Dodwell would have understood Dupleix's motives better than he did (n. 2. p. 20) if he had had before him the entry for the date now presented.

IV. This is a fragment which bears no date. But the entry will fit either November 10, 1751 or November 14, and contains data of interest bearing on the warfare of the time.

V. This group together with the last one comprises entries for some days in the month of November 1751 in which only three days are represented in the published diary, and those days are different from the entries now obtained. It is not my purpose in these observations to write a historical disquisition on the new data brought to light; but I would just say that the passages in this group go some way to mitigate the complaint that Prof. Dodwell made when he

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 5

wrote in his introduction to Volume viii: "Ranga Pillai therefore records no details of the event which seems of so great importance in English eyes" (pp. IX-X). We do get some account of the occurrences at Arcot, though, as we see from the entries here and elsewhere, Trichinopoly struck contemporaries as the more important sphere of operations.

VI. Contains entries for five days or possibly six in the first half of January 1752, only one of them January 6 already represented in the published diary, the new portion recording transactions of the day later than those already given. Data on the progress of the war are continued though they become fewer.

VII. A supplementary entry, not very important or illuminating for July 20, 1756 (Vol. X, p. 150).

VIII. This is a very intriguing fragment. It bears two dates at the beginning one January 6, 1744 and the other August 1, 1756, and the entry is quite unlike anything else in the diary—for it gives the stages on the route from Masulipatam to Golconda with many interesting local details.

IX. This is one day's entry for September 23, 1756 containing news from Hyderabad and Arcot.

X. This is a very important and interesting group relating to the close of 1760 and beginning of 1761 not strictly part of Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary, but having a direct bearing on the diary and the transactions recorded in it. For one thing, it shows that the vicissitudes of the diary which ended with the cyclone of 1916 which damaged the Montbrun papers began soon after the death of Ananda Ranga Pillai and the fall of Pondicherry followed by the migration of the family from Pondicherry to Tranquebar. It contains the story of the funeral of Ananda Ranga Pillai and of the migration of his family; it gives some interesting details on the siege of Pondicherry by the English and the terms of its capitulation. Lastly it contains a representation (incomplete) from the citizens of Pondicherry in which the people's estimate of the regimes of different governors of their city is frankly stated. The group bears the quaint title three memoranda (*yādāsts*):—the first of these is a series of entries under particular dates similar to those for January 10-12,

1761 at pages 402-408 of Vol. XII and probably from the same hand, the nephew of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The second is a sort of a news letter; it bears date 1761 and is incomplete. The third is a petition, also incomplete, to the General. It bears no date, but judging from the nature of its contents, it seems to have been addressed to the English General in occupation of Pondicherry soon after its surrender.

The documents below follow the order in which they have been reviewed briefly above.

TEXTS

(TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM THE ORIGINAL TAMIL).

I

*Śukla, Purattāsi 19, Wednesday, 1749, October 1.*¹

When I went to the Governor's house this morning, he asked me to go to the fort and prepare a list of the things he might offer as presents to Hidāyat Muhi-ud-dīn Khān. He also wrote a letter to M. Cornet at Orattand and sent it off. The following are details of all the articles got ready: — Total Rs. 12,493.

(The long list with many obscure entries is omitted)

II

*Saturday the 8th Mārgaṣī. Pramodūta year, 19th December 1750*²

This day morning I went to the Government house, saw M. Dupleix and paid my respects. He also greeted me cordially and we were engaged in conversation. Then M. Véry³, who had gone from here as Sergeant Major of the army sent against Nāzīr Jang's army, returned and saluted M. Dupleix. When asked by the latter as to what had become of the army, the Major reported as follows:

1. Vol. VI. p. 191. to insert at the beginning of the day.

2. Vol. vii, p. 424.

3. Jacques Véry de Saint-Romain, see Vol. viii, p. 182, n. 2.

"Himmat Bahādūr Khān cut off the head of Nāzīr Jang and mounting it on a spear displayed it to all the army. On seeing this the army fell into disorder and ran helter-skelter. The place itself was filled with tumult and uproar. I hardly know how to describe it." At this juncture, M. Dupleix interrupting the speech of Major Véry asked him as to what had become of Muzaffar Jang, where he was and what he did at the time. M. Véry said in reply, "Nāzīr Jang, before mounting his elephant, brought Muzaffar Jang out of his camp where he had been kept under watch and mounted him on an elephant. He also put two guards with unsheathed swords pointed to his neck, behind him on the elephant. The two guards with drawn swords were the men who counselled Nāzīr Jang to cut off the head of Muzaffar Jang; and Nāzīr Jang said that they might do so as soon as he gave them the order. Accordingly the elephant on which Muzaffar Jang was placed was brought near to a distance of 10 feet from that of Nāzīr Jang. Then Himmat Bahādūr Khān began to speak defiantly to Nāzīr Jang, and the latter ordered the guards to bring Muzaffar Jang near him and cut off his head. As soon as he said this and even before Muzaffar Jang's mahout could drive the elephant, Himmat Bahādūr cut off the head of Nāzīr Jang; and having fixed the head on a spear, came near the elephant of Muzaffar Jang, saluted him and offered his congratulations. When the guards posted behind Muzaffar Jang (with drawn swords to kill him) saw this, they dropped their swords and saluted him. Then Himmat Bahādūr Khān dismounted the guards and Muzaffar Jang from the elephant, placed the latter on the elephant of Nāzīr Jang and informed the people that he (Muzaffar) had been hailed as Nawāb. Though the flag of white silk having in the middle a human face with a halo of golden foils resembling the rays of the sun, which was sent from here as our emblem, was hoisted on a tall elephant, we went on firing our guns. Meanwhile, a certain person belonging to Muzaffar Jang, who was one of the Pathān followers of Himmat Bahādūr Khān came to us and said "Nāzīr Jang was stabbed, his head mounted on a spear was held aloft; Muzaffar Jang was placed on the elephant of Nāzīr Jang and hailed as Nawāb. Don't you hear the large victorious kettle drum being beaten in token of having won the battle? You need not fire your pistols and guns hereafter, and you have been asked to take guard of the camp of Nāzīr Jang, the treasury and the camp close by." Accordingly, we were keeping watch around the tent of Nāzīr Jang and that containing the treasury.

8 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

After they had finished congratulating Muzaffar Jang, M. Law, La Touche, and the rest of us went and tendered our congratulations. How many times did Muzaffar Jang hug each of us to his bosom! and how very glad he felt is more than we can say; while the honour done to us by the Pathān followers of Himmat Bahādūr Khān is even more than that.

III

*Prajotpatti, Ani 20, Wednesday, 1751 A.D. June 30th.*⁴

This morning the Governor sent for me and asked me about the procession from Pāpayya Pillai's house. I said it would start to-day. It seems the Chettis said that the procession should not enter their street; he asked if they were entitled to take the procession through all streets. I replied that in places like Madras, Poonamalle and Conjeevaram processions are generally taken everywhere. He asked if there was no local precedent. I said that till then there had been none prominent among the Kanakkar and that as most of them were men of very slender means, there was none who took any keen interest in this question. Thereupon he said that Nainār was a bad man, that he had accepted something or other from the Chettis, and created trouble by egging them to make impossible demands. I replied that such a thing was unlikely in his case; I added that he was generally on the side of Pāpayya Pillai and was not likely to be the source of any trouble. However the *polegar* had orders to come and report then and there all occurrences in the city; as it was his duty to post himself with all such things, and as he would be taken to task, if anything untoward happened after the procession started, he went and gave prior information to Pāpayya Pillai. Then the Governor said: "It is seven months since Pāpayya Pillai got the palanquin; till now he has often ridden on it in the Chetti street, and how is it no one said anything about it? He might ride (a palanquin), his son might ride a horse; but his daughter and son-in-law may not enter the street on a palanquin. How can such a thing be said?" (Having said so,) he sent for Nainār. When he came, the Governor evinced great anger and ordered him to go to

4. Vol. viii, p. 13.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 9

Pāpayya Pillai's house, take part in the procession and see that it went off all right; if any Chettis came and caused any disturbance, they were to be shot at with double-barrelled guns. With these orders he dismissed Nainār and he went away.

Hasan-ud-din Khān wrote to the Governor asking permission to send a force against Munwar Khān, the younger brother of Himmat Bahādūr Khān, who, with the aid of the Cuddapah people, had come again to capture the Kandānūr fort; accordingly he wrote to Hasan-ud-din Khān asking him to send a squad of 200 infantry and 300 riflemen.

*Prajotpatti, Ani 22, Friday, 1751 A.D. July 2.*⁵

This morning a letter was received from Nārāyaṇa Śāstri, the son of Īśvarayyan. It said: "On the noon of the 19th, the forces of Chandā Sāhib encamped near Vālikonḍāpuram attacked the English troops in their camp beyond that place, and came back; the English troops thereupon, intending to attack Mu'tabar Khān, son of Husain Saheb, in Ranjangudi fired 200 shots from *caronade-rayé* into the fort, cannonaded the place heavily, and attacked it also with guns; the garrison of the Ranjangudi fort employed in its defence the guns and cannon in the fort; many in the English forces were either killed or wounded, and unable to sustain the attack, they had to retreat, with a loss of 40 men including the leader (of the attack) Mr. Gingens (?)⁶; they broke up camp and fled on the road to Cuddalore. The news was communicated the same night to Chandā Sāhib by Mu'tabar Khān who sent him his *vakil*; the next morning, 20th Wednesday, Chandā Sāhib and his force came and occupied the former English camp." So much for the contents of the letter.

Further I said that Narasinga Dās, the son of the elder brother of Bhavāni Dās, had come to my village with troops and presents from the Rāja of Mysore, and added that I would find an auspicious time for meeting him and let him know about it in due course.

5. Vol. viii, p. 19.

6. 'Mestar Sinsiri' is the original.

10 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

Prajotpatti, Āni 23, Saturday, 1751, July 3.

The Governor rose at 9 a.m.; when I went and saw him he asked me how many of the English are reported to be dead. As they attempted an escalade after firing *caronade-rayé* within the fort, and as Mu'tabar Khān Sāhib at the head of the garrison attacked them incessantly with guns and in other ways about ninety English soldiers fell; two officials also died in addition. I also said that they never maintained any account of the Eurasian,⁷ Muslim and Carnatic sepoys and they had no idea of the number of wounded. He said that even higher figures are reported. I replied that my information was based on Mu'tabar Khān's letter, and that I would tell him more news as it came to me. The messenger who came said that some ammunition had been captured also. When I said that we shall learn things more clearly hereafter, the Governor said: "There is none among the Muslims equal in courage to Husain Sāhib's son, Mu'tabar Khān Bahādūr who carried on the defence without fear of the white men and their bombs." (I said) "True indeed, Mu'tabar Khān is a strong man of courage and honour; yet his virtues could shine only if he chose his allies properly; for instance, this same Mu'tabar Khān with Nāzīr Jang (gap in ms.).

I heard news that Qutb-ud-dīn Khān came at 5 p.m. to-day. Then at 6, Qutb-ud-dīn went to the Governor's house. The Governor, his wife, Qutb-ud-dīn and Madanānda Pandit were talking together till 8 p.m.; Qutb-ud-dīn also got a letter in reply to the one he had brought from Chanda Sahib, and then went to Chanda Sahib's house after promising to go to Chanda Sahib himself the next morning. The urgency of his arrival and the quickness of his departure were alike significant; but as I did not know what it was all about I wrote what struck me: it appears that M. d'Auteuil and the officials meant some mischief against Chanda Sahib; because they always hesitate to engage the enemy whenever any one offers to do so; even though they have 7000 to 8000 mounted sowars and sepoys besides six or seven thousand *stater*, and the enemy are encamped in some strength at a distance of only four *nāligais*, they remain idle without fighting and put off all suggestions made to them

7. *Sattaiṅkārār* in the original.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 11

for an attack; all this, they must have written, raised a doubt if they intend to betray us. I do not know what else might have been written (by Chandā Sāhib). Thereupon the Governor wrote to M. d'Auteuil asking that he might come away with our forces; after which things were explained to the governor and he was persuaded to write again asking M. d'Auteuil and others to stay where they were, fight the enemy and secure victory. The governor, however, showed clearly that he was very angry with Chandā Sāhib and spoke out all he had against him; finally he asked M. d'Auteuil to stay there after coming to an agreement with Qutb-ud-dīn that even Chandā Sāhib's cavalry was to take orders not from Chandā Sāhib but from M. d'Auteuil and wrote accordingly to d'Auteuil. Learning that the lakh of rupees sent before had all of it been spent and that money was required at once, the Governor sent for Pāpayya Pillai's son and ordered him to hand over to Qutb-ud-dīn whatever was available, and further to remit to Chandā Sāhib all monies received from Europe. He also wrote authorizing Chandā Sāhib to supervise revenue affairs and make collections himself from time to time, and gave detailed instructions regarding all matters to Qutb-ud-dīn before sending him back. All this I heard.

Prajotpatti, Āni 26, Tuesday, 1751, July 6.⁸

This day.....presents were received from the Mysore Rāja. Śrī Ranga Dās came to my house. I said that the presents must be received with honour. While the Second, M. Saint Paul and others are being sent to meet the bearers of presents from Salabat Jang and receive them with honour, and twenty-one salutes are fired at the fort gate when they enter it, he has been asking me for the last seven months whether others are shown similar honours. I said: "True, but the Mysore Rāja is not like any others; he is a big man; the councillors must be sent with some display to meet his men and receive them with honour and eleven salutes may be fired when they enter the house (meant for their stay)". He said: 'Presents were received from Chandā Sāhib, the Rāja of Tanjore and others; we did not fire salutes or send deputations to receive

8. Vol. viii, p. 19, to go at and of entry for the day.

them outside the city; did they not come and make their presents quietly without any one knowing of it?'. When I said in reply: 'True, but this Rāja is unlike others, a real big ruler, and he must be duly honoured', he accepted the suggestion.

Prajotpatti, (Āni) 27, Wednesday, 1751, July 7.⁹

This morning I went to the Governor; met him for some time and then came to the arecanut godown. Yesterday's letters from Rāja Raghunātha Dās at the Khāna of Govardhana Dās and from Salabat Jang were received and replied to; I have recorded what I heard of it. The contents of letters of Ra(ghu)nātha Dās, Salabat Jang:—Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān left Delhi and came five or six *kos*; the Pādshah sent for him again and stopped his journey saying that it was no proper time for him to go to Deccan. Then you sent a letter by Mansūr 'Alī Khān asking for a firman of protection for yourself; that will reach you. If in this matter Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān starts a fight, our army with its artillery and other weapons is ready to offer battle. We have sent accounts from the death of (Nāzīr) Jang down to date for the amounts drawn by Muzaffar Jang in different ways on account of his staff, and you will get all the details there; he claims not only the honours due to the sons of Padshahs, but those of the rulers themselves, and we are unable to rise up to his expectations in this regard; after setting forth all his extravagances, we sent a *hunḍi* drawn on Kāśidās Bukkanji's shop to Masulipatam for 16½ lakhs including the amounts he borrowed with the permission of the governor, and the presents he gave to the Governor and his wife. The amount of the *hunḍi* will be realised by the Chief of Masulipatam. Further the permit for a present to Delarche covers a lakh, and a *hunḍi* for that amount was also sent drawn in favour of the Chief of Masulipatam, and you might have heard that these were received all right there. The accounts may be posted up accordingly. The payments to Messrs Kerjean, Vincens and others and to the staff, and the presents will be accounted for later. The letter contained these details and other general matters; in reply to this he caused a stiff letter to be sent

9. Vol. viii, p. 19, to go at the beginning of the day which begins with 7 p.m. as it stands.

saying:¹⁰ 'Where was the need to pay a lakh of rupees to M. Delarche? Have you derived any benefits from him? If you pay a lakh now to a man who carried messages from me to you and from you to me, and further give him presents and cash to the tune of three lakhs of rupees and a jagir of the value of fifty or sixty thousand rupees, what should you pay to me for having established you (in power), and again, what should you pay to those who fought and won a victory for you? You have been very puerile'. He also ordered that M. Bussy was to take charge of all the forces of Muzaffar Khān,¹¹ and send him under guard to Masulipatam. Then he wrote replies to everything contained in his letter, and corresponding letters to M. Bussy and others, sealed them, and sent them by the servant of Govardhana Dās this evening. I have recorded the gist of the letter as also what I heard.

Prajotpatti, Āḍi 23, Wednesday, 1751, August 4.¹²

I heard this morning that Muhammad 'Alī Khān's men brought a confidential letter last night from Trichinopoly. The letter was to the effect that he was ready to surrender the fort to our M. d'Auteuil if we would conform to the terms of the *parawana* which we got from Salabat Jang and sent to him some time before; this should be accepted in accordance with the *parwana* written by Salabat Jang, as the end of the exercise by him of powers that had originally been held and exercised by his father and his elder brother; if in accordance with what he had written he left for the subahs of Rajahmundry and Chicacole with the family, escort and movables he should be free from all obstacles; in fact everything mentioned in that *cowle* should now be faithfully acted on, and if he got letters of credence from us to that effect, he shall surrender the fort accordingly. If we ask him why he did not leave this place as soon as the *cowle* of Salabat Jang was received, he is not a free agent to be able to surrender the fort then and there and start

10. The true explanation of Dupleix's action is here—*contra* Dodwell's n. 2 p. 20.

11. *Alias* Shaik 'Abd-ul-rahmān.

12. Vol. viii, p. 28.

14 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

at once; he had handed everything into the hands of the English, and there was imminent danger of risk to his person if he did not act as they directed; and so he did what they told him to do, and did not act of his free will. Even now, if the English got the slightest suspicion of his having written to us in this sense, he should be a dead man. Our reply to this must be sent to M. d'Auteuil with instructions for its reaching him in a very secret manner, and for conversations being started for his surrendering the fort and for d'Auteuil taking it over.

After learning that frequent exchanges were taking place with M. d'Auteuil encamped on the mound, every suitable occasion for such messages and despatch of documents being availed of, the reply to this letter was drafted; then Delarche was sent for, and he was got to translate it into Persian to Madanānda Pandit who wrote the letter. It was sent at 12 o'clock. The reply was that we shall act according to the old *cowle* of Salabat Jang; that he (Mhd. 'Ali) was free to come to Pondicherry if he liked and then go away; if it was difficult to get our men in and surrender the fort to them, then he might fly a white flag and the French proclaim that they had stormed the fort, then the English would be unable to meddle, and so on, in a generally hopeful and friendly strain. Moreover a *cowle* drafted in the name of Madame Dupleix was sent along with this to Muhammad 'Ali Khān. M. d'Auteuil was also addressed separately and told of Muhammad 'Ali's request for a *cowle* and of the plan that was to be followed in accordance with the reply that had been sent. All this I heard.

¹³Hence no one can be compared to this Governor in his good luck. But in spite of such fine prospects of success everything failed to fructify and turned out futile, because he was not given the support needed for the success of his policy. But if white men who had been strangers to a single rupee come by four or six lakhs, how much can he not accumulate who is the master of all this? Why should I write anything? The discerning will know.

13. The paragraph following sounds like a later reflection added after some time.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 15

*Prajotpatti, Ādi 25, Friday, 1751 August 6.*¹⁴

This morning when I went and saw the Governor after he had got up at ten o'clock, Madanānda Pandit came and told him that a *cowle* should be drawn up in the name of Dhanapāla Chetti authorising merchants to migrate with their packages to the place where Nāzīr Jang died and where they are erecting M. Dupleix-pēṭṭai. Just as the governor signed the *cowle* regarding the remission of half toll and so on at Lālāpēt and ordered it to be sealed, he now went inside, and wrote on paper a draft in French stating that the place where M. Dupleix-pēṭṭai stood was the spot where M. La Touche, the captain of the forces sent by M. Dupleix, killed Nāzīr Jang and gained victory; he brought the draft and read it out to me; he then sent for Madame who was inside and read it out to her also. She said that the Brahmin has suggested a name, and that it should be adopted. Then the Governor sent for Madanānda Pandit, and he came and said that the place should be called: M. Dupleix-fatteh-abad. To which I said: "Persian *abad* is the same as Tamil Pēṭṭai, applied to new settlements; now, Sādat-ul-lah Khān caused Fatteh-pēṭṭai to be constructed near Gingee on the spot where he killed Desing; therefore we may call the place Dupleix-vijaya-pēṭṭai in Tamil or M. Dupleix-fatteh-pēṭṭai." Finally the Governor decided for the Persian form Dupleix-Fatteh-abad, and said that it should be adopted both in writing and speech, and I approved of it. Thereupon he changed the name in his French draft accordingly, and gave it to Madanānda Pandit, and asked him to take it to M. Delarche for being translated into Persian, as also into Telugu, Tamil, Marāṭhi and Gujarāṭi. Then he asked M. Abeille to prepare a plan for a tower-like structure to be erected in the centre of the pēṭṭah which was to carry the three fleurs-de-lis of the king of France, the seal of the company below it, and his own seal lower down; while in the square part still lower granite slabs should be built in, containing the record of the glorious victory in six languages. He also wanted a large fleur-de-lis above this level. After all this talk I came home by way of the arecanut godown.

14. Vol. viii, p. 30.

16 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

Prajotpatti Avani 36 Sunday 1751 September 12.¹⁵

This morning Dupleix wrote as follows with a view to put up inscription at the place called Dupleix Fattehabad where Nāzīr Jang was cut down by Himmat Bahādūr-khān:—"On Decr. 16, 1750 corresponding to Pramodūta, Mārgaḷi 5, 35 years after the accession of Louis XV, and 3 years after the accession of Ahmad Shah, Prévost de La Touche, the sardar of French army, acting under orders of Dupleix, killed Nāzīr Jang, and he fell" This must be written on stone in order that the people may know the place (of the occurrence)¹⁶ This must be engraved on stone in French, in Tamil, Telugu, Persian, Gujarāti and Marāthi, in 6 different scripts. With this object, the French version was written on paper and given to M. Abeille and he was asked to prepare the draft in the other scripts.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 2, Wednesday, 1751, September 15.¹⁷

When I went to the Fort this morning, I inspected nineteen bundles handed over for washing, and went to the Governor's house to tell him of it, and when I returned I heard that a *sarpēch* at a cost of Rs. 150 was required for honouring the son of the king of Old Gingee, and I got one down as required. Then the son of the king of Old Gingee with a view to regain for himself the fort and Jagir of Dēsūr, presented a sum of Rs. 40,000 to the Governor, five thousand to Madame together with a village, and some money to Kēsava Rāo; and having thus regained his old rights to the fort and jagir, he got the *sarpēch* and took his leave.¹⁸

15. Vol. viii, p. 55, to go at the beginning of the entry for the day.

16. Selon un relation anonyme, l'inscription était: "Cette ville nommée Dupleix—fathébad, a été fondé à l'endroit où les Français Commandés par M. Prévost de la Touche vainquirent l'armée de Nāsīr Jang et où il a été tue. Cet monument eut lieu le 16 December 1750, dans la 36e année du règne de Louis xv, et la 3e année de Amad Shah sous le gouvernement de Monsieur Joseph François Dupleix dans le 9e année de son gouvernement.—Note by M. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

17. Vol. viii, p. 60, to go at the beginning of the entry for the day.

18. See Vol. viii, p. 53 for an earlier mention of these transactions.

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 17

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 3, Thursday, 1751, September 16.¹⁹

This morning, sixty to seventy Europeans, and 300 others including Eurasians, Muslims and sepoys were asked to go with four pieces of cannon and camp near Soranāvūr, and Commander Raven and Captain M. De Souse (?) were required to go to the camp (with the troops), and they got ready and started.

I reported to the Governor what news I had and came by way of the Chief Court.

I got news that Rangō Pandit who had camped near Vriddhā-chalam had fled from there and reached Venkaṭammālpettai.

At Fort St. David, the paṇḍārams of Vēttavalam, Gopal Nārāyana Ayyan and others gave two yards of broadcloth each as presents to the English governor, and requested him to capture Tiruvadi, Bhuvanagiri and the rest of the Panch-mahals with the aid of some sepoys; the news of their departure with this design was brought to Madame Dupleix by Kēsava Rao; I guessed that this must have been the reason for the disposition of the Europeans and sepoys mentioned above, viz., their being asked to go and encamp near Soranāvūr.

Last evening, Virama Rājā of Covelong left his representative Kondu Rājā behind, and went to Covelong.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 18, Friday, 1751, October 1.²⁰

This morning I heard that Sāmā Rāo, the vakīl of Peshwa Bhāji Rāo, who had left for Tirupati, could not complete his journey but was staying at Arni. The reason was that when Vāsudeva Āchariyar was administering Tirupati, Srinivasāchariār having sought the aid of the English proceeded to Tirupati and made himself master of the place; and consequently Rājagopāla Pandit who had left this place with a letter of authority over Tirupati could not go there, but had to stop short. News of this reached us this morning. Sāmā Rāo, the vakīl of Bhāji Rāo, did not go to Tirupati, but came back to-day from Arni.

19. Vol. viii, p. 61.

20. Vol. viii, p. 67.

18 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

I heard also to-day that there is a place called Kōviladi near Trichinopoly; M. Law fought in this place and captured it and put everyone there to death. But no letter has yet come from M. Law; I heard that the Nawāb sent us this news.

The substance of the letter in Marāthi from Tyāgayyan in the army: the victory of Kōviladi was won on Tuesday the 15th instant. Hasan-ud-dīn Khān went and fought for four days in the first instance; then M. Law went with 400 Europeans and gained the victory.

The Nawāb Sāhib stayed for four days at Śrīrangam, and then when he heard of the victory, he returned to the camp, and broke it up and began a march at an auspicious hour, and crossed the river.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 21, Monday, 1751 October 4.

When I returned after reporting the day's news, I heard that the English carrying provisions to Vriddhāchalam were intercepted by forces which killed two persons among them including an official, and wounded some thirty or forty; the rest dispersed pell-mell; a book and other articles belonging to the dead officer were brought and exhibited by Kēśava Rāo. When I said that this was a good thing they had done, he the (Governor) said: 'What a great shame has befallen the English!' I said: 'This is the time for their defeat and your success; hence it is but proper that when they raise their head, they suffer defeat and their fame suffers an eclipse and people begin to look down upon them. And their actions are suited to the time.' He said: "What you say is true". Then I came by way of the Chief Court.

Sabi Sayyid, the Amil of Chingleput, wrote to the Governor as follows: As Pāpayya Pillai often likes to leave Chingleput for Madhurantakam, and Madhurantakam for Utramallur, at the instance of Sampāti Rāo, the killedār of Chingleput, the Governor of Madras has spoken to Meister Pirens (?); and some sepoys and white soldiers have been invited with the English flag; and there is much movement of people and news indicating an attempt on their part to capture the entire division of Chingleput; the people here are in a state of fright, and the amildars are deserting. Moreover, a son of Vidiyasandu (Vijaya Singh?) living in Sadras got a letter from Sampāti Rāo asking him to occupy Tirukalukunram

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 19

with the aid of some troops: he applied to the captain of Sadras for ammunition, and the Captain told him that he would have no concern with such things and would not give him any aid, and that if he was to engage in such activities he could not live in his city and sent him away. He is gathering troops. If you send me some assistance to counteract all this, and instruct Pāpayya Pillai by letter to stay with me, I shall manage things. I heard that in reply to this letter, messages were sent to Pāpayya Pillai and the polegars, asking them to join together and prevent the approach of enemies.

Prajotpatti, Purattāsi 23, Wednesday, 1751, October 6.

At 6-30 a.m. to-day four letter-bearers came from Aurangabad; two of them brought letters to the Governor of this place from Salabat Jang, Ramadas Pandit and M. Bussy; the two others said that they brought letters to the governor of Fort St. David and to Muhammad 'Ali. I sent the messengers to the Governor.

The letters to the governor of Fort St. David and Muhammad 'Ali approved of the refusal to surrender Trichinopoly and the struggle maintained with the aid of the English, so as to prevent the consolidation of power (by the French); the subah of Deccan has been given to Ghāziud-dīn by a sanad of the Pādshāh, and Ghāzi-ud-dīn in his turn has given the subah of Karnataka and other places to Muhammad 'Ali Khān and written to the English requesting them to aid him. Copies of that parawana are published in every town and much mischief being done thereby. I also heard that everyone has received letters according to the form which they had prescribed beforehand.

To-day's news was that Muhi-ud-dīn Sāhib of Conjeevaram had driven out the Europeans and was free from the presence of the English. When they heard that a great fight was on at Arcot, the Englishmen at Conjeevaram left the place in a body for Arcot. Muhi-ud-dīn Sāhib who had just gone to the Musaravākkam fort heard of this and reentered Conjeevaram on the night of the 20th. Pāli Chetti brought this news yesterday.

For the whole of this year, the English realised thirty lakhs of rupees; twelve lakhs of this belonged to particular persons (?) subtracting this, eighteen lakhs went to the government house; of this,

sixteen lakhs have been spent, and two lakhs remain. Hence they have very little money, and they could not have spent much. The English thus have no funds; nor has Muhammad 'Ali Khān any. Hereafter they can employ troops and carry on the fight only if they command money. All this was stated by him (the Governor). I said: "As this is a bad period for them, the English will have no money. Further, they owe a crore of rupees in Bengal. They owe monies in England and in India. Hence they are not flourishing. And it is now the age of French power, this power is now in the ascendant, and is it not necessary that others like the English and the Dutch must decline and take back seats? That is exactly what is taking place". He made no answer, but simply listened in silence.

An English soldier, a captain, and a Eurasian came in a small boat from the factory at Porto Novo and brought a letter. The Eurasian said that this Englishman, having deserted from Fort St. David for the French factory, took a boat from there the same night and just came to Porto Novo: a letter from M. Delbaras (?) of the factory setting out these facts was produced by him. While reading it, he sent for Peralbe (?) and went to the central hall. I came away by the Chief Court.

To-day I heard that while Kēsava Rāo's man was taking a letter to Rangō Pandit, those from Fort St. David were ravaging and plundering Chennamanāyakkanpālayam, Tiruvaḍi simai, and even burning Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭanam-simai, Tirumuṭṭam simai, and taking people into captivity. The messenger who carried the letter fell into their hands in the course of their marches, and was hanged. It is rumoured that this brigandage is the work of Gopālanārāyaṇa-payyan, Sivanāku Reddi, Chandraśekhara Panditar, Viśvanātha Reddi of Bhuvanagiri and the Poligar of Vēṭṭavalam.

Prajotpatti, Purattāṣi 24, Thursday, 1751, October 7.

This day the Governor sent for me at 11-30 a.m.; after I gave him the news of the day, he said: 'You know that a vakil of the Rāja of Mysore has come; you may tell him that our French troops under M. Law as well as the army of Chandā Sāhib have crossed the Kāvēri; and camped near the Golden Rock, Tammatta maidān and other places, and surrounded the fort of Trichinopoly; if in this juncture, any force of the Rāja of Mysore aids Muhammad 'Ali

Khān and fights against our troops, we shall overrun the Mysore country besides capturing that fort; ask him to write home cautioning them to act in a farsighted manner'. I agreed to send for the vakil and get him to write in the sense indicated and then added: 'The Vakil says: "I am a merchant; you and they are old friends, and you have many complaints against them; they sent me to you with presents in order to secure for themselves the friendship of your victorious power. Accordingly I came and met you and placed in your hands the presents they sent by me and reported to you everything they wanted me to convey to you in the interests of friendship; henceforth, I have to go away when you send me back, and I am waiting for it. You have now told me twice or thrice that from English letters that have fallen in your hands you learn that my ruler is sending forces to help Muhammad 'Ali Khān, and wanted me to write saying that while they were friends with you, they might help you, or if they should not like it, they might remain neutral; if on the other hand they went and actively aided your foes you would capture the fort and the country. When I sent strict letters in this sense, they wrote back more than once pointing out that Chandā Sāhib was always speaking in open court of his proposed capture of their kingdom and making elaborate and slighting references to them, and you were indifferent to all this insult that he was offering them; he would not do such things without your consent; it was to draw your attention to this and secure that, at least in future, he did not talk ill of them that they sought your friendship and sent me as vakil with presents of cloths and so on to your presence. Politics depends on time and place, and no two periods are alike. We shall confine our forces to the limits of our territory; if Chandā Sāhib's forces come and cause trouble in our country, our forces would not remain quiet. I mentioned to you more than once that they wrote all this. You agreed that it was only proper that we should retaliate in case they meddled with us; and it was also proper that otherwise our troops were confined to our own territory. And I duly reported your answer to them. That being so, it is unlikely that they have done anything now without Chandā Sāhib provoking it. Moreover they are sovereign, and so are you; and you will determine your mutual relations as the times may require. What is there that can be done about this by men representing our government with you or your Government with ours? He.....

The thieves who were caught are to be hanged (at once); the Englishmen caught by our men earlier in that place are to be escorted by our company's servants up to Valkondapuram whence they should be allowed to go wherever they like—these were the instructions sent by letter.

Madame sent for M. d'Auteuil by means of a chopdar and he sent a reply stating that there was no reason why he should come and that he would not come; thereupon she fell foul of the chopdars and asked them to go once again and fetch d'Auteuil; when d'Auteuil came, Madame showed her anger towards him; when the Governor came to know of it, he restrained her and took d'Auteuil apart; I heard he is very angry at what had happened to M. d'Auteuil. On account of this, the plan of going to Mortāndi Chāvadi has been stopped; Kēśava Rao was sent for and the newly engaged sepoy were duly enrolled.

(Our troops said that) they heard that provisions were being sent from Covelong to Trichinopoly fort and we came to stop that; but the Rāja of Tanjore heard of the real purpose, and wrote about it to his vakīl here, Sadāsiva Rāo, who communicated the matter to-day to the Governor and Madame; they asked in reply why the Tanjore men had not helped ours to which the vakīl answered: it is only because we do not have the wherewithal to maintain a force; further as Vallam and Tirukkāṭṭupalli which had been so long with us have now been occupied by you, how can we help you? The Governor said finally that he would write to M. Law and find out. All this I heard.

He sent letters to Fort St. David by chopdars. Letters came from Conjeevaram stating that our men are in a strong position at Tiruvellōre and that the English are strengthening theirs at Poonamallee. From Musāvākkam the killedār has sent by a jamedār some fruits and a letter stating that he had no money with him for current expenses. This sent the governor into a rage. The jamedār, who in the Arcot camp received naubat etc., has also sent a vakīl of his to the Governor to tell him of his need for funds.

21. Undated fragment whose position in Ms. and contents show that it may be of Arpiśi 28, Prajotpatti=November 10, 1751, or less probably of Kārttigai 2=November 14.

I heard that he ordered guns to be taken from and handed over (to them) and that these sepoy so appointed numbered sixty.

Prajotpatti, Arpiśi 29, Thursday, 1751, November 11.²²

This morning the Governor wrote a letter himself and sent it to Covelong. At 8 a.m. there came a letter addressed to him from Covelong.

At ten a letter came from Arcot to the following effect: The (besieged) men in the fort resolved to send a man out every day by dropping him from the fort wall by means of a rope tied round his waist in order that he might go and bring news from Madras; they also resolved to send out another man by the wicket gate of the fort for the same purpose; these plans were communicated to our side by some people in the fort. When our men accordingly caught the two persons sent out of the fort and made enquiries of them, they said—(1) that the plan was to send out men every day like this to gather the news (2) that the provisions and drinks and so forth were exhausted in the fort, but without giving publicity to it, a brave show was made as if they were well stocked with provisions. The letter continued to say that these two men were kept under guard and that they were in urgent need of powder and shot (to be sent from here). Regarding this, he sent for the gun-maistry at once and ordered him to get ready powder and shot for despatch.

At 11 a.m. a letter came from Chandā Sāhib at Trichinopoly stating that he had no cash for current expenses. The Governor thereupon asked the harkars (messengers) if the amount ordered to be got from Kārikāl for expenses had not yet been received, and they replied in the negative. Further when he asked them about military situation, they said. "Those in the fort are firing guns, the shots fired by our side fall within the fort all right, the people of Seringapatam are sending provisions to the garrison in the fort, and the kallars of the locality obstruct all our attempts to surround the fort and stop the provisions from entering it."

22. Vol. viii, p. 73.

From Aminabad, the wife and children of Himāyat Bahādūr, in the service of Candrasena, wrote to the Governor imploring him to write to Salabat Jang and persuade him to let them have for themselves the house in which they were living. To this he sent a vague answer by the bearers of the letter stating that he had written to Salabat Jang already on all matters and that this would result in good to them; he also gave a present of a rupee to each of the messengers.

In the afternoon at 2 o'clock the Governor visited the spot where blacksmiths and carpenters were at work, walked along the beach to the chāvadi where he ordered a verandah to be erected, and then came to the fort and sent for me. I went and conversed with him. When Rāmi Chetṭi came and asked the Governor whether the cloths inspected by him at the fort the previous day might be handed over for being washed, he ordered that it might be done.

Then he wrote two letters to Arcot and despatched them in the evening about 6 o'clock. Soon after, letters came from Trichinopoly at about 7; he wrote immediate replies, and before despatching them he expressed great displeasure with the messengers who brought the letters for their coming so late.

Fifty-six men had been appointed for going to Alambarai; Kēsava Rāo, however, went and asked the sērvaiikāran why there were only 50 men present and where the remaining were; he replied that they had gone for food. Then Kēsava Rāo, feeling that he had got no *douceur*, went to Madame (Dupleix) and reported to her that while orders had been given to keep fifty-six men ready, the Sērvaiikār had got only fifty; then she mentioned it at once to the Governor who immediately sent for the watchman and ordered him to check the muster roll; the sērvaiikāran sent for the six sepoys who had gone for their food and thus showed the correct muster of 56 men. After this, Madame and Governor after consultation, sent for Kēsava Rāo and scolded him saying: "Is it proper that you should tell a lie like this? While I had told you that the muster of the sepoys must be kept a secret, you have made it the talk of the bazaar. You are a fool without an iota of sense".

Later at 8 p.m. letters arrived from Arcot. The same messenger brought also letters addressed to the Governor from Conjeeveram.

When the Governor asked the messenger for news, he said: During the last two or three days our men are storming the fort vigorously and shooting in the direction of the powder magazine within it; the men in the fort are firing bombs which burst in the Nawab's camp and shots directed against magazines and throngs of people; a boy was hit one of these shots. Moreover, the besieged ridiculed the besiegers saying: 'It is a month since you came here; why could you not fight? Have you no moustaches on your faces? and no sense of shame?' Then in answer to an enquiry about news from Conjeeveram, they said: "Considerable fighting has gone on in Tiruvellore between the English and our men; you know that twenty were wounded on our side and we had to retreat with two pieces of cannon. Now 'Ali Khān has advanced against the English with some subordinates and put them to flight with considerable damage, capturing three of their guns. We heard also that the English are preparing to return to the charge. The letters from 'Ali Khān were taken by his vakil here to the Governor on a suitable occasion. He read the letters and then told him the facts mentioned above. So I heard. I also heard that after his meal, the Governor sent for 'Ali Khān's vakil and Madanānda Pandit; that Madanānda Pandit alone went as the vakil was not to be found; and that thereafter the Governor, Madame and he, all the three of them were closeted in the room inside and wrote letters to Razā Sāhib and M. Goupil, after issuing orders that no one was to be allowed inside and that the chobdars posted at the gate were to be instructed to say that the Governor had a headache and could not see any one.

I heard that the Governor asked Paraśurāma Pillai if everything was ready at the Mortāṇḍi Chāvadi and that he replied in the affirmative. They also said that after reading the report to the wife of M. d'Auteuil they went to the Mortāṇḍi Chāvadi. I also heard that Appu Mudali said that the Governor's journey could be considered settled only when the silver vessels were despatched from here.

Prajotpatti, Arpiśi 30, Friday, 1751, November 12.

This day they despatched letters to Trichinopoly between 8 and 10 a.m. in the morning. At twelve the vakil of Kaḍambaikkāran was sent for, given a present of two yards of broadcloth, and sent

back with a letter. At two p.m. the Governor went to the work spot where smiths and carpenters were working, took the measurements of some cannon there, and then sent for me. I went, and talking together we both went to the fort and inspected the first-floor; finding the Western side badly done, he sent for the maistry and took him to task. Then we started homeward, and he said that the Ennore report will be taken up to-morrow. To-day the cloths must be inspected in the fort.

A letter came to Madame from Conjeeveram at 8 p.m. Regarding our forces in Tiruvellore, I heard that the English were attempting to post some persons at Poonamalle. Some guards of European soldiers and ammunition were also reported to have been sent to Arcot. The European guards carried with them a letter which they were to read at Serndanur from which place they were to go in the direction mentioned in the letter; they took with them also the ammunition and a peon who knew the route. We had no important news from Arcot. Further I heard that Murtazā 'Ali Khān of Vellore and Razā Sāhib are encamped in tents, that unnoticed by them our men have surrounded their tents, and that Murtazā 'Ali Khān sent a secret message to the Marathas as the result of which the younger brother of Morari Rao is committing ravages in the region of Chengama. Orders have been received for the release of persons caught by the English at Ālambarai. As Sivarama Pandit of Tiruvattūr has got a sanad vesting that country in him, they seem to have sent a Brahman with a letter conferring an inam of two or three villages on Madanānda Pandit.

Prajotpatti, Kāritigai 1, Saturday, 1751, November 13.

This morning at 6 a.m. the Governor sent two letters to Trichinopoly. Letters came from Conjeevaram. We learned that some troops from there had gone to Tiruvellore. A letter has gone to Arcot. A letter also came to the Governor at ten from Trichinopoly. The bearer of that letter, when questioned, said that brisk fighting was going on there at the time. I heard that a letter was received from a friend of ours at Madras, and that the bearer of the letter stated that some boats came there with troops from Cuddalore and that the force was going to take part in the fighting at Tiruvellore.

In the afternoon the Governor went out for a walk along the beach and from there went to the Villiyanur gate and thence to the fort, where he got up the new first story and looked at the harbour of Fort St. David by means of binoculars and saw a sloop there. Then M. Moracin and the captain of the port came to the Governor, talked with him for some time and then went away.

I heard that Razā Sāhib and Murtazā 'Ali Khān have sent two letters. When the Governor ordered those letters to be handed over to Madanānda Pandit, I heard that he took them saying that they were his letters. The men that brought the letters reported as follows on Arcot affairs: "the shots fired by our side have caused a breach in the northern wall of the fort; as the ditch is full of water, our men have resolved to fill it up; our men are keeping up a steady fight and the besieged are also not only doing likewise but challenging us to a battle."

This day a letter was received from Mahé. The bearers of the letter said that, in the course of a war between the king of Quilon and our forces, two Brahmans on our side, Kuttikaran and Kōdandaraman, attacked the English troops one day and attempted to capture their fort; then the king of Quilon fearing for the death of the Brahmans ordered a retreat which was effected accordingly. The English then strengthened the fort further so as to render its capture more difficult than before. The ruler of Nāñjanāḍu is helping the king of Quilon secretly. All this was written in the letter and reported by the messengers; so I heard. The messengers from Mahé said further: Morāri Rao has come to Seringapatam; the Mysoreans gathered a thousand men and some provisions and sent them to Muhammad 'Ali Khan at Trichinopoly, and they reached the fort all right; and Morāri Rao has told the Mysoreans not to send provisions to the forces of Chandā Sāhib. I also heard that Morāri Rao has sent letters to the Governor.

Letters reached the Governor from Masulipatam. I also heard that bales of broadcloth are being despatched to Aurangabad, that three Poligars of that region together with 2,000 men, with the intent of attacking Ongole, had encamped near Valangampundi in the Bandar taluq at a distance of two leagues from Ongole, that the people of Pulicat and Madras have decided to go to the rescue of Ongole, and that letters going by Pulicat are being intercepted and examined. The Governor seems to have sent immediate replies

to the letters received. I also heard that Madanānda Pandit and Chandā Sāhib²³ went upstairs and communicated news to the Governor.

Prajotpatti, Kartigai 3, Monday, 1751, November 15.

This morning, after returning from the Church, the Governor sent letters to Kārikāl, Covelong and Gingee. When the fifty men who had gone to Ālambarai from here were practising drill, they were practising with blank cartridges but one of them fired a bullet-cartridge by mistake and hit a sepoy fatally; the sepoy who was held responsible for the accident was kept in custody for a while, but as there was no clear evidence against him, he was released; all this I heard said.

In the camp at Trichi a European committed a breach, and this has been reported to the Governor, who has sent for him and ordered him to be kept in custody under M. Bury's charge; this also I heard.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai, 4, Tuesday, 1751, November 16.

At 6 a.m., to-day the wife of Chandā Sāhib received six loads of sweets and fruits sent to her by Razā Ali Khān from Śāttugedi.²⁴ When these were being brought along the Mortāṇḍi chāvaḍi route, the Governor noticed them and asked the chopdars whence they came and where they were being taken, they made enquiries and brought him the information.

Letters reached the Governor from Arcot, and the messengers when asked about the happenings there said: "by the shots fired by our side the doors and walls of the fort suffer great damage, but the besieged are prompt in replacing the doors; a bomb fired by our men set fire to a hayrick which burned for over an hour and was then put out with water; it is also said that the besieged have suffered many losses in men, and in two or three days more, the ditch will be filled up and the fort captured by escalade." I was

23. This seems extremely improbable as Chandā Sāhib was at Trichinopoly. Perhaps there is some mistake here.

24. So the original, J. D. suggests 'probably Sāghar'.

told that after he heard this report the Governor was in high spirits. I also heard that he was told that the ruler of Vellore had left his army in the camp and gone to Vellore by himself, and that five of our wounded were coming here, and that he issued orders that the wounded were to be taken into the town without Madame coming to know of it.

Of two letters from Porto Novo, I took the one addressed to me and sent the other addressed to the Governor to him at Mortāṇḍi Chāvaḍi. He got letters from Trichinopoly to which he replied immediately. Letters were also received from Kārikāl, and despatched to Arcot. When a peon of the Company brought letters from Masulipatam and from Covelong, night came on as he reached this side of Kūḍaikattu Chāvaḍi, thieves set upon this peon and relieved him of the letters besides his bow, clothing and so on. I got information that the peon mentioned this occurrence to the Servaikāran and that he is keeping it a secret. A tent was ordered to be given to the son of Muhammad Akal and the son of Timirikāran at Mortāṇḍi Chāvaḍi; Khan Bahādūr and the Bandar men have also occupied tents. In the afternoon elephants were ordered to be brought to a *chamiana* where chairs and other seats were arranged, and the Governor and Madame were seated together with the wakil of Bhaḍi Rāo, the Bandar Muslims and other gentlemen of note. The mahouts came with the elephants and salaamed. When they were witnessing the feats, I heard that Madame spoke to the Bandar Muslims as follows: "How strong is the elephant, and how surprising that it should be controlled by men; man is the master of everything." I heard further that one of the elephants became uncontrollable and was ordered to be taken out when it began to attack the spectators. When the Governor asked Appu Mudali then and there how much rice was given as daily food for the elephants, he answered that eighteen measures by the big measure of Sambaiyar were given. From Trichinopoly Mali Chetti brought letters from Hasan-ud-din Khān to the Governor and Madame, and delivered them after presenting a nazar of twenty-one rupees to each of them. The Governor asked him to come again tomorrow. Then the Governor went for a game of ball beneath the tamarind tree on the northern side. He was playing chess with Madame till ten at night. Parasurāma Pillai came and informed him that ammunition had been sent to Arcot. Then everybody retired to their respective residences.

30 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 5, Wednesday, 1751, November 17.

This morning the Governor received a letter from Arcot. The servant of the company who brought the letter said: "Our men have advanced to near the fort gate; the besieged are firing with guns and pistols and causing great damage." The Governor gave him the replies to the letters that had been received before and scolded him saying that he was getting news only once in four or five days; whereas previously when the rivers and canals were in floods he was hearing once in two or three days, now when there are no such obstacles, it should be possible for news being sent to him daily.

In the afternoon at meal time the Mussalman of the Bungalow sent bread and so on to the Governor who ate the meal with enjoyment and gave a present of ten rupees to the men who brought it. When the Governor and Madame sent fruits to the Mussalman of the Bungalow he also acknowledged it and gave a present of five rupees to the men who brought the fruits. Then Madanānda Pandit was sent for in the afternoon and asked to write out and send letters to Aurangabad with a reward of ten rupees to the men carrying them. The Governor also despatched an immediate reply to the letter he got from Ravattanallur from the son of Kade Sayyid. From Trichinopoly Hasan-ud-dīn Khān wrote to the Governor that he was short of funds. He wrote to Bomma Rāja. From Chandragiri the elder brother of Muhammad Akkal has written letters to the Governor, madame and Muhammad Akkal himself stating that the English and Vasudeva Āchāriyar have joined together at Tirupati for an expedition against the fort of Chandragiri, and that a (defence) staff should be appointed, and that this fort and some portions of the jagir country are being held by Bomma Rāja and other Poligars. Replies to those letters were sent at once. A letter was also sent to one of the abler Jamedars engaged in the fight round Arcot to whom a Naubat khāna was given recently.

When the Governor, Madame, the new missionary and some others, high and low, went out for a walk to Tiruccirrambalam, the Governor walked on the bank of a tank to the west of the chāvadi to a spot where a funeral was taking place. He made enquiries about the details of rituals and mentioned them to the missionary; he as well as the others present said that it was only proper that

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 31

people should follow their respective customs. All of them then returned to the chāvadi.

I heard that the Governor was playing at cards till late that night and that M. Delarche came to see him and went back after a talk with him.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 6, Thursday, 1751, November 18.

This morning the Governor sent letters to Arcot and Covelong. He sent also immediate replies to letters received from Trichinopoly. Bomma Rāja has written to him and Madame that he has heard that the English are moving to attack his camp. From Arcot Razā Sāhib has sent letters, by a camel messenger, to the effect that the fort would be captured in a day or two, but that he was short of the funds required for current expenditure. From Trichinopoly Chandā Sāhib has sent letters by Qutb-ud-dīn Khān. When the Governor, Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Madanānda Pandit were engaged in reading both these sets of letters, the Governor said with great concern: "We have not got any money from Simāmūlam(?); how can we find the funds needed now? Well, let us see to-morrow." All this I heard.

Then men who came from Trichinopoly said: "Our men are encamped to the East and North of the fort; the provisions from Seringapatam are being taken into fort by the wicket gate on the west along planks laid across the ditch; when Chanda Sāhib enquired what that was, he got the answer that they were only taking some necessary purchases made from the merchandise of one of the merchants from their country and doing nothing else, and they were being made the subject of baseless calumnies; 2000 horse from Mysore have camped near the town of Karur Kangayam; M. Law is sending letters to Fort St. David and to the English sardars in Trichinopoly and duly receiving replies to them; Chandā Sāhib and Hasan-ud-dīn Khān seem to be betraying signs of mischief. Further, a wakil went to the Rāja of Tanjore from M. Law; the Rāja complained to the Wakil of the presence of our (French) troops at Vallam fort and asked him to write for their being recalled; the Wakil agreed in darbar to go to Vallam himself and arrange the withdrawal of the force; he then left the place and reached the camp at Trichinopoly. Some of Chandā Sāhib's forces have come to Tirukkāṭṭupalli; in fact, Vallam and Tirukkāṭṭupalli were both to be taken by our troops; for outward appearance, Negapatam....

32 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

*Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 16th, Sunday, 1751, November 28th.*²⁵

This day the Governor wrote letters asking M. Goupil and some Europeans from Arcot to come here with some troops and gave strict instructions to the messengers carrying these letters. In the afternoon he gave a reward of ten rupees to a juggler who performed before him. Madame and others returned from a walk. The Governor did not go out for a walk. Letters were received from Trichinopoly at 8 p.m. saying that 'Alam Khān had left some of the cavalry at the Madura fort and had come to the camp with the rest of the horse and some infantry, where he was received by M. Law. He wrote a reply at once and sent it off. The Turaiyūr wakil came and met the Governor; he stated that amounts in excess of the usual peshcush were demanded by the Samasthānam, that the country was being looted, and that amounts already remitted in settlement of dues were again demanded; he came because of these troubles which were hard to bear and offered henceforth to remit the amounts to the governor himself. A lakh of rupees was the sum due on account of Ariyalur, Udaiyarpalayam and Turaiyūr; as more was demanded for these places, an excess of one lakh was paid; these sums also might in future be remitted to the Governor himself. The Governor then instructed Madanānda Pandit to write a letter to Chandā Sāhib saying that the Muqadma amounts from Turaiyūr were being remitted here and that there was no need for his using any force in that country; if he looted the country, how could the people pay the dues? Further I heard that Madanānda Pandit, Śantappan and Sinnatambi Scrvaikāran spoke about me. Madanānda Pandit said: "Such matters must be settled by Mr. Pillai. Because of some difference between Madame and Mr. Pillai, he does not concern himself in this business. If he did, he would advance Rs. 30,000 from his own purse, and recoup himself later after telling the Governor from the amounts paid by us as peshcush. But am I so rich as to undertake such things?" Śantappan said: "Madame is very thoughtful. If she had been born a man, she would rule a kingdom. We have not found any woman more thoughtful and courageous anywhere." The Governor sent for Vināyaka Pillai; and Śantappan told Madananda Pandit: "Vināyaka Pillai has not

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 33

yet come" and added, "Does he recognise no master yet? he does not seem to understand the Governor's mind."

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai 17th, Monday, 1751, November 29th.

This morning M. Goupil and Razā Saheb wrote to the Governor as follows: As the English are proceeding against us with 3000 cavalry, and as (Major) Abdul Khadar is dead, and as the Governor has ordered our army to go to Vellore, we have abandoned the batteries of Arcot and gone to Vellore. Then the English forces that came and the Marathas entered the fort of Arcot with ammunition and provisions. This fact was set forth in a letter the English sent from Arcot to Fort St. David; the messengers with the letter were captured by our men near Tindivanam, and the Governor ordered the men to be imprisoned. All this I heard.

Prajotpatti, Kārttigai, 18th, Tuesday, 1751, November 30th.

To-day they have sent from Venkaṭāmpēṭṭai a white flag, five guns, two prisoners, a letter from Gingee and three Europeans who had gone there, besides some liquor, bread and other provisions all captured from the English, and a sum of rupees two thousand for expenses. From Vellore Razā Sāhib wrote as follows: Murāri Rāo's brother is sure to retreat within three days, and then we shall go and surround Arcot. Five letters were sent to Conjeeveram and one to Covelong. From Trichinopoly Chandā Sāhib, Hasan-ud-dīn Khān, and M. Law sent each a letter. They said that 'Alam Khān had come from Madura, and Chanda Sahib had honoured him with the present of three elephants, a horse and a serpeau. Another letter came from Tyāgayyar in Chanda Sahib's camp; it was to the effect that 'Alam Khān who came from Madura on the 13th of this month obtained an interview with Chandā Sāhib, that he presented a nazar of 101 mohars on the occasion, that he also visited M. Law, and that 1000 horse and 4000 foot had come along with him; some more poligars will be coming in the course of the day or the next; Hasan-ud-dīn Khān is preparing to go to Turaiyūr in two or three days; he also wrote that the nawāb had presented three elephants and a naubat to 'Alam Khān, and serpeaus to fifteen of his followers.

VI

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 23, Monday, 1752, Jan. 3.²⁶

The messengers from Tiruvattūr who brought the letters from Razā Sāhib to the Governor to-day said that they would stay there for the two or three festive days and then depart. From Utramallur Mohidīn Sāhib has sent a letter to the Governor. The men who brought the letters said: "The English stationed in Conjeeveram are looting the townships, and as Razā Sāhib and Mohidīn Sāhib have written, they are intent upon marching to this side from there. The Europeans who were with Razā Sāhib have returned as they had taken ill." Hassan-ud-dīn Khān has written to the Governor from Trichinopoly to the following effect:

"The Mahrathas had encamped in the region of Kaṭṭalai and Maṇavāśal; 2000 horse and some sepoys and Europeans from our army attacked them, and they fled; our forces then captured a place called Pudukkotta in the neighbourhood. Murāri Rāo also took part in the fight. As a strong fort fell into the hands of our troops, the Mahrathas had to retreat. Some losses were incurred in both the fights. While these fights were going on, the Marathas entered the Trichinopoly fort with a thousand horse and some provisions along the Maṇappākkam route. The next day the Marathas attacked our camp and made away with some cattle; thereupon some sepoys and European soldiers from the troops of 'Alam Khān and Hasan-ud-dīn Khān followed the Marathas and surrounded them; in the course of the fight that ensued, the cattle captured by the Marathas were scattered in different directions; some infantry issued from the fort and attacked our men; meanwhile an officer from Kārikāl on our side came up with some troops to the rescue of our men pressed on both sides, and the enemy were compelled to retreat into the fort. Hasan-ud-dīn Khān and 'Alam Khān are encamped near the Golden Mound (Golden Rock?). Major Cope and M. Law are receiving confidential communications asking them to be favourable to these men, and accordingly as soon as they came, these were favourable to the person known as Kuṭṭudāran (?).

Moreover, M. Lease (?), second in command to M. Law, came here and saw the Governor; afterwards the Governor, Madame, the

Second M. Saint Paul and M. Lease (?) all the four of them were together in the central hall. Further when some of our men and a certain Lālā were at Tirukkoyilūr, the people of Vēṭṭaivalam came and made trouble; the men on our side were few, and so after a fight, they had to enter into negotiations and surrender the fort to the Vēṭṭaivalam men, and come out; then they sent word to the commander at Villupuram and after getting some reinforcements from there, they renewed the fight and regained the fort, putting its occupants to flight. The Vēṭṭaivalam people again appealed to the English to secure the fort for themselves, to which they replied that they had once got the fort into their hands, and that they could not do anything if the people, unable to keep it, lost the fort again, and once more applied for help; they added that they would require the sanction of their superiors, and wrote to Fort St. David on the subject. As a result, two pieces of cannon and some infantry were despatched from there; it was also said that as things were getting on favourably for us in Europe, more ammunition and forces must be collected. All this was reported by the Lālā who came from Tirukkoyilūr to the Governor who gave the Lālā a letter addressed to the European (in command) at Villupuram asking him to prepare some ammunition and reinforcements and send them along; I heard that the Lālā offered to take the letter the next morning.

When Pāpayya Pillai came to the Governor, he had a cold reception; Madanānda Pandit was behaving likewise. Appu Mudali and Pāpayya Pillai were engaged in close consultation. I heard that when Venkata Rāyar, the vakil of Pāpayya Pillai, came to Madanānda Pandit, the Pandit told him "Pāpayya Pillai is a man who as a rule seeks to catch hold of the tuft of another if he can, and falls at his feet when he fails, and he is paying the price of his policy."

A man describing himself as the vakil of Muhammad 'Ali attempted to go to Tanjore with his baggage from Jambukēśvaram where fighting was going on; our men heard of this and arranged to have the things captured and brought to us; the man reported the occurrence to Madanānda Pandit and asked that the things taken from him be restored to him.

After 12 noon the governor and Madame sent four Brahmins to Arcot, giving them ten rupees. Letters came from Aurangabad.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 24, Tuesday, 1752 A.D., January 4.

This morning letters reached the Governor from Masulipatam; I heard they were to the following effect: There is a fort in Koṇḍaviḍu country. A combined effort to capture the fort was made by some of our troops from Bandar, some troops belonging to the Muslims in that land, and Kōdanda Mudali, the nāṭṭān of the same country; the captain of the fort, Mallā Khā(n), lost his life, and now his younger brother is carrying on a vigorous fight, resulting in much loss to either side; the fort is not likely to fall.

To-day messengers came from Mahé. The news from there is as follows: The ship that left this place has passed Mahé; it is twenty days since a ship from Europe touched there and left for this place. In a war between the Malayālis and the English, the former won three forts, and are attempting to take two more. This is what the Brahmin messengers told the Governor. The two forts now in the occupation of the English are on the slopes of a mountain, and within the range of our guns erected on the mountain.

The lands of Elēsvaram, Pitalūr, and Sannadiyal have been occupied by our side; an army from Nilēsvaram has encamped on the banks of the Uppāttangarai near by, and ravaged their lands under our occupation; coming to know of this, our troops went and offered battle. There were losses on both sides. Some bags of pepper were sent from there; of these some were stolen on the way. The man who was sent at the head of the escort was at first suspected; but exonerated later. All this became clear from the letters.

Razā Sāhib and.....from Tiruvattūr.....

* * * *

²⁷He ordered the wound of the man who had lost his ear to be dressed and the man who had caused the injury to be taken into custody. Yesterday the son of Sayyed Muhammad of Tādpatri came to see the Governor; Muttu Mallā Redḍi also came. Last night at dinner, the custom was followed of making bread in the shape of the Ali Raja with a tamarind seed inside and placing it before prominent guests; Madame cut the bread and distributed it, and as the piece that was given to the Governor contained the tamarind seed, she was very pleased along with others. I heard

27. This undated fragment may be of January 5, 1752.

that Madanānda Pandit came to tell me this and other matters, but had to go away home without doing so as at the time I was busy writing letters together with the Europeans.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 26, Thursday, 1752, Jan 6.²⁸

Letters came to-day from the camp of the Rāja of Kārvēṭinagar from Gururāja who was there, and from Venkatāchala (Mudali), Madame's man who had gone there from here. Gururāja wrote to Madame: "We here are favourable to you; Ketima Rāja and Kēsava Rāja who are our coparceners have raised two rival camps to us; if we are united in this juncture others will be afraid of us; hence you should send some men to our aid." He has also written another letter to Appu Mudali in the same strain and asked him to do everything with the approval of Madame. The letter from Venkatachala Mudali also conveyed the same details. It was also suggested that when the coparceners are thus opposed to one another Rāmappa Rāja might be sent for. All this is what I heard.

Three or four letters came to the Governor from Conjeeveram. When he asked the men who brought the letters whether the camp had passed beyond Conjeeveram, they said: "The sepoys and Jamedars refused to move till their arrears of pay were paid in full, and an altercation ensued between them and Razā Sāhib; then Brenier made peace between them and said that money would be got from Pondicherry and their pay disbursed duly, and that as the Governor had ordered a rapid advance, he would be roused to anger if they did not carry out his orders; then they agreed to make a move in two or three days. Moreover, some broken guns were brought by sepoys from Conjeeveram and they had still sent no fresh guns to replace these.

When Kasturi Ranga Aiyar told the Governor and Madame that the men from Turaiyur must be treated with special consideration, arrangements were made for this being done. The Marathas have ravaged the Turaiyur country; and the people of Turaiyur have written to the Governor that they had captured some of the Maratha horse by way of reprisals; they have also sent him a peacock and a parrot (as presents).

28. Vol. viii. p. 90, in the gap indicated at the end of the date.

38 NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY

After 1 p.m., Pāpayya Pillai was asked to fetch the accounts, and the Governor and Madame were discussing the accounts with him behind closed doors till 3 p.m., and then Madanānda Pandit was sent for. Meanwhile the Governor noticed a sloop coming from a distance on the sea, and going upstairs, he observed it through a telescope. When he came down, Madanānda Pandit secured interviews with the Governor and Madame for the elder and younger brothers of the Sastriyar who had come from Gingee as the representatives of Rāmadās Pandit, and whom he had taken to the Governor's house; the two men were presented with eight yards of broadcloth, and a purse each, and on the elder Sastriyar was conferred the privilege of riding a palanquin.

'Alam Khān's vakīl got a present of two yards of broadcloth; then he was sent away with a letter and a message to his master to be careful and vigilant in all affairs.

The writer was put under guard, brought out again and given twelve strokes and admonished to be careful in future.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 27, Friday, 1752 January 7.

A letter came to the Governor to-day from Hasan-ud-dīn Khān at the camp in Trichinopoly. The messengers who brought the letter said: "We have heard that Murāri Rao together with some troops under his command has made room for himself in the districts of Karur and Kangaiyam on the borders of Mysore, and is preparing to attack the forts which are not strongly guarded by us. Some forces have occupied the region of the Golden Rock with a view to attack our camp; they are firing from the fort walls. Our men are firing shots and bombs from the batteries, and these fall in all directions inside the fort. The sentinels in the fort opened the gates at night and asked the poor mendicants to clear out of the fort. It is long since any fresh provisions reached the fort." All this they reported. The Governor asked: "M. Lease (?) went from here to the camp. Where did you meet him?" They answered that they met him near Vālikondapuram.

Letters came from Conjeeveram, and in answer to an enquiry from the Governor, the messengers who brought the letters said that Razā Sāhib's camp had moved beyond Conjeevaram. When he asked them again about Chinnatambi Servaikāran and his arri-

NEW PAGES FROM ANANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY 39

val with some baggage, they said that he had come, adding further that they had met near Alambarai some sepoy together with some of the things sent.

Tirumala Rāo *alias* Rāmachandra Rāo, the vakīl of Yācama Nāyakkar, was sent for by the Governor and asked what had become of the forces which he said were on their way even when (he was) at Arcot, to which he replied: "Yes, our forces did come; but as the Marathas made trouble when Raza Sahib was on his way to Vellore, our forces encamped at Pallipat, and went back as the result of differences that arose between us and them." The Governor then told him the details reported by Guruva Rāja viz., that they had sent messengers both to us (the French) and to Sampāti Rāo and that they were playing a double game; to which the vakīl replied by expressing his readiness to give a written undertaking saying that they had only waited upon the French and never sent any one to the other camp. The Governor finally asked him to adopt a definite plan after careful enquiry.

Kuṭṭi Karan, the Brahmin of Singari-kōvil, who had gone to Cuddalore as Madame's man, has written that our forces have gone to Madras, and that some troops have been sent to Madras in a sloop from here. He has also written that some aid is being sent to Vriddhāchalam. The six and a half (thousand ?) rupees of Aparan Chettiyar was handed over to Mudiya Vināyaka Pillai for meeting expenses in the fort.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 29, Sunday, 1752, January 9.

A letter came to-day from Hasan-ud-dīn Khān at Trichinopoly; as also the tappals. From there Arulappa Servaikaran has stated everything in detail to Santappa Servaikaran who is here: Tappals are being delayed because our sepoy while on the road catch the messengers by force for no reason; the sepoy must therefore be given strict orders. Also in the neighbourhood of Valikondapuram, the tappal-carriers are set upon by robbers and suffer injuries from them.

Prajotpatti, Mārgaḷi 30, Monday, 1752 January 10.

Letters reached the Governor today from Trichinopoly, Turaiyur and Conjeevaram. We have entered to-day presents received

for the January (New Year) festival by the Governor and Madame from Khoja Kalat Khān and Avalasiya (?) Sāhib, old merchants of the company, Kodandarāma Pandit, Muttu Malla Reddi, the Tanjore vakil Sāmbasiva Rāo and others. Sloops were sent to Masulipatam and troops were sent also by land. This must be carefully noted.

VII

Dhātu, Aḍi 9, Tuesday, 1756 July 20th.²⁹

The deed of agreement given by Gopala Narayanappayyar to M. Dupleix was in the possession of Sunka Seshachala Chetti; to-day we got it from him after giving him a deed of his in our possession viz., the deed executed by him for 2000 pagodas in favour of M. Veque; Gopalaswamiyar and Kārikāl Seshayyengar were present when this happened. Monegar Guruvappa Chetti came, and we informed him of this. He replied that he was not on talking terms with him (Seshachala Chetty) and that he had no interest in it.

VIII

Rudhirodgāri, Mārgaḷi 26, 1744, January 6th.

Details of machlis on the route from Macchlibandar to Golconda are as follows:

Dhātu, Aḍi 21, Sunday 1756, August 1st.³⁰

1. From Bandar to Gūdūr,—Kos 2, part of Sarkar Mustif-nagar.
1. Devarakkōṭṭai pargana Nidumolu,—Kos 2. The Zamindār is Iralghaṭṭa Kōḍaṇḍarāman.
1. Vinukotta pargana Bābiru—4, Zamindar Erukāṭṭi Paṭṭābhirāman.
1. Medur Pargana, from Dananga Mochchaḍamir to Uppūr, Kos 4. Zamindar Appa Rao Avl

²⁹. Vol. x. p. 150; to go at end of entry for the day.

³⁰. This date would be at p. 159 of Vol. X,

1. Bezwada pargana, Kangipāḍu, Kos 3. Zamindar Kaḷava Kollikāran. Full fort.
1. Indranilādri on the hill to the north of the Krishna river and south of the Bezwada machchili,—Kos. 5.
1. At the foot of the Pāṭṭaimalai, there is a strip of dark ground four yards³¹ broad and one kos long. Walking along it, you reach one near the darga of Kaliz Sahib, and it is part of the fort of Kondapalli,—Kos 2. Zamindar Kaiava Kollikaran.
1.patnam Kos 4. Two kos separate this from the limits of the jurisdiction of the chief of the Kondapalli fort. The Zamindar of this place is a certain Venkata-pati Rao.
1. Crossing the pass near Killakonda you reach the village called Pāṭalai in Succhura pargana where there is a well yielding precious stones. Zamindar Kavalakollikaran.
1. From here the river Gibar is at a distance of three kos. Cross the river and you reach Nandigramam on the mountain pass. In the rainy season the river is in floods and one has to wait till the water subsides—Kos. 6. Zamindar Vāsi Redḍiyār.
1. From here to Muhammad-pettah built in the names of Mir Khān and Kongala-mallaiyar of Nawāb-petta,—8 kos. Its pargana is Menukambālu; Zamindar Vāsi Redḍiyār.
1. Do. across the river Menukambalu lies the pargana sarkar Kambamet of Kilakkur alias Maccili; this is under the control of the three persons, the Zamindar of Anantagiri, the Amarininikāra (?) and Gopalarāyan. This maccili has extensive forests. When Anwar-ud-din Khān went to Chicacole, the Chobdars marching in front of his palanquin were carried off by a tiger. Kos. 7.
1. From here to Sarkar Muzaffarnagar, part of the Munagala pargana, 6 Kos. Zamindar Raja of Munagala.

³¹. The text has two *nār* (chest) for which see Tamil Lexicon.

1. From here via Sarkar Vuttuakonḍa Ramavaram to Surabuppetta—Kos. 6. Zamindar Kuradigi Ranganna avargal.
1. From there via Dekirāmaṭṭa across the river Musi to Sarkārellāmkonda Cetappalli—Kos. 4. Zamindar Reddi.
1. From there via the town of Kolanpāḍu to Nakkarai gallu—Kos. 4. Zamindar Kēṭṭuvar.
1. From here via the towns of Avadi bāvallu and Kala pūnguru Pāmūl-Kūṇaḷu to Nārikenḍipalli, Kos. 8. Zamindar Madivāru. This is the limit of Nallakonda Taluq.
1. From there via Chittal to Sarkar Rachakondarāpalli, Kos. 6. Zamindar Narayana Reddi. The distance from the residence of Mansubedar (Mansabdar?) to Golconda is five or six kāḍams.
1. From there to Malkapuram, Kos. 6; in going to this place you have to travel in the midst of a mountain.
1. From there you cross the channel that issues from Kalakkaṇavay and take the Śingavaram route to Ayathnagar near the town called Ambārpēt, Kos. 6. Here is built the padshah mahal, which bears the flag called Tanahsari; it is an extensive place.
1. From there to the city of Golconda; to reach the eastern gate of the city, from the Sunday Chowki on the bund of the Mirajmal lake you go by the big bazaar and enter the darga to the west of Daru mahal, go over the bridge across the Musi river, and reach the Karuvan darwaza of the bazaar called Mustripuram; from the front of that darwaza you enter the gate of the fort Kos. 8. Thus 21 macclis in all making 65 kos.

IX

*Dhātu, Purattāśi 11, Thursday, 1756, September 23.*³²

Hyderabad news: Nawāb Salabat Jang is in Hyderabad with his army. M. Bussy and Salabat are on friendly terms as usual,

³² Vol. x, p. 214.

and things are going on smoothly between them. M. Bussy and others are putting up at Ghoshe mahal. It is rumoured that Salabat Jang is preparing to send Munawar Khān³³ with M. Bussy to secure the Carnatic. Secondly, Nawāb Salabat Jang is coming over here, and has written to Bhāji Rāo asking him to come also. It is said that he would come at the end of the Mahānavami celebrations. It would be good if Bhāji Rao comes; else the Nawāb Sāhib is wishing to come here. It is also said that M. Bussy might be sent alone. All this is news that came by letter.

Arcot news: You have removed Attumalla from office and appointed Sampāti Rāo as diwanagiri. Sampāti Rāo has gone to Madras with his wife. His brother Akumathrao is doing his work during his absence. It is learnt that Mohan Singh has also been dismissed and Coupland appointed in his place. You are aware that the Vellore Muqadma is being settled for about a year now; it seems that the matter has now been definitely settled through Asadullah.

X

Krishna's aid!

Three Memoranda

i. Memorandum.

Vikrama year, Purattāśi 25th, Tuesday, (October 7, 1760) noon; Kālatti Ammal and child went with M. Law to Talangambadi. (Tranquebar).

Arpiśi 1st—Anasami and others started on their journey.

Arpiśi 19th—Appāvu's journey.

Kārttigai 27th—Monday, evening. The English began firing on the redoubts in the cocoanut island (Tennandiṭṭu)³⁴ and in the Selan garden. That night, after fifteen nāligais (midnight) they began to fire at the redoubt in the cocoanut garden on the West,..... that at the Washerman's turai (washing place).

³³ Younger brother of Himāyat Bahādūr Khān of Kandanūr, Vol. x, p. 193.

³⁴ To the South of Pondicherry.

Karttigai 30th (Fragmentary, paper mutilated).

(Margali ?) 21st Thursday (Fragmentary, paper mutilated)
storm.....all trees.....were thrown down and the whole town looked like a forest. Of the fourteen ships of the English that were anchored in the sea together with one sloop, four ships sank, three were driven ashore, four lost their masts and these damaged ships and the sloop disappeared somewhere.

23rd—At 6 a.m. Pillai Avargal left Kandappa Mudali's house and came home.

24th. Entry not clear.

28th—night. Razā Ali Khān embarked on a small boat.

Tai, 1st—Saturday (January 10, 1761)³⁵ morning. Firing of cannon and musketry began from the batteries in the garden of Ambalava Chetti.

Tai 3rd, January 12th, Monday. At 5 nāligais (8 a.m.) M.R.Ry.³⁶.....died.....sabhāi pillai nayinar..... Appumudali's son Alaga..... (uncle's) son..... (gap of 11 lines paper mutilated). About 9 or 10 o'clock, cannon balls were being shot in large numbers from the battery in the sugar-cane grove on that side. Of those who were in town on that day, only those who have been mentioned above came home. When I told M. Leyrit of the death of Sāmi in the morning, he replied that such was God's will, and asked all of us to get away somehow this very day after the funeral. When the matter was reported to M. Lally, M. Lay (Leyrit?) and M. Ole(?), they showed much sympathy. Then M. Leyrit, thinking that it was a critical occasion, sent secretary M. Dulaurens and had the usual documents and accounts sealed. He came and reported his orders; we showed him all the places where the accounts were kept and got them sealed. Sopācalam Pillai brought food for us. Sunku Seshachala.....who came to meet and talk with Pillai Avl. (gap of five lines) A European jumped over a wall, took the hookah utensils kept there, and ran away. While the things were being sent to the house of Shiswanis (?) a ball from the battery in the toddy godown fell near the parrot tower. Rāmachandra

³⁵. Vol. xii, p. 402.

³⁶. The name of Ananda Ranga Pillai must have followed here.

Aiyan, and Pappu Rayan of the tobacco factory did not turn up though they were in town. They sailed away in a boat by night.

2nd (4th ?). I gave one rupee to each of the soldiers that came to cut down the cocoanut trees in my house and saw that with the aid of palm-fibre ropes in the house they cut the trees so as not to let them fall on the house and damage it.

5th. I went with the Nayinār to the Kīraittottam (crematorium) for the sañcayana (lit. collection of bones on the day after the funeral) and came back home after the obsequies. If in the presence of Col. Coote and Venkatachalayyan, Sōnāchalam Pillai gave a thousand rupees and got out, we undertook to complete everything in the evening with the aid of Mannappa Mudali. Asoka garden....planted....night 8 p.m....gave....hearing everything. he said: 'you should not stay any longer; we do not know what harm may result to you if you do so; hence you must go away by any means.'

I went and saw M. Lally and reported the death to him; he expressed much sympathy and said that there was nothing more to be done as such has been God's will. We said that we stayed because he wanted us to stay; or we should have gone away much earlier; but now it was very difficult to go. He replied: 'You need have no fear; we shall include you also in the terms of capitulation; you may go without any misgivings'. I also met M. Guillard and M. Boyelleau and got their sympathy. When I reported to them what happened at the Fort, they said it was no use trusting M. Lally.

6th. Thinking that I could put no faith in the words of such men, I met and talked to Mr. Verlée³⁷ in the presence of Nayinār; he said that the cost of the boat was Rs. 150 and the charge for its being taken to Tranquebar was Rs. 450; I agreed and paid Rs. 600 into Nayinār's hands. He got the money and said that only two sailors were in town, and sent word that he would fix up ten others along with them in the evening armed for any contingency. I too prepared for the journey, and handed over the houses, furniture and so on to M. Renault, gave some money for expenses, left a Hindu boy at home, and started with a bundle of the Diary (*dina śaritai*) and three or four swords and daggers. I sent M. Boyelleau in ad-

³⁷. Jean Pierree Verlée, Capitaine de port—J. D.

vance and waited near the bastion to the south of customs gate for the moon to set; as it was the tenth day of the bright half of the month, I waited till twenty *nāligais*, and as soon as it became dark, ten of us armed with weapons, fifteen *matelots* and the two sailors got into the boat; when the boat was pushed into the water, it would not go beyond the length of two men, but was beaten back to the shore; the Europeans did their best to push it into water, but every time the boat came ashore, and this went on for two hours. Owing to the drunkenness of the Europeans and the proximity to the shore, much water got into the boat; the swords and daggers came out of their scabbards and fell down and obstructed the movements of people; in the tossings of the boat people fell one upon another, and all their clothes became drenched; the bundle of the diary also became wet: amidst these sufferings, the day was dawning, and the desperate attempts of the people to get out of the boat one after another defied all description in words. With wet clothes and limbs, we came to the custom-house near the shore, changed, and refreshed ourselves a little with the provisions we had taken with us, rinsed our mouth with sea water and rested a little. At 4 a.m. some light was seen at the gate of the custom house, and on a closer look, we found men getting away from the ditch after throwing gun powder into the water there. The same evening, the Padre of St. Paul's Church, Sessa Aiyar, M. Courtin and M. Dubois went to discuss terms of capitulation with the English. What will happen next is not known.

7th Friday. This morning when the gates were opened, we came back home. Last evening after suspension of hostilities the Father Superior of the St. Paul's Church, Subbarayar (?) M. Courtin, and M. Dubois went and stated the following terms to Mr. Col. Coote for the capitulation of the fortress. The *Soldats* have suffered greatly, hence they should not be imprisoned, but kept under light guard and fed properly and taken back to Europe in ships. M. Lally and other officials of Government must surrender their belongings. Moreover, some have long served without any pay; hence their belongings should not be taken as loot, and the Company's articles are to be captured without any harm being done to the Tamil population of the city or subjecting it to a general loot. The fort was not to be demolished but to be taken possession of subject to terms agreed on, and everything was to be subject to confirmation by authorities in Europe. The other side expressed a general

assent and promised to act up to M. Lally's wishes, and sent them back saying that they would meet M. Lally in due course. Thereupon, the deputation, I heard, returned to town in the morning. At 7-30 a.m. Mr. Col. Coote and two or three other gentlemen accompanied by fifty mounted guards and 100 soldiers came, and having posted the soldiers at the Villiyanūr gate, they entered inside with their horse. Then they posted the horseguards outside, entered the room of M. Lally within the Government House where he was lying lazily on a cot. Col. Coote took his seat on a chair that was near; both of them talked for a while and then came out, and approached M. Leyrit and other councillors who wearing swords were assembled in the silver plated council room. After mutual salutations, M. Leyrit first drew his sword and surrendered it into the hands of Col. Coote who took it and then restored it to its owner saying that he might keep it.

ii. Memorandum.

Year 1761—When told that we do not know what miracle it is, they did as they had said. Malaya Pillai, Arunachala Chetti and M. Boyelleau and Madame Boyelleau got letters from Europe which said: "The French captured 1300 ships belonging to the English last year; thus the French were weakened as a result of many fights, yet they reinforced themselves, defeated the English, and covered themselves with glory in Europe by capturing 900 ships this year, of which some have already been sold for sixty lakhs of rupees while the rest, along with those captured last year, are interned in ports. In the war waged by the English against the French this year, the former had the worst of it; twenty-eight warships belonging to them with twelve light craft, forty vessels in all are engaged in Mauritius by twenty-three French vessels under Captain M. (gap in the original) that carried ten thousand soldiers and the English are being prevented from effecting a landing. In the three ports in Mascareigne, Mauritius, and a place beyond it, there are 30,000 soldiers in all and there is an ample stock of provisions for these as well as the men on the ships. At Pondicherry neither the Governor M. Leyrit nor the General M. Lally would listen to what the councillors said, and these mutual differences were the cause that led to the loss of the city. At Mauritius on the other hand the Governor and the commander co-operate with the council and observe their instructions with the result that provisions are

ample and there is no risk of the loss of these places. The war will last till October, and then the ships will not stop there; ships will come to Pondicherry from January; till then for four months we shall have to suffer here and you there, and then by God's grace things will turn out well for you." All this they said. Moreover, the ship in which M. Bussy sailed was captured by the English at a distance of five kadams from an English port where its identity as a French vessel was discovered. An examination of the vessel revealed the presence of M. Bussy and of diamonds to the value of five lakhs of Pagodas of which a single diamond was worth a lakh by itself. Moreover, when two English vessels returned from their voyage laden with rich merchandise, a French vessel found them and gave them chase; but one of them escaped while the other was caught. As the vessel in which M. Bussy sailed, and one of the two vessels returning from their voyage had both been caught....

. (Ms. Breaks off here).

iii. Memorandum.

Hail! Victory to Sri Rāma! To the General from the Assembly.

As the king is god for the protection of his subjects in the world, we make the following appeal to you; from the time of the foundation of Puducheri under M. Martin and other governors, as the people were treated with justice and consideration, the town was increasing in prosperity. Particularly when during M. Lenoir's administration, orders were received from Europe for the opening up of streets by the removal of obstructions, and instructions were issued for the demolition of the eastern part of the temple of Īśvara that was on the street, we assembled in large numbers and demanded that the temple should not be demolished, it was spared according to our wishes and confirmation of it obtained from Europe. The town extended North, West and South, and by the immigration of many people grew in each direction till the population outside the Fort was a quarter more than the population within. When there was famine, we used to import good grain from other lands in large quantities and we even sent it to the city of Arcot and other places and relieved distress. Trade and manufacture increased and gave employment to many; each man was fulfilling the duties of his station, and we were all happy in such wise that it might be said that there was no other place equal to this. In the days of M. Dumas injustice began to put forth its first shoots. Then in

M. Dupleix's regime, though great power and fame were achieved, we were not dealt with fairly. First when the English came and attacked Puducheri in 1748, we suffered greatly because the temple was destroyed with the aid of soldiers and our deity was uprooted and kicked about; the furniture in the temple was looted and its land converted into a garden for the Second, M. Saint Paul. Moreover, the houses of people who for fear of bombs or lack of means had left the town and returned to it were confiscated and unjustly sold in auction. Then M. Leyrit's administration was being carried on without any complaint; after the arrival of M. Lally, on the plea that the company had no money, the people were subjected to exactions by distraint and force; they were incarcerated, their houses were closed and utensils attached.... a gibbet was erected and people were strapped to posts and beaten; as a result of such injustice the jewels of women and children which had no market at the time were handed over to the mint for being melted and we had to borrow outside to meet the demands made; we suffered in all these ways. Then we were asked to pay once again, many being put in prison in the fort, confined with Europeans, and not allowed to go out for their meals for fourteen days; unable to bear such oppression, we sold our clothes and vessels and borrowed from many sources and paid up. We have the receipts of the Council to prove all this. Then a house tax was levied and we were asked to pay; we have paid on this account two thousand rupees and odd into the hands of M. Guillard and three thousand rupees and odd to M. Dubois, but got no receipt for this.

(Ms. breaks off).

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